

TRIVENI

A JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

EDITED BY

K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO

*Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul,
and the visions of early youth, for they are a
perfume of Paradise which the soul retains in
issuing from the hands of its Creator.*

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TRIVENI

'Triveni' is devoted to Art, Literature and History. Its main function is to interpret the Indian Renaissance in its manifold aspects. Barring isolated attempts, the Renaissance spirit as reflected in Andhra, Dravida, Vanga, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra and other sub-national units, has not been carefully studied and presented to a wider public. 'Triveni' endeavours to discharge this duty.

'Triveni' seeks to draw together cultured men and women in all lands and establish a fellowship of the elect. To those that worship the Muses in loneliness, and not infrequently in indigence, the knowledge that their productions are made known to kindred souls must be a source of satisfaction.

All movements that make for Idealism, in India as well as elsewhere, receive particular attention in these columns. Translations into English of poems from all languages, will be a feature. In this, as in all else, we count upon the willing and joyous co-operation of all lovers of the Beautiful and the True.

May this votive offering prove acceptable to Him who is the source of the 'Triveni'—the triple stream of Love, Wisdom and Power—towards whom converge the self-same streams of Bhakti, Jnana and Karma!

The Editor

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A Bullock Chariot

By Abul Hassan

Frontispiece

The Death of Hiranya-Kasipu

An outer view of the Sittannavasal cave

The Rock Fort, Trichinopoly

President Jawaharlal



'Chaitanya's First Vision'

A favourite theme for the Bengali artists is the great Saint-Singer of Vaishnavism, Shri Chaitanya. We reproduce here one of the studies of an episode in the life of this 'God-intoxicated' soul from the brush of Sjt Promode Kumar Chatterjee. The Saint swoons and falls unconscious as the result of his first vision of the Lord. The disciples hold him in reverence and gather round him in startled surprise. His mother is anxiously witnessing the scene from inside the house.

The picture is rendered in the usual strong manner characteristic of the artist. There is a boldness in the colour-scheme and the grouping is admirable. The incident is one of sacred import and the artist has successfully attempted to depict the quiet peacefulness of the occasion in 'cool' colours.

A good picture by a great artist.

G. V

United Karnataka

BY THE HON'BLE V. RAMADAS PANTULU

“ Feuds have left us grief and woe,
Trial and torture marked our life;
Now is the hour for men to know,
Victory smiles if we unite.”

F. P. CASHEL

The notion that peoples with divergent cultures, traditions and linguistic and other sub-national characteristics, can be welded together into a homogeneous nationality under the sledge-hammer blows of a foreign administration, and that nations composed of sub-divisions marked by special features of their own cannot attain the full stature of a self-governing people, has long been exploded. Examples of self-governing countries composed of heterogeneous groups held together by ties of love for a common motherland and common political and economic interests, are not wanting in modern constitutions. India is in fact better circumstanced than many such countries in its characteristics of nationhood. Take the two dominant communities, the Hindus and the Mussalmans. The Hindus, no doubt, fall into well-marked groups like the Bengalees, the Beharees, the Punjabis, the Mahrattas, the Gujaratees, the Tamils, the Karnatakas, the Andhras, the Utkals, and so on. But they have among them many features which go to make them real component parts of a nation. They read the same religious scriptures, they worship the same gods, they draw their inspiration from the same epics, they observe the same festivals, they follow the same rituals and ceremonies at auspicious and inauspicious domestic occurrences, they claim the same national heroes, and above all, they pride themselves on their being the sons of the same mother, ‘Bharatamata.’ The Muhammadans, be they Sunnis, Shiyas, Ahamadiyas,

Boras, or of any other sub-divisions, all possess the same Islamic culture and owe allegiance to the same God and to the same Prophet—Allah and Muhammad. They have ceased to think of India as a foreign land and rightly look upon it as much their heritage as it is of the Hindus. The propagandist statements often heard from sources which can lay no claim either to impartiality or disinterestedness, to the effect that India cannot be a self-governing nation on account of its multitude of castes, creeds and languages, should be rejected unhesitatingly. There are many vested interests which stand to lose by India developing a spirit of nationality and attaining political and economic freedom. They are therefore never tired of proclaiming to the world India's unfitness to be welded together into a free nationality. This mischievous doctrine should be strenuously combated. Long before constructive efforts were put forth to draw up a constitution for India as a whole, the general position that India can be and should be a nation of strong sub-national groups federated into a common political entity, was declared on many occasions and from many quarters. The agitation against the partition of Bengal brought this question of reconstruction of India, on a more rational basis of provincial grouping, into the field of practical politics. Later the Andhras, the Karnatakas, and the Utkals took up this question in earnest and the most notable contribution which these people made to the solution of our national reconstruction is the clear formulation and fearless propagation of the ideal of a federated self-governing India with its component sub-national groups developed along lines most congenial to their peculiar traditions and characteristics.

The annulment of the Bengal partition and the statesmanlike declaration made by Hardinge in 1911 in that connection, wherein he painted a remarkable picture of federal India composed of homogeneous sub-nationalities, not only vindicated the soundness of the views of the advocates of linguistic provinces, but actually encouraged them to further effort. This linguistic movement was at

first much misunderstood and roundly condemned in many influential quarters as a disruptive factor which interfered with the higher ideals of national consolidation. But persistent, vociferous, informed and intelligent propaganda not only bore down the opposition, but actually converted the opponents to the new cult. The Indian National Congress gave the lead by re-organising the provinces for Congress work on a linguistic basis—a process which was commenced in 1917 and completed in 1921. The memorandum presented by the Andhras to the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1920, the memorials sent by the Karnatakas to the late Mr. Montagu when he toured India, and the case prepared by the Utkals for the Philip-Duff Enquiry, are masterpieces of constructive proposals regarding the constitution of provinces on a linguistic basis. The Joint Parliamentary Committee's acceptance of the principle may be said to amount to a constitutional recognition of the linguistic provinces movement. Indeed the Committee's recommendation has subsequently secured legislative sanction and is embodied in the present section 52 (a) of the Government of India Act. The Joint Parliamentary Select Committee gave very clear instructions regarding the conditions to be satisfied for the working of the clause relating to the constitution of new provinces. They say: "The Committee have two observations to make on the working of this clause. On the one hand, they do not think that any change in the boundaries of a province should be made without due consideration of the views of the Legislative Council of the province. On the other hand, they are of opinion that any clear request made by a majority of the members of a Legislative Council representing a racial or linguistic territorial unit for its constitution under this clause as a sub-province or a separate province, should be taken as a *prima facie* case on the strength of which a Commission of Enquiry may be appointed by the Secretary of State, and that it should not be a bar to the appointment of such a Commission of Enquiry that the majority of the Legislative Council of the province in

question is opposed to the request of the minority representing such a distinctive territorial unit." This is no doubt a well-meant instruction which is intended to safeguard minorities in the provincial legislatures who are peculiarly interested in having separate provinces for themselves. But in practice, it is of very little avail. The Karnatakas, for instance, who are cut up under two British administrative provinces, not to speak of Indian States, are not numerically strong enough to return any appreciable number of their men to any single legislature in order to get a hearing from that body. Similarly, the Oriyas who are distributed over four provinces are not strong enough numerically to return even a single member to a provincial legislature with the solitary exception of the Madras Council. I understand that a resolution by that solitary member in the Madras Council and similar resolutions by Karnataka members in the Bombay and Madras Councils, were not even admitted for discussion on the plausible ground that no single council had jurisdiction to discuss a matter which was not within its exclusive power to decide. When, however, my Hon'ble friend, Dr. U. Rama Rau and myself tried to overcome this difficulty of provincial legislatures declining jurisdiction and brought up the matter before the Central Legislature, the spokesmen of the Government of India curiously enough declined to commit the Government of India to any view and contended that the matter was one for the provincial councils to deal with. The advocates of linguistic provinces are thus driven from post to pillar and have not yet succeeded in finding an official asylum for the due consideration of their case, which on its merits seems to me to be absolutely irresistible. The Andhra members of the Madras Legislative Council recently managed to give expression to their self-determination by carrying a resolution favouring a separate Andhra Province. But I understand that the Local Government of Madras declined to accept the recommendation contained in the resolution. On the popular side, however, the scheme of linguistic provinces has emerged successfully from the sphere of controversy and become a universally accepted

part of India's constitution. Constitutions drawn up by publicists like Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar, Rangaswami Iyengar and Hosakappa Krishna Rau have all made it an integral part of their schemes. The final and the most valuable vindication is however accomplished with the concurrence of all political parties in India and is now embodied in that epoch-making document, the Nehru Report.

The case for Karnataka was specially dealt with by the Nehru Committee and deserves the attention of all those who are earnest about the reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis. Have the Karnatakas a real grievance and have they a good case? These are the two questions which were admirably and dispassionately discussed and answered in that informing little volume entitled *United Karnataka* which is edited by the Secretaries of the Karnataka Unification Sabha and of the Sub-Committee of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. To those who are familiar with the bearings of the question, hardly any figures or facts will be necessary. One of the factors of the British administrative system that obstructs our national self-expression is the irrational manner in which provinces are constituted for purposes of administrative units. It is true that the present provinces are mostly the results of historical accidents and not of a plan or purpose. Nevertheless, an arrangement whereby four or five different peoples speaking different languages and possessing distinct traditions and characteristics—cultural and temperamental—are huddled together under a single administration, or one wherein a single people with common language, history and culture, are cut up into four or five slices and placed under as many different administrations, is indefensible as constitutional machinery or administrative device. It has contributed in no small measure to the present weak, disunited, and disorganised condition in which people like Andhras, Karnatakas and Utkals find themselves to-day. It cannot be otherwise when the seats of governmental power and patronage, centres of university learning, higher study and research, institutions where young men and women are trained for the learned professions of law, medicine, engineering, teaching and the like, official and non-official bodies of provincial and metropolitan magnitude which absorb talent and provide careers, commercial and banking houses which offer financial accommodations and credit facilities for trade and business, communications which make access to the metropolis easy,

and in fact everything that tends to stimulate talent to action and promote initiative to business, are all situated outside the Karnataka, Andhra and Utkal countries, and are not within the easy reach of their children who do not suffer in comparison with others, provided equal opportunities are vouchsafed. It is little wonder that under such conditions as these there has not been, and there is not, an adequate scope for the play and much less for the display of their finer qualities and truer enterprise. Did not the Beharees under the same circumstances suffer a similar eclipse of their individuality and eminence when they were once submerged in the Bengalee race? Have they not been able to give a better account of themselves when the handicap was removed? The truth of the matter is, there can be no freedom of movement for people who find themselves unequally yoked with peoples who differ in language, culture and temperament, and asked to work out their destiny. It is not easy to come out successful in an obstacle race.

Having said so much about the general disabilities from which people like the Karnatakas and those similarly circumstanced suffer, it is scarcely necessary to enumerate the special grievances of the Karnatakas. If it is necessary to do so, the following short passage from *United Karnataka* ought to suffice :

"This province which was homogeneous for more than a thousand years has been now split up. Its people are in the hopeless minority of 19 and 6 per cent respectively in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and the Kanarese districts form tail-ends in both the administrations. They are furthest from the capital towns. Communications and Education have been grievously neglected. For a High Court and for a University, Karnatakas have to run to Bombay and Madras where their language has but scant respect. There is hardly one man to represent Kannada in the Senate of the Bombay University, . . . Karnataka contributes about 48 lakhs of rupees in excess of what is spent on her and yet irrigation and agricultural improvements are at a discount here. The majority languages are encroaching on Kannada, and during the last census-decade, she has lost about 2 lakhs."

The Karnatakas have satisfactorily answered every possible objection that can be urged against a separate province for them. They have shown that it will be a financially self-supporting province. They have refuted the geographical arguments and put forward a practical proposition in

these words : " We demand to-day the unification of the 8 districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur, Karwar, Mangalore, Bellary, Coorg, and Nilgiri and the five outlying taluks of Kollegal, Hosur, Krishnagiri, Madakasira and Sholapur. Their total area is 35,408 sq. miles and population is 63,57,762. Except the district of Nilgiri and the four talukas, Kollegal, Hosur, Krishnagiri and Madakasira, the whole territory is contiguous ; and even that district and those talukas can be approached through Kannada territory, namely, Mysore". For the present, the Karnatakas wisely postpone the unification of the territory situated in the Indian States, leaving that question to be tackled in connection with the scheme of self-government in which Indian States have also to be included.

The advocates of linguistic provinces, however, find themselves in a situation which presents considerable difficulty in pressing forward the programme. A demand for the reorganisation of provinces under British administration necessarily involves a recognition of that administration and invoking the assistance of the constituted authorities who are the British Parliament and the Governments in England and India. The Andhras who were till 1920 inconveniently clamorous about the Telugu districts being constituted into a separate province, had to virtually abandon their agitation for two reasons. The Non-co-operation programme adumbrated in that year at the special session of the Calcutta Congress effectively barred all further attempt in creating a new legislature for the province, because the boycott of legislative councils was a live item on the Congress agenda. That settled the matter against the province so far as orthodox Non-co-operators were concerned. There were, however, more moderate Congressmen who did not accept the triple boycott, but who were pledged not to work dyarchy, as they considered the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to be " unsatisfactory, inadequate and disappointing." To them also, a demand for a province with a dyarchical form of government was unthinkable. So the political programmes of the no-changers as well as the pro-changers alike stifled the linguistic provinces movement. They exhausted the advanced political section of the people. When I had to bring up the question before the Council of State, I had necessarily to so frame my resolution as to steer clear of the dilemma. So I urged for the formation of a separate Andhra province with *full responsible government*. Full responsible government at that time was a proposition which could be advanced with-

in the four corners of a British constitution for India. But to-day the matter is further complicated by later developments. The Congress stands committed to the goal of complete Independence, outside the British connection. It is true that Congressmen have eleven months and 8 days more at their disposal within which time they can without offending Congress discipline put forward a claim for a separate province and ask British legislatures to constitute it, if Dominion Status for India is conceded in its entirety in the form in which it is embodied in the Nehru Report. If Dominion Status on those conditions is not conceded, it is not open to Congressmen to agree to the constitution of new provinces, much less to ask for them on the basis of the present Government of India Act.

Practical difficulties apart, the very *desire* of the Karnatakas for independence and a self-governing province, is bound to help them to raise themselves and the Indian Nation in the estimation of the world. The old adage 'deserve and desire' is in my opinion a perversion of an ideal. No one can be said to deserve anything until at least he begins to desire it. It will be more correct to preach 'desire and deserve'. The advocates of linguistic provinces never put their case merely on the basis of good government for themselves. I shall assume that British administration ensures good government. Campbell Bannerman is given credit for the statement that good government is not a substitute for self-government. One can legitimately go further and say that good government is an enemy of self-government. People are lulled into placid, pathetic contentment by good government and forget to agitate for freedom of true self-government. So the Karnatakas seek self-government and an autonomous Karnataka province as a limb of a self-governing federal India ; not to secure good government but to attain the ideal of a free, organised and United Karnakata.



Venkata Kavi

Venkata Kavi : His Personality and Poetry

BY ABBURI RAMAKRISHNA RAO

I still remember my first meeting with the poet. I had not the privilege of being one of his pupils when he was in Masulipatam, but I had a friend who was. I went to see him in his company, and the pretext was that I wanted a copy of his newly-published 'Guntur Sima.' Many of the verses in that poem were already known by heart, for it was not properly speaking a poem written but spoken. It centred round a first-rate literary quarrel—a sort of civil war among the Telugu *Literati*. In its lowest levels it was also a class-war between Niyogis and Vaidikis, two sections of the Telugu Brahmins, roughly corresponding to the laity and the clergy, although no trace of that distinction now exists. We had naturally enough, being in the very orbit of his influence, enlisted ourselves on the side of Venkata Sastri. The poet was seated on a cot cross-legged and was writing verse. For a few moments we were not noticed, but presently he began humming the last lines he had written and peered through his glasses at us and said "what brings you here?" We saluted him and asked for the book. He smiled genially and made us feel at our ease. The talk soon drifted to the topic of the book and he recited or perhaps chanted, as only he can, some fine things from it. That was just what we wanted but dared not ask, for what cutting jokes he might then have made at our expense! But he had an innate and glowing sympathy for the youth and loved them so well that there was an enormous gathering of students to bid him farewell in the local Town Hall on the eve of his retirement. He soon took us into his confidence and narrated some of the

thrilling anecdotes of his literary adventures in the courts of the princes and nobles of the Andhra country. Time has blurred the memory of that fine talk, but this sentence I wrote in my diary I still remember. "He is the most remarkable man since Srinadha"—Srinadha who sported with princes and lived in the lap of luxury and who said contemplating his departure from this world :

"Now while Srinadha's soul departs
To the city of the Immortals,
The bard of the Heavens doth tremble."

An attempt is made in this essay to convey to the non-Telugu readers of 'Triveni' the great affection and veneration in which Venkata Sastri, one of the twin-poets, the Tirupati Venkata Kavulu, is held by the Telugus. Tirupati Sastri, whose name is almost always connected with all that is going to be stated here, is however not the subject of my essay. Believing as I do that, of the two poets, Venkata Sastri, by virtue of his dynamic personality, was unique among the leading lights in the new awakening in Telugu literature, I have dared to separate him from his brother-poet. The friendship that subsisted between them both is unexampled in the annals of Telugu Literature and is one of the famous literary friendships of the world. They studied together in their youth under the famous savant, Charla Brahmayya Sastri, who was great as a scholar of classic learning and greater as a 'Grihastha' the ideal house-holder who fed his pupils at his own expense and taught them each according to his *adhikara*, or individual bent, the subject he was most fitted for, with affection and devotion. His house was a sort of a residential university where the student's individuality was studied and respected and not as at the present time violently drilled into a regimental standard. It was a heroic experiment carried on with great success at a time when old standards were being pulled down to give place to an alien ideal of education. It was a place where kindred souls full of youth and high ambition gathered in the atmosphere of a refined culture and

formed high resolves. And here too Venkata Sastri dreamt of becoming a poet, for already, as he himself has said :

“While yet a naked stripling,
He lisped in numbers ever so charming.”

The two poets toured together, visiting the courts of princes and nobles and performing what are known as ‘Sataavadhanams’ where verse was made *ex tempore* line by line to a hundred different people on a hundred different subjects, and all the verses were repeated at the end. It was a feat of memory and was in great vogue at the time. But the people who gathered there in their hundreds had an additional attraction—and that was what they liked more—in the wonderful recitals of Venkata Sastri of his own poems in the intervals. The performances frequently lasted more than two days, and all the time, whether in formal congregation or in the leisured hours at his residence, crowds of people waited in silence to hear the poet converse and recite his passionate verse. The poet’s manner of chanting Telugu verse has almost become classic and is widely followed. It is a naive and subtle manner of interpreting Telugu verse in all its moods and all its movement. The rhythm of the verse receives a delicate emphasis by the method, and the meaning is conveyed in a gentle and pleasing manner. It is said that Dr. Rabindranath Tagore remarked when once he heard a Telugu poem recited, “Why do you sing and not read your verse?” He perhaps did not know that our verse, by virtue of its metrical scheme, is meant to be chanted and not merely read.

The fame of the poets spread throughout the Telugu-speaking world and invitations poured in. Venkata Sastri was at that time a Telugu Pandit in the Hindu High School at Masulipatam and his great popularity enabled him to obtain the necessary leave of absence whenever the call came. The consequent literary awakening in the country was very great. Poetry, which was till then confined to Sanskrit scholars, found many votaries among the lovers of the Telugu Muse

and many among the younger generation displayed great talent in writing dainty and exquisite verse. Two among them may here be mentioned. Pingali Lakshmikantam's verse, although not considerable, has all the lucidity and charm of his master, but lacks passion. Viswanatha Satyanarayana, who is by far the most prolific writer among contemporary Telugu poets, writes with enthusiasm and energy. His language, although needlessly archaic and obscure in places, reaches at times a high musical perfection. His bouquets of poems have few flowers but plenty of foliage. These disciples of the poet are still young and may in good time perfect their instrument to produce a yet nobler harmony.

Venkata Sastri is a literary Lincoln who has risen from obscurity to fame under extraordinary circumstances. Although Andhra Desa has not lacked patrons of good and great literature among the general public, really good books did not enjoy the popularity they deserved owing to the lack of a widespread awakening and a sustained interest in literature. Venkata Sastri by his frequent tours brought about such an awakening in an abundant measure and evoked an active interest in the largest section of the literate class. His full-mouthed recitals before huge audiences quickened an interest which no printed page could produce and thereby rescued the public taste from barren sentiment and created a market for high-class writing. The educative value of these recitals cannot be too highly estimated.

Venkata Sastri is the author of a considerable portion of the work that bears the joint authorship of Tirupati Venkata Kavulu to-day. His revelations in his essay 'Divakara Asthamayam' written after the death of his collaborator and life-long friend, abundantly prove that Venkata Sastri is the real centre of the enormous enthusiasm roused in the country. Unlike Tirupati's verse which is polished and elegant throughout, Venkata Sastri's work is in places careless and slipshod, but what he has lost in *naïvete* of outward form he gains in power. There is something Byronic in the flow of

his verse which succeeds in creating a strong impression in spite of its carelessness. The pictures of contemporary life that lie scattered among his poems are some of the best examples of realistic portraiture. His self-confidence, not infrequently bordering upon egotism, is also reminiscent of Byron, as for instance when he says in an invocation to Saraswati,

“In triumph did we march on the backs of elephants,
And proudly did receive the homage of poets.”

I may here be allowed to venture a remark which will perhaps be disputed by the poet himself. I believe that he is the forerunner, in a large and general sense, of the modern movement in Telugu Literature. ‘Nana Raja Sandarshanam,’ a collection of stray poems written in connection with the memorable visits to the members of the Andhra aristocracy who were great patrons of Telugu culture and art; ‘Giratham’—the title being a parody of ‘Bharatham’ the great epic, and the subject matter a quarrel over the discipleship of two other young poets—affording a large variety of topic and situation; and a similar work, ‘Guntur Sima’—all these cannot be classed with the long poems belonging either to the ‘Prabandha’ or any other type. He broke new ground by these productions and flouted successfully most of the conventions that bound Telugu Poetry to the dead past. And more than by his published work, Venkata Sastri has shown the way on to a new movement by his personal influence. Most of the young writers of to-day had their interest in Telugu Literature quickened by coming into contact either with his works or with his personality. These young men have had other sources of inspiration in the English and other European Poets, and Venkata Sastri who does not understand any foreign language could not be said to have been the inspirer of modern Telugu Poetry in *all* its phases, as it is the result of more than one cultural contact. He is a singular example of native genius essentially untouched by modern culture, almost the last survival of the stalwarts of a previous age. He was by his very nature and

equipment, best fitted to work along the paths of Telugu tradition although with a more passionate and less conventional movement, and was therefore not guilty of any side-tracting into the vague and ineffectual creations of the new poets. Although the poetry of the present day shows little or no trace of his influence, I firmly believe that one day it will return back to him and realize its strength. The weakness of the modern movement is apparent when its wailings over sentimental sorrows are contrasted with the magnificent outbursts of Srinadha which are examples of some of the highest *chatu* (or the modern *Bhava*) poetry.

The immense popularity which Venkata Sastri enjoyed and now enjoys to some extent is not due to any of the startling qualities of the 'best sellers' of the present day European literature, but to the simplicity of his themes. For the first time in the history of Telugu Literature, a poet had taken up the common things of life as his themes. Even his long poems 'Panigrihita' and 'Sravananandam' which in their outward structure approximate to the 'Prabandha' mould, are really new wine in old bottles. They were love poems of their kind and the love depicted is modern but not the mere modern sentimentality which one now finds masked under a highly ornate and vague verbiage. The Telugu people, long nurtured in the close atmosphere of 'Prabandha' poetry, with its mock fights and conventional loves, breathed for the first time in his poetry, a fresh draught of air laden with the fragrance of the joys and sorrows of real life. Poetry was no longer a thing to be wooed by those initiated in the canons of rhetoric, but became an occasion for gathering the kindred souls ('Sahridayas') the lovers of beauty into a hearty social embrace.

There is perhaps not much in his work that can take rank beside the highest in poetry, little of deep and abiding value, but there is enough to indicate the genius of the Telugus in the realm of creative art,—a bold and vigorous acceptance of life as it is, and not an escape into the sylvan solitudes of Fairyland where 'kokils' sing and no

children cry—a formless void of vague experience. It is on the lines of Venkata Sastri's virile love of life that the Telugu Muse shall progress and not along the moonlit paths of Tagorean mysticism.

The Queen of Flowers

BY BALKAVI ¹

There was once a little carpet, dears,
A little carpet of green green grass ;
And on the soft green carpet, dears,
The Queen of Flowers did play.

And the little grass carpet did laugh, dears,
Laughed to the music of the morning wind ;
The little Queen was happy, dears,
Happy with the flowers, happy
With the little grass blades that laughed.

One day the wind of the morning came laughing by,
And sweetly did he kiss the Queen of Flowers ;
“Little one, little one” said he “I know your little
secret,
“Wasn’t the pink ray of the morning sun smiling at
you?”

The little Queen blushed and blushed
Until her cheeks did glow,
And the wind went smiling by.

Translated from MARATHI by

R. L. RAU

¹Balakavi or Mr. Thomre, to give him his real name, was a Marathi poet who died very young. His poems are exquisite, and he is to Maharashtra what William Blake is to the English people.

The Marathi Drama

BY R. L. RAU

To understand Marathi Literature it is necessary to remember that the status it enjoyed in the successive stages of its development was far different from that of the literature of to-day. The earliest attempts at poetry and prose were largely due to the saints and prophets of Maharashtra. In his memorable contribution, on 'The Rise of the Maratha Power' Justice Ranade has traced the influence of the Maratha saints and prophets on the literature and the culture of the Maratha people. It was as sudden as it was brilliant, this revival of a philosophy of devotion, and of holy living. The names of Dyan-Dev, Tukaram, and Eknath, Dyaneshwar, Mahipathi, Moropant and Muketeswar, stand out prominently at the head of this movement. It is impossible to give at present either the chronological details or a critical survey of the literature of the age. But it would serve our purpose to begin our story at the stage when the mind of the people was yet in its infancy, so to say, and while it was struggling hard to maintain its independent character and with it, its genius, inspite of many vicissitudes ; and truth to tell, if such a philosophy as that of Tukaram, or the verse of a Mahipati did appeal to the people, it must have been largely due to the status they enjoyed. The revolt of the Marathas against the tyranny and oppression of the Mahomedan rule, the new courtliness set up by Shivaji, in which Letters formed an integral and indispensable part, exalted a new ideal. Here was an opportunity under the new Hindu Raj, to express oneself, and obtain suitable recognition, with the result that apart from the devotional attitude which men had towards the writings of the saints and prophets, they came to have a real thirst for knowledge ; then began the art of writing, for its own sake, and here we have the greatest departments of literary activity, the

beginning of modern Marathi prose and poetry, and then that of the Drama.

But the somewhat meteoric growth of the Maratha Empire, with its struggle for existence, and later on its position as a powerful Hindu unit struggling against the then great Power of Hindusthan, the Mughal Empire, hardly afforded either the impetus or the strength to maintain a literary or a cultural movement such as had its birth in the days of Shivaji. Every time it was war, and then the prospect of a flying camp. Where then was the time to develop a literature? And so it continued till we come to the rule of the Peshwas.

UNDER THE PESHWAS

The rule of the Peshwas is a landmark. Brought up under the traditions and the organised rule of the great King Shivaji, the Peshwas for the first time succeeded in giving to the nation a sense of security and physical well-being. During the hundred years of its existence, the rule of the Peshwas was as memorable as it was brilliant. The Court of Poona became the rendezvous for a galaxy of learned men, courtiers, diplomats and traders. It became the centre too of a brilliant display of wit, and valour. With their limited resources and despite the difficulties that sorronned them, the Peshwas did succeed in evolving a new order of society, which encouraged the study of religion, the study of literature and last but not the least, the growth of the Drama.

The Drama in Maharashtra was in its beginning a religious affair. Early in the seventeenth century, men took to staging at prominent festivals and on other holy days, some part of a God's life, suitable to the occasion. These were extraordinarily crude attempts at representation, and were generally enacted in the glare of torches which smoked and smoked until the whole atmosphere was reeking with the smell of the burning oil. And in the weird light of these torches, the stage presented no small display of men and things.

But the material required to get up a play was quite

little indeed. A drop curtain of Alwan, a few dhoties, some brilliantly coloured sarees, two or three embroidered pieces of head-wear, and a lot of resin—these completed the outfit. Most of these plays originated in the Konkan, on the West Coast of Bombay, and were popularly styled as ‘Lalits.’ The ‘Lalits’ had neither the element of amusement, nor the art of speaking in a restrained manner, and the proper and sensible presentation of some subject or theme. They were on the other hand just a medley of coarse and not infrequently miserable, vulgar sentiments.

Side by side with the existence of these mystery or miracle plays, if we might so call them, arose the ‘tamashas’ at a later stage. They were largely the result of the Mussalmani influence and culture; and thus we have for the first time music introduced into these plays. The instruments generally employed were the drum and the ‘tun-tuni’¹ and one would suppose they must have added not a little to the sense of enjoyment. Later on came the dances, and little boys were made to dance as well. These ‘tamashas’ were the order of the day during almost the whole of the Peshwas’ regime. And the men who took part in such representations included many a respectable Brahmin at the Court of the Peshwas.

•The rule of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao, was in several ways a memorable one. It was during his time that the Maratha Empire ceased to be a unit; and a general atmosphere of decadence and corruption spread over the land. Rao Baji, the Peshwa, was himself, in spite of his many lovable qualities, an indolent, pleasure-seeking man; and the Court of Poona soon was flooded with all types of men, adventurers, loafers, clever unscrupulous diplomats, politicians, and lastly women. Under such prosperous conditions and inducements, the early histrionic art of Maharashtra soon became a very lucrative profession to many. We have a very interesting account of such representations and the condition of the

¹ Tun-tuni, a crude stringed instrument consisting of a piece of thin wire stretched tightly across a pole. Oftentimes a gourd was attached as a sound-box.

people in general from an old and well-known book—the ‘Kekavali.’ Says the writer :

“Owing to the impetus given to the foreigners and the adventurers in Poona, Rao Baji’s court soon became the centre of attraction. To this court of debauchery and waste, flocked the Brahmins during the day ; and were served with food and viands and delicacies which defied description. And in the evenings, no sooner was the twilight upon the landscape, than the lamps were lit—and at the Imperial Court, they made use of the attars of Persia to burn the wicks in, whilst all over the city, the pleasing sound of ‘Sanayis’ and ‘Chaughadas,’ and music filled the air. The Shilledars, soldiers and officers flocked to the ‘tamashas,’ and the Gondhlis became as popular as ever. Then came the women of the North, and for the first time the nautches became the object of public workshop.”

So did the night pass away : and the last of the Peshwas slept happy in the thought that he had placed before the nation a new ideal—a newer life. And what Poona did, the rest of Maharashtra copied. The neighbouring cities of Satara, Vayee and others, introduced these ‘tamashas’—but oftentimes with an improvement : for men like the Brahmin Ramjoshi, hit upon combining amusement with instruction and we have in his themes, the first attempts at a play with a moral behind it.

Nor were the ‘Lalits’ or the ‘Tamashas’ alone the foundations of the early Marathi stage. There were a class of men styled the Gondhlis¹ who contributed a great deal to the growth of the primitive stage. They were as a rule mimicrists and their presentations differed from the ‘Lalits,’ in the sense that their themes had nothing to do with the Puranas or mythological details. They were caricatures and

¹Sorry representatives of this class of men are still to be seen wandering across the Mahratta country. They are a gipsy tribe, talk very coarse Marathi, and are to be seen early of a morning haunting respectable doorsteps, in the guise of fortune-tellers.

skits on the then prevailing order of society, and very clever skits they made too. Their songs were sung with great gusto and vigour and became very popular. We have it on record that a sort of mixed 'tamashas' took place at the Court of the Nizam, when the story of Nana Fadnavis and Sawai Madhav Rau Peshwa was presented in all its pathos and detail. To be sure, Nana Fadnavis himself was living then on the banks of the Mula and Mutha at Poona, and it is an interesting speculation, as to what the great diplomat must have felt at the idea of such a representation at the Court of his cleverest enemy. The songs that were sung on these occasions took the form of Ballads or 'Povadas', as they are called in Marathi.

This was in brief the history of the stage in Mahahrashtra. From the year 1827, when the Maratha Empire ceased to exist, to the year 1842, when the first play appeared on the stage, were years of transition and of a peculiar inaction as well. The state of the country was none too pleasant or settled, to induce men to think about new ways in literature or art.

MR. BHAVE AND NEW ORDER

But the year 1842 witnessed a new order of things. The first Drama in Marathi announced itself on the stage in the year 1842, at Sangli, in one of the minor Southern Maratha states. The play enacted was somewhat on the lines of 'Krishna Parijata' and similar plays in Karnatak. It was a very crude attempt, in spite of some excellent singing. The men who went to witness the play were tired. The language was strange, and the actions of the actors meaningless. But the chief of Sangli, the Shreemant Patwardhan, thought after witnessing the play, that it could be improved with proper setting and stage effects, and hit upon the idea of asking a Mr. Bhave of the Chief's household to produce a play in Marathi; and a little dramatic company was started forthwith, under the patronage of its Chief. The first regular Marathi play 'Seeta-Swayamwar' was produced in the year 1843.

But like all other attempts at reformation, it proved abortive—and the members of the Bhavé Company were treated as social outcasts. This was as it should be; for educated public opinion in those days was decidedly against dramatic representation and much more against respectable Brahmins taking part in the plays. Many and bitter were the controversies that arose and a council of Shastris and Pundits was called upon to decide the issue. But luckily for Mr. Bhavé and for the art, the revered Gopinath Shastri Agashe proved that the shastras laid no restrictions on men and that there could never be any breach of either tradition or custom if they took part in a play. So Mr. Bhavé prospered; and his theatre was filled with a new generation of men who began to see in the Drama an outlet to their emotions, and a new expression for a strange yearning within. Mr. Bhavé's arrangement of his plays was somewhat on these lines.

First to enter was the 'Sutra-Dhara' or the story-teller, who would announce the play in his peculiar way, in the course of a conversation with his wife. Then would enter the 'Vidushaka' or the Jester, who danced, sang and performed various acts of indiscretion and fun; the prayers followed and finally the invocation to Saraswati.

The play then commenced and ran its course. It was begun late in the night,—and would last quite late, even after the sunrise of the next day: and it was not an uncommon sight to see at these performances, men shaved and painted in a mysterious blue colour (for such were the Gods!), with sunken eyes and a wretched expression on their faces; and the patient audience sat on revelling in the representation and then would go to bed as the sun came up. The play usually consisted of half a dozen acts, each act being divided into convenient scenes. Most of the themes were Pouranic. Thus we had invariably a Durbar of the Gods, an assembly of the Rakshasas, and their respective consorts. The action of the play lay in the several plans which the Gods had under consideration to exterminate the Rakshasas or *vice-versa*. Sometimes the Gods regaled their audiences with

music as well, or the Rakshasas exhibited their brute strength.

All this meant invariably a great deal of shouting and a shouting of a confused type as well. There was weeping also ; and very pitiable in its intensity too. The home of the Gods usually consisted of a couple of broken second-hand settees, and evil looking chairs of a very pronounced ' Mlecha ' type. On these did the Gods sit and dispense justice and the sense of their bliss to poor mortals, whilst their arch-enemies, the Rakshasas, shouted and raved on the same chairs which the well-meaning Gods had vacated after the previous scenes ! Then came the women who were mostly men dressed as women ; either weeping or singing as occasion offered.

But the person who mattered most was the Vidushak, or the Jester. Sometimes he performed all kinds of fantastic tasks. Thus he had to be a prompter, or to pick up the ear-ring of the Hero—or sometimes even his own moustachios. This plan was almost the same in all Pauranic plays. But then it was a big jump from the world of ' tamashas ' and Lalits and the people enjoyed it all. Mr. Bhavè made his pile in the course of the eight years of the patronage he received from the Chief of Sangli, and later on towards the year 1852 emigrated to Kolhapur after the death of his patron, and from there to the ever-alluring city of Poona.

Poona had many great men living at this time. The names of Kero Lakshman Chattré and Krishna Shastri Chip-lonkar were names of great distinction and merit, and introduction to them meant sure recognition and appreciation of talent. To these good generous men Mr. Bhavè went and they did a great deal to help him and to popularise his plays.

Mr. Bhavè later went to Bombay. Bombay was yet a little provincial town and the first English Companies had just begun visiting the city. There was a solitary theatre at Grant Road which belonged to Nana Shankarshet where the English Theatricals often staged their plays. The rent was prohibitive and introductions well-nigh impossible but Mr. Bhavè tried to get the use of the theatre for his performances. After a great deal of persuasion, the theatre was rented and

Mr. Bhavè produced his first play in Bombay. His net loss was Rs. 250. But it was in a great measure compensated for by the co-operation and encouragement he received from some very prominent men of Bombay like Dr. Bhau Daji, Nana Shankarshet himself and Sir Jamshetjee Jeejeebhoy. So much so that Mr. Bhavè succeeded in getting the private secretary to the Governor interested in the play, and we note—not without a sense of unmixed pleasure and joy—that he promised Mr. Bhavè many introductions to his friends in England, and help as well! But Mr. Bhavè was too nervous to cross the ‘seven seas’ and invite the odium of his community. So he refused with great regret the generous offer of the secretary and thus lost a good chance of studying the histrionic art at first hand in England.

Mr. Bhavè died in the year 1901, and his death was followed by the starting of numerous dramatic companies all over Maharashtra.

AMATEUR THEATRICALS .

The establishment of the University at Bombay, and the very rapid growth of educational institutions helped too the spread of the dramatic societies and companies in Maharashtra. Amateur theatricals became the order of the day at many of the colleges in Bombay and in Poona. We learn that at the Elphinstone College in Bombay, the “Kalidas Elphinstone Society” was started, and it staged for the first time an Indian play—the ‘Shakuntala’ of Kalidasa. A stupendous amount of money and energy was spent by its organisers on this account. 400 Rupees’ worth of Sal tree bark had been imported from Madras alone, while three wagon loads of flowers and evergreens had been despatched from the gardens at Poona.

The arrival of Miss. Elsia May and Player Clough at Bombay, and their subsequent presentation at the Deccan College in Poona, aroused considerable interest and attempts were made to stage plays in which the characters concerned appeared in their natural colours, *i.e.*, without painting or powdering their faces. Encouraged by their success, these

amateurs tried their skill at Sanskrit dramas as well, 'Mrichakatika', 'Mudra Rakshasa' and some other plays being found very popular.

Then came the age of translation. Shakespeare and Moliere and Sheridan were rendered into Marathi—and they were very well done too. Improvements were effected in the stage-craft itself, and under the genial guidance of a man like Mr. Candy of the Rajaram College at Kolhapur, youngmen began to take an active part in such presentations.

The Shakespearean translations became quite popular—and the 'Shahunagarwasi Mandali', was considered to be a great company of actors. 'Tratika' or 'The Taming of the Shrew' was a great favourite of the public of the day; so also was 'Hamlet.' Both these plays were exquisitely rendered into Marathi, and the actors like Messrs. Ganpat Rao and Balwant Rao thrilled the audiences by their wonderful feeling and presentation; Sheridan's 'Duenna' was also translated by Mr. Modak.

These were followed in quick succession by historical plays; and for the time being, the stories of the late Rani Lakshmi Bai, or the murder of the Peshwa Narayan Rao, found extraordinarily appreciative audiences both at the theatres of Poona and Bombay. Plays like 'Baji Rao Mastani,' 'Baji Desphande,' 'Rana Bheemdev' found favour too, and the Congress of the year 1889 was the proud recipient of the proceeds from one such play! Meanwhile the work of the social reformers had reached a stage when it could no longer be ignored. The 'useless' products of the Universities, the early marriages, the widow remarriages, education of girls, all these became the background, as it were, for many a social play. The whisky bottle and its evil too came in for a good share, and we have a formidable list of plays and farces, which dealt with one or more of these social evils. Indeed, we are told that a skit on the Age of Consent Bill of 1891, was itself the theme of a very interesting social play.

THE INTRODUCTION OF MUSIC

So far, all these plays had been written in prose alone. Music was introduced for the first time on the Marathi stage by Sokar Bapuji Trilokekar. This was indeed an innovation and became exceedingly popular. The famous Kirloskar Company was now formed, and for about a quarter of a century the plays of this Company became exceedingly popular. Anna Kirloskar, the founder of the above Company, was a great musician and an artist in the real sense of the word. His plays and music were the order of the day. Mr. Kolhatkar joined this Company a few years later and Poona was always full when the Kirloskar Brothers' Company were announced.

Most of Kirloskar's plays were Pauranic; but they make excellent reading. The music was perfect and never out of place. His plays like 'Ramarajya-viyoga', 'Shakuntal', 'Saubhadra,' were charming to a degree and they are acted even to-day, being as popular as they were thirty years ago.

The passing of Kirloskar was followed by the establishment of the new Companies of Mr. Deval and Mr. Bhonsle; and until recently, by numerous other Companies where the names of actors like Bal Gandharva, Pendharkar, Master Krishna, have exerted a singular charm on the mind of the Maratha people. All over Maharashtra one can hear the music of these famous actors sung by the street-boy as well as the young wife at home, so popular have they become and such an appeal do they make, the exquisite melodies of these men. The Drama in Maharashtra has become an important factor in the literature of the land and an index of the growth and culture of a nation.

Acknowledgments :

Ranade : ' The Rise of the Maratha Power.'

Moropant : ' Kekavali ' Introduction to

Mr. Kulkarni : ' The Marathi Stage '

The Quarterly Journals of the Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona

The Sudharak : dated 12th October, 1903.

Letters from the West

BY T. RAGHAVACHARI

I

The Englishman's Table Conventions are interesting. They indicate certain principles of 'Maya' which is necessary as you know for the exercise of the mind. The lessons may be rudimentary yet appropriate for the psychology of a child-mind. Conventions are a part of society life. To such beings as live in society and can see no further than beyond themselves, convention becomes an instrument of fear. Gradually, they would slip down into the shades of superstition, ignorance, cowardice and sin. However, convention, by itself, is a necessary institution just as Image-worship is.

First you have to dress properly for dinner (which is the important meal). This dressing corresponds to the Indian Brahmin's 'Madi.' The difference in style is due to the difference in climate. You have to sit with ease and elegance within the limits of your chair. The forearms and hands should be manipulated dexterously and gracefully; else you will spill things and get into your neighbour's way. It certainly teaches one an artistic way of displaying one's movements. You have to know something of the art of cooking, for you have to assort and mix the several ingredients yourself before the dish becomes agreeable. You help yourself when the course is served, which again is a feat of gentle art. You have to do it without disturbing the artistic effect of the service. You should keep its appearance agreeable to your neighbour. You should now and again consult your neighbour's wants and help him in a pleasant manner, passing the salt, the sugar, the mustard and worcesta sauce. Then you have to know the nature and purpose of the several instruments on the table. There are

the fish-knife, the butter-knife and the meat-knife. The fish-fork is different from the meat-fork. The fork and knife for eating are different. The plates themselves are different for different dishes. The spoons are different. Salt should be taken in a particular way, sugar in a different way. Then you have to eat with ease, without making any noise or producing hair-raising sounds. To drink at the table is art again. The glasses are different. Water-glass, wine-glass and whisky-glass are all different. And you should not soil yourself or the white table-cloth. It is immaculate and so is the waiter, with gloved hands, who serves you. Your behaviour and operations should be in tune with the color scheme, so exquisitely arranged, overflowing with the milk of cleanliness. Do you know what concentration of mind it requires? What will-power? What faculties? A knowledge of cutlery, crockery, cookery, jugglery, skill in acrobatic feats, washing, serving, and grace in everything you do. Above all, you have to be pleasant and agreeable to your neighbours. You should engage them in light refined conversation. You cannot shout. You have to modulate your voice to a key which harmonizes with the subdued and gently audible clatter of the knives and forks. You will be styled a 'drug' if you cannot make yourself entertaining. What an exercise for the mind! There are people who almost think that 'eating' is a necessary 'evil' to maintain body and life, and you can eat in any manner you choose as long as you do not overdo the ceremony. It may be so for one who always thinks in terms of the world and not of his own self. To the average man, however, eating is an important factor. The cravings of nature are all intrinsically noble and they should be satisfied in a noble manner. Elegance and art are the bed-rocks of nobility.

I quite realize that this art may eventually become a habit. That is the danger-zone. To those who conform to the Code of Convention out of fear, habit becomes a positive danger. It leads them to superstition and ignorance. To them the spilling of salt is a bad omen. To those, however, who are not the slaves of habit, convention is an

instrument of love. I found quite a useful source of education in the Table Conventions of the West.

II

I understand the development of the modern English stage. It is the painting of life as it is—in its naked beauty and consequently its naked ugliness. The bogs and marshes which are kept so religiously covered by the cloak of modern society are all ruthlessly betrayed. The havoc played by unbridled and never-dying primordial passions and desires, are 'hittingly' brought into relief. The loathsome toiling of modern life, behind an apparently respectable conventional front, is exposed with a callousness which is a blend of a sneer and a twinkle. The utter helplessness of society, culture and civilization, in the face of facts is painted. The eternal verities are sung to a tragic tune and the vision of a Beyond or the idea of eternal justice as unrefined burlesque. The great problems which are the natural outcome of the necessary existence of inequalities are reckoned in a most scientific and clear-headed manner. So far the Englishman has the advantage over the Indian. The latter, as you know, instinctively draws his head (like the tortoise) at the hint of any difficulty or any struggle.

Let me come back to the stage. The bewildering confusion caused in the fashionable and artistically laid-out streets of society's life by the wild careering of the beasts of the lower self; the fierce revolt of all natural instincts against the schemes laid by man's avarice and possessive instinct; the harsh and triumphant cry of Nemesis and retribution drinking the very blood of tyrannical selfishness; the cynical smile of subterfuge in helping the natural cravings to surreptitiously open the windows and doors of Dame Convention and fly away; the innocence of crime, the chastity of the prostitute; the morality of the liar, the injustice of Law, the unrighteousness of punishment—all these are attempted to be portrayed with a vividness as true as painful. It is life as it is—Realism in Excelcis—And then there is

nothing beyond—It is Nirvana—The audience goes home realizing how hopeless men and women are in the maelstrom of Life's currents.

I found the acting good, the plot holds you with a thrill. The environment is superb; but I felt a vague sense of disappointment. It is true I had seen Life's current. I want to enjoy my bath and must find a way to swim in the current and not be drifted by it.

Why does the stage leave the problems unsolved? Why should it dread to refer its problems to the Great Influence, which fills all? Is it a shame to believe in a final adjustment? Is it a weakness to believe in a happy end?

I find that God is reckoned only as a creative principle. Perhaps the principle of destruction is admitted. But the maintaining principle, the protecting principle, is only a fairy tale. To believe in a God, who is responsible for Order, Law and Justice, appears to be an old, a very old fashion. The modern culture has dismissed God.

It may have its advantage and distinguished look; but the picture presented by the stage is somehow to my mind incomplete.

III

There is a great, a very great need at the present day of broadcasting our ancient Vedic discoveries, truths and culture to the young Hindu. This is a dire need. The present system of education is making the young Hindu worse than useless. I came across a number of Indian students in the West. There are some who keep to their orthodox ways and talk to you of the great Indian past without having any the least idea of where the greatness lay. There are others who are faithful carbon paper editions of the Western drawing-room etiquette of the class below the lower middle-class, who are scrupulous about their dress-suit for dinner, who drink beer, take their landlady's daughter to see the pictures, cultivate the discarded catch expressions of the pavements and consider themselves as equal to Europeans. Their idea of Western culture is

a certain kind of swagger furtively peeping into insolence. They must address a friend as an 'old man.' They will tell you that Indian music is rotten, at the same time confess their ignorance of the great masters of India. They will tell you that the Ayurvedic system of medicine is ignorance. They will tell you that your system of bathing, dressing and eating, is barbarian. They will refuse to converse with you in any language but the English. One of them told me seriously that it is only beef-eating and driving away of all religion that can make India respectable. I asked him what he meant by religion. Of course he was confused. I don't blame this young man. They have no real Indian education and they are dazzled by the material glamour and happiness of the West. The natural result is that the majority honestly believe that India's salvation consists in complete westernization. And a few others instinctively antagonistic to Western influences, good or bad, are however unable to, go farther than proclaiming a blind admiration for the ancient past. Is it not time to start a vigorous campaign for placing the real good of ancient Indian culture before our young men? It is now high time to tell our young men that according to our ancients, religion was merely knowledge and realization of the great truth that God is in every person, working through all hands, walking through all feet, eating through every mouth and thinking in every mind. Without this concept, how can the grand idea of the universal brotherhood of man (which lies at the root of all progressively humanitarian movements) be possible? This religious knowledge is essential for our everyday life, whether engaged in social functions, politics or playgrounds. Is it not high time to reveal to our young men the sublime place music occupied in ancient Aryan education and the transcendental reach of its sphere? Is it not time to disclose to them the strictly scientific and hygienic principles that are at the bottom of the Indian dress and Indian food in ancient days?

I can see where the mistake lies. The western-educated young man (along with others like Miss Mayo) is obsessed by

the putrid accretions and excrescences which have grown on the Indian skin. It is therefore necessary, and immediately too, to give our young men an insight into the original stuff which was and is pure gold, and encourage them to scour away the unwholesome outgrowth.

American Imperialism

BY G. V. KRISHNA RAO

“We have our domestic problems incident to the expanding life of a free people, but there is no imperialistic sentiment among us to cast even a shadow across the path of our progress. We covet no territory; we seek no conquest; the liberty we cherished for ourselves we desire for others, and we assert no right for ourselves that we do not accord to others.”

Thus spoke Charles Evans Hughes, the great Pan-American Statesman of the United States at Rio de Janeiro in 1922. The tall talk indulged in by Hughes is highly amusing. The purpose of this article is to examine how far his statement is correct and true. I do not propose to discuss now the domestic problems of the United States—the Negro lynchings, the Ku Klux Klan, land grabbing, the civilized atrocities perpetrated by Trusts and Rail-Road Companies, the way education is controlled by monied interests, the methods of corruption practised in the government of the country, the crime wave, the unemployment question, the “Yellow” journalism, in short, the system of Plutocracy prevalent—all these the reflex action of the conquest of other peoples and their Government against their will. I propose to examine in this article the colonial policy of the United States, especially how the Philippines was forcibly annexed, how the United States set aside the principles laid down in her Declaration of Independence and pursued the same imperialistic policy that Great Britain has adopted in Egypt, India, South Africa and elsewhere.

I

The empires of old—Assyria, Carthage, Egypt, Rome and Spain—were founded at an intolerable sacrifice. The French Empire, which received a shock at the Battle of Waterloo, was built at a huge price. The British Empire

has been established after a tremendously heavy competition with Spain, France, Russia, Holland, Germany, the United States and other lesser powers. So terrible has been the experience of empire-building to some of these Nations that the life-blood of the people and the resources of the country were devoured and the Empire emerged safely only to be swallowed by the first mighty enemy that it faced. But no such cruel fate has encountered the United States.

The United States has followed the path of Imperialism with unexampled facility in a quiet manner. At the outbreak of the Revolution in 1776, the thirteen Original Colonies had a territory of 3,69,000 square miles. In 1782, as a result of negotiations, the Colonies secured the North-West territory and the area South of the Ohio river; thus in 1800 the total area of the United States was 8,92,135 sq. miles. In 1803 Jefferson purchased Louisiana at a cost of 15 millions of dollars. Florida was purchased from Spain in 1819 for 5 millions of dollars. The Oregon country was secured by treaty in 1846. New Mexico and California were ceded by Spain on a payment of 15 millions of dollars. In 1853 the Gadsen purchase added 30,000 sq. miles of territory to the Colonies. This completes the territorial possessions of the United States on the mainland (with the exception of Alaska) making a continental area of 3,026,798 sq. miles. Between 1776 and 1853, the area of the United States was increased more than tenfold. These vast additions were made with a trifling outlay; it was only in the Mexican war that the United States spent 100 millions of dollars, and more than 13,000 men were killed. This was the first stage—the National expansion—in the development of the United States, and there was no intention that these additions to the original territory should be treated as colonial possessions in the ordinary sense of the term. Each acquisition was intended for the purpose of settlement of the growing population and eventual statehood, and the principles for the Government of these territories were proclaimed in the North-West Ordinance of 1787.

The second period of expansion began with the

purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1868. As a result of the War of 1898 the United States "received" the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico from Spain. Hawaii was annexed by President McKinley during the war-fever of 1898. In the Pacific Ocean, the Guano Islands were occupied quietly and their present status is indefinite. Samoa Island is maintained chiefly as a Naval base. In the Caribbean sea besides the Canal zone and the Virgin islands, the United States has, in addition, an undefined responsibility in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Recently Nicaragua was threatened and annexed. Thus we see the Colonial possessions of the United States cover an area of 1,19,333 sq. miles with a population of 11,718,652.

In addition to all these, the commercial-and-financial-peaceful-penetration of the United States into Latin-America is significant. Under the thick veneer of the Munroe Doctrine, the foreign policy of the individual states in Latin-America, whether they wish it or not, is subject to veto by the United States and this eventually deprives them "of control over their own internal affairs by placing the management of their economic activities under the direction of business interests centering in the United States." So 'without coveting' other's territory, without 'seeking' any conquest, with a merciful God backing them and with a manifest 'destiny' playing in their favour, the United States has built its Empire, as Aladdin had his palaces in a night. *If this is not Imperialism, what else is?*

II

Perhaps nowhere in American history is there a record so dirty, so black, as that which describes the United States' dealings with the Philippines. Before the seizure of the Islands, President McKinley, in a message to the Congress, said:—

"I speak not of forcible annexation for that *cannot* be thought of. *That, by our code of morals, would be criminal aggression.*" (Italics mine).

But it was just *that* which the United States practised

towards the Philippines. How the United States stood by its "code of morals" and how she conquered and reduced to subjection an unwilling people has been graphically described by, R. F. Pettigrew in his inimitable manner. Pettigrew was formerly the United States Senator from South Dakota and I quote below what he said in full :—

" When we decided to attack Spain, when Dewey was ordered to sail from Hongkong and to destroy the Spanish fleet, a Rebellion was going on in the Philippine Islands, the inhabitants of those islands were trying to throw off the Spanish yoke. Knowing that at Singapore there was a man, the most capable among the Filipinos, who had led a former revolt, our officers in the East induced this man to go back to Manila and organise the insurgent forces. Agnivaldo arrived on the 17th day of May, 1898. He immediately organised the insurgent forces. He purchased arms in Hongkong. Admiral Dewey furnished him with arms taken from the Spanish forces and he attacked the Spanish garrisons all over the Province of Cavite and secured arms from his prisoners. He pursued this course during the summer of 1898, until he had captured the entire island of Luzon except two Spanish garrisons—very small ones—and before winter he captured those. Dewey, in his report, says his progress was wonderful. He took 9,000 prisoners. After having captured the entire island, he set up a Government, a peaceful Government, a Government suitable to those people, a Government which protected life and property throughout the entire area of that country. He also captured the Southern islands, the Island of Panay, of Cebu and Negros, and organised Governments there.

He assembled an army of 30,000 men and surrounded Manila. His army was intrenched. He invested the city on the land side, while our navy blockaded the port on the ocean side. We acted in absolute concert with each other, consulted together, and, when Manila was finally taken, our troops landed, asking the insurgents to give up about a quarter of a mile of their trenches. They marched out and allowed our troops to occupy a portion of their works. They believed that they were to act in concert with us in the attack on Manila. When the attack was ordered their troops marched into the city along with ours. They took the principal suburb of Manila. We took and occupied the

walled city. When they came to the walled city, which contained less than one-fifth of the population of the city of Manila, they found our bayonets turned against them. They were told that they could not enter. They had lost thousands of lives in their contest with Spain; they were in possession of that entire country, and yet, altho' in the assault upon the city they had lost more men than we did, they were denied admittance to the city, and they yielded and occupied the suburbs for sometime.

Finally, we requested that they retire from the suburbs and they retired. Agnivaldo asked that he might be permitted to retire slowly, as it was difficult to govern his people and convince them that it was right that they should surrender possession of territory which they had conquered and for which many of their comrades had laid down their lives. He also asked that, in case we made a treaty with Spain, the territory which he had conquered should be restored to him; and this we refused. So we did not conquer the Islands from Spain, for Spain had been conquered and driven out by the Government of Agnivaldo. We had simply helped to take the city of Manila. Therefore, we took no title by conquest from Spain, for, at the time of making the treaty with Spain, we had not conquered any territory from her.

We did not acquire title by purchase, because title by purchase required delivery of possession and, as Spain was not in possession, she could not and did not deliver the Islands to us. *By what right are we there? By no right in morals or law; by no right that can be defended before God or man. We are there as conquerors: we are there as armed banditti that would enter your premises in day time, and we have no more right to be there than the bandit has to enter and despoil your home.*" (Italics mine).¹

Little by little, all the territories conquered by Agnivaldo were occupied by the United States and on February 4, 1899, the Philippine islands were annexed. President McKinley stated that "the Philippines were intrusted to our hands by the Providence of God" and one of his fellow Imperialists—Senator Beveridge of Indiana—went a step further when he stated in the Senate in 1900:—

¹R.F. Pettigrew in *Imperial Washington*, PP. 327-330.

"The Philippines are ours for ever. . . . And just beyond that Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty to the Archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our Race, trustee, under God, of the civilisation of the world."¹

Thus we see the United States, *with a very fine "code of morals,"* destroyed the independence of an ally and occupied her territory forcibly. This 'criminal aggression' the United States committed as was desired by her big business interests for their enrichment.

III

The Philippine policy of the United States may be divided into three periods with reference to the development of Self-Government in the Islands. The first began in 1899 and ended in 1913 when American Government passed from the Republican to the Democratic Party. The second was the period of the Democratic tenure of power from 1913 to 1921. The third was inaugurated by President Harding (and strengthened by Calvin Coolidge) when he appointed Major-General Leonard Wood as Governor-General of the Philippines.

During the first of the three periods a definite policy was set forth and carried out. Secretary Taft declared:—

"Shortly stated, the National policy is to govern the Philippine islands for the benefit and welfare and uplifting of the people of the Islands and gradually to extend to them, as they shall show themselves fit to exercise, a greater and greater measure of popular Self-Government. What should be emphasised in the statement of our National Policy is that we wish to prepare the Filipinos for popular Self-Government. This is plain from Mr. McKinley's letter of instructions and all of his utterances. It was not at all within his purpose or that of the Congress, which made his letter part of the law of the land, that we were merely to await the organisation of Philippine oligarchy or aristocracy competent to administer the Government and then turn the islands over to it . . . Another

¹Congressional record. Jan. 9, 1900, P. 704.

logical deduction from the main proposition is that when the Filipino people, as a whole, show themselves reasonably fit to conduct a popular Self-Government, maintaining law and order and offering equal protection of the laws and civil rights to rich and poor, and desire complete independence of the United States, they shall be given it."

During the first fourteen years of American sovereignty in the Philippines, the Republican Government, basing its conviction on the incapacity of the Philippine people for Self-Government, began spoon-feeding the Filipinos in administrative matters. The Filipinos accepted as much Self-Government as they could obtain and utilized the powers obtained to gain an ever greater control over their own affairs. With the co-operation of the sympathetic Americans they modernised their national life quickly. In 1907, when the Philippine Assembly was established, it became the centre of national opposition to American domination. During the last three years of the Republican regime, in this period, the Assembly refused to pass any appropriation bill, thereby causing a serious deadlock in the administration.

IV

In the election of 1912 the Democrats came into power and they proposed a different solution of the problem.

President Wilson sent Francis Burton Harrison as Governor-General of the Philippines and on the very day of his arrival at Manila he read the President's message to the Filipinos. The President declared:—

"We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advance of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that Independence."

At last in 1916 the famous Jones Act was passed by the Congress and it indicated a turning-point in modern Philippine history. The Jones Act conferred a wide autonomy on a constitution similar to the United States. The Governor-General's powers were considerably increased with a right of

veto on the Acts of the Filipino Congress and all relations with foreign countries were to be conducted as before through the State Department at Washington.

Under the Wilson-Harrison regime the best and the quickest way to teach Self-Government was adopted, that is, to allow the Filipinos to govern themselves. The Filipinos were given a majority on the Philippine Commission and thus complete control of the Legislature was given away. Almost all Americans in office were replaced by Filipinos, and the Governor-General exercised the powers of his office in consultation with the influential Filipino leaders. In short, Harrison completely handed over the Government of the Islands to the people themselves.

All this would have gone on well had it not been for the fact that in the election of 1920 the Republicans returned to power and one of their first acts was to send the Wood-Forbes Commission to report on the progress and condition of the Islands. This body condemned the Harrison regime thoroughly, declared that the Filipinisation of administration resulted in 'wholesale' corruption and inefficiency and concluded stating that an infinitesimal section of the Filipinos really desired independence at all. This led to the resignation of Harrison and to the appointment of General Wood, one of the authors of the Report, as Governor-General of the Islands.

V

The appointment of General Wood and his arbitrary acts led to the resignation of the Filipino members of the Council of State in July 1923. General Wood applied himself vigorously to the work of reducing the autonomy enjoyed by the Filipinos during the term of his predecessor in office. He sought "to get the Government out of business" by transferring the operation of the Manila Rail Road to an American Corporation. He wanted to close up, or change the character of, the Philippine National Bank. He tried to sell or lease the Government Sugar Centrals ("on the best terms possible"), and he did his best to terminate the other

business enterprises undertaken by the State prior to 1921. In all these vital matters, he wanted to pursue a path detrimental to the Philippine national interests, but he failed partly in some, and wholly in others.

President Harding died in the meanwhile and Calvin Coolidge succeeded him at the White House. He supported General Wood in his activities and in 1925 he issued a statement stating at length the Philippine policy of his administration. The Coolidge statement, in the words of a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, is:

“an expression of the Philippine policy established by McKinley, Root, Roosevelt, and Taft, written into Republican platforms for a quarter of a century and translated into deeds when the Republican Party has controlled the Government. Every phase of that policy is there: a frank determination to brook no unlawful challenge of American sovereignty over the Islands, a recognition that a large and substantial element of the Filipino people regard the indefinite continuance of the American tie as a blessing; the intention not to leave the Philippines without having fully discharged America's obligations to the Filipino people and to civilisation by giving to them an opportunity to establish themselves as a Nation; the establishment in the Philippines of a permanently stable Government based upon the fundamental ideas of the democratic-republican state; the support of worthy American officials in the Philippines and the encouragement of Filipinos to co-operate with them; the extension of Self-Government to the Filipino people as rapidly as they are able to exercise it for their own good; the grant of Independence if the Filipino people desire it when, in the opinion of the American Government, the Philippines are able to meet the responsibilities of an Independent Nation.”

To the claim of the Filipinos for Independence, President Coolidge answered that he stood by the Republican platform of 1920 and further added “frankly, it is not felt that that time has come.”

VI

What is the form of Government prevalent in the Philippines to-day? It consists of a Governor-General, (who is

the chief Executive), a Legislature of two Houses elective in character, and a judiciary, the Supreme Court of which is appointed by the President of the United States. The Supreme Court in the U. S. A. has reserved the right to review or set aside the decisions of the Filipino Supreme Court in certain types of cases. Besides the Governor-General and the Justices of the Supreme Court, the President of the U. S. A. appoints a few other officials. All laws enacted by the Philippine Legislature should be reported to the Congress of the United States "which reserves the power and authority to annul them." The Philippines are represented in the Congress of the United States by two Resident Commissioners. The Philippine Government frames its own Tariffs, but no tariff laws become effective until they receive the approval of the President of the United States. "Otherwise, the trade relations between the Philippines and the United States are controlled exclusively by the Congress of the United States." In Tariff matters, as Culbertson observes:

"Congress has enacted legislation providing that no export duties shall be levied or controlled on exports from the Philippines. Congress has also provided for the free admission of the products of the United States into the Philippines and free admission into the United States of Philippine products not containing foreign materials to the value of more than 20 per cent. of their total value".¹

A close examination of the system of administration prevalent demonstrates clearly that Uncle Sam is an adept in the art of taking away with his left hand what he gives with his right in a generous manner. The American Government in the Islands is nothing else but Militarism, pure and simple, garbed under the attractive clothing of Republicanism.

VII

What is the object of the United States in tightening her grip on the Philippines? This is easily answered in

¹*International Economic Policies* by Culbertson, Page 247.

one word—*exploitation*. It is the search for markets, the search for trade, it is the search for opportunities of foreign investments.

The United States wants to assimilate the lands and the wealth of the Filipinos—not *the people* : they are not in need of them. If the people work, the United States will exploit their labour and resources : if it is otherwise, the people will be brushed aside and others who obey will be imported from some country for work.

The economic motive of the United States is quite apparent and a study of her Philippine Tariff policy demonstrates clearly her intention of exploiting the material resources of the Islands in her selfish interest. In an act to provide Revenue for the Philippine Islands in 1901, Section 2 provided that :

“ all articles, the growth and product of the Philippine Islands, admitted into the Ports of the United States free of duty under the provisions of this Act and coming directly from the said Islands to the United States for use and consumption therein, shall be hereafter exempt from any export duties imposed in the Philippine Islands.”

From this insidious provision Manila hemp was affected very much and the Philippine Treasury lost more than one million of dollars from 1902 to 1912 to the advantage of the American manufacturing interests.

Cotton goods are imported from the United States to the Philippines. The Report of the Philippine Commission in 1907 says there was an actual increase of nearly 400 per cent. in the value of cotton goods imported in one year (1906-1907) the rise being from 2,78,796 dollars for 1906, to 1,056,328 dollars for 1907. In 1909 virtual free trade was established between both the countries. Free entry was granted to all Philippine products, but rice. In the case of sugar and tobacco, the limits of free importation were restricted to a certain amount annually. These limitations, too, were removed in 1913 and finally the United States adopted the closed-door policy in the Islands. Thus the United States has *assimilated* the Philippines *commercially* to all intents

and purposes, proving the truth of the dictum that trade follows the flag.

The chief economic value of the Philippines to the United States lies in the recent discovery of the rubber potentialities of the Islands. Formerly the Filipinos reaped the advantages entrenched behind the tariff walls of the United States against foreign competition. Now the situation has altered and one cannot be blind to the fact that the powerful Rubber Syndicates and Trusts will oppose the claim of the Filipinos for independence. For several years the United States has been suffering from the British monopoly in rubber and now that there is a chance to break that monopoly and possess freedom it is too much to expect from the ordinary American businessman that he should throw away his advantages for the sake of the Filipinos. The United States will not get out of the Philippines so long as there is scope to enjoy economic advantages, and the moment there is no such satisfaction of material selfishness, the great 'code of morals' will come into play and the dramatic evacuation of the Islands will take place as in Santa Domingo in 1924.

VIII

Starting as a Republic with a stand on the Declaration "that all men are created free and equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" the United States has embarked upon the course of empire-building in the New World. The imperial realities the United States cloaks under Republican names and traditions. "Moral reasons compel us to stay in the Philippines," "Manifest destiny," "military necessity," "we, under God's direction, owe a duty to mankind by administering the Philippines in the interests of the natives of the soil"—these and a host of such pious expressions used by politicians and statesmen of the United States are merely sentimental stuff, grandiloquent nonsense, hypocrisy, and cant. Here is what Lord Morley says in connection with England's imperialistic policy:—

"First, you push on into territories where you have no business to be and where you promised not to go ;

secondly, your intrusion provokes resentment, and in these wild countries, resentment means resistance; thirdly, you instantly cry out that the people are rebellious and that their act is rebellion (this in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them); fourthly, you send a force to stamp out the rebellion and, fifthly, having, spread bloodshed, confusion and anarchy, you declare, with eyes uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay, for if you were to leave, this territory would be left in a condition, which no civilised power could contemplate with equanimity or composure. These are the five stages in the forward 'Rake's progress'."

Oh! how *literally true* it is in the case of the United States also!

No Republic, nay no Nation, can have an Empire. Republican or National institutions are certain to be corrupted when Imperialism raises its head. In his *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, Creasy is right when he points out frankly:—

"There has never been a Republic yet in history that acquired dominion over another nation that did not rule it selfishly and oppressively. There is no single exception to this rule, either in ancient or modern times. Carthage, Rome, Venice, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, Holland and Republican France, all tyrannised over every province and subject-state where they gained authority."

The writing on the Wall is clear. All Empires are bound to go. *And they shall go.*

Karnatic Music : Its Philosophy

BY HARI NAGABHUSHANAM, B.A.

It is a saying which may be taken as accepted on all hands that this is, in the main, an age of political evolution and material advance. Hence the world's attention is drawn mostly to these all-absorbing topics, and the intelligentia of every country are engrossed with watching and solving political problems which arise in the course of its national upheaval or with inventing further means of augmenting its economic resources. England, France, America and Japan take the lead in this phase of human activities, and the other so-called civilised countries try to follow their example and profit by their achievements. Art, science, literature and every other department of human thought and action including religion are considered worthy of one's attention and application to the extent that they contribute to the expansion of the arena of political thought and the enlargement of the vision of material progress. Politics and materialism go hand in hand and form interdependent factors in the evolution, so to say, of the present society. Politics based on materialism, and materialism fostered by politics explain the tendency of the present times.

Compared with such a condition of the modern age, the antiquity of all civilised nations on the face of the earth presents a totally different conception of national ideals and had the stamp of real national growth, the underlying principle of the law of evolution. The whole of man's energies, physical and intellectual, was bent upon seeking a solution for the most enigmatic of all riddles—that of life, upon discovering whether there is or is not a superior supervening force, and if so what relation both these entities bear to each other and upon finding out what attributes distinguish one from the other and so on. The ancients seem to have thought that, without a solution of the mystery of a man's own life, his existence

was of the no avail, even though he was endowed with all the gifts of nature. This domain of man's thought is termed religion or theology in modern English phraseology. Of these two words the latter represents the idea much better than the former, judging from their derivative meanings, though the former is the more popular of the two expressions. In those early times, religion was the primary theme of life, and such other human pursuits as politics, art, science and literature were considered worth one's while simply because they furthered the cause of religion. Hence spiritual culture and divine wisdom may be said to have predominated over every other branch of man's study and formed the background of all his achievements.

Viewing the condition of the present ideals in the light of the foregoing ideals of life, we shall have to conclude, after due deliberation, that the march of evolution is at present on the wane and the so-called progressive civilisation of the twentieth century is more a phantom of the mind than an ascertained fact.

THE ARYAN CONCEPTION OF RELIGION

Now coming to our Aryan culture, this phase of the ancient human mind goes by the denomination of *Dharma Jignasa* as you find it in the very first aphorism of the system of *Purvamimamsa* philosophy *Adhatho Dharma Jignasa*. This aphorism lays down in short that it behoves every one to investigate 'Dharma' and know it perfectly well. This word 'Dharma' comes from a root, meaning 'to hold' and is defined by Jagadguru Shri Shankaracharya in the following terms :—

Jagathah sthithi karanam praninam

Sakshadabhyudaya hethuryassa dharmah

'Dharma' is that which forms the basic principle for the stability of the universe, and constitutes the direct means for the attainment of *abhyudaya* (i.e. worldly and heavenly progress) on the one hand, and the realisation of *nissreyasa* (i.e. eternal happiness) on the other. (Vide *Geetha Bhashyam* 1st chapter.) Applying this interpretation

to the word 'Dharma,' the aphorism enjoins that everyone should investigate and know on what principle the whole of the Universe rests and what he should do and achieve for the attainment of worldly prosperity and heavenly elevation on the one hand, and for the realisation of eternal bliss on the other. No system of religion other than ours can be said to have crystallised such an idea as to the absolute duty of man, and raised the edifice of spiritual culture on this maxim as the foundation.

THE VEDAS: THE BACKBONE OF THE ARYAN RELIGION

That being so *Bharata Varsha* has come to be known as *Dharma Kshetra* and also as *Kuru Kshetra*—the abode of Dharma and the land of Kurus or of *Karma Yoga*—a conception which has baffled the most subtle brains of the present age to recognise and assimilate, as seen from the innumerable conflicting constructions placed upon the teachings of Bhagavan Shri Krishna in His *Geeta*, which begins with those two words, indicating that it is a treatise intended to comprehend the subject covered by those expressions in all its magnitude. If so, it may be asked as to how it has been possible for the Aryans to achieve this world-astounding conception of religion. The answer is that such a conception has become possible for them to behold and realise because the all-supreme God of the universe has thoroughly revealed Himself in His eternal utterings, the Vedas, which are heard and recorded by their ancient seers, the *Maharishis*. Of all the divine revelations given to man, that which is contained in the Vedic lore is considered to be the most perfect as it is admittedly the meeting-ground of all spheres of human action, inaction included.

MUSIC DERIVED FROM THE VEDAS

Such being the case, the conception of music also has taken its source from the Vedas, and has been developed and perfected from the rules deduced from, and the examples furnished by, its compositions, especially the *Sama Vedic*

hymns. Music is an inseparable ingredient of Vedic compositions and this is one of the unique features which go to establish their divine origin. The Vedic culture presents two aspects—the ritualistic going by the name of *Pravrithi Dharma* and the spiritualistic termed *Nivrithi Dharma* and both of them employ music for a higher and nobler purpose, each in its own way. How this is I shall try to explain hereafter in brief.

In this connection, it may be well to advert to the several branches of study in the Aryan literary field and their inter-relation if any. Shri Madhusudan Saraswati in his *Prasthan Bheda* deals about this subject and says :—

“The four *Vedas*, the six *Angas* of Vyakarana, etc., the four *Upangas* of Purana, Nyaya, Meemamsa and Dharma Shastras, the four *Upa-Vedas* of Ayurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharvaveda and Arthashastra, all these have their purpose out and out in Bhagavan alone, some directly and the others indirectly. Of these, the *Vedas* consist of verbal compositions of divine origin and supreme authority and treat of Dharma and Brahma *i.e.*, righteousness and spirituality or God. Thus the *Vedas* serve to evolve Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha *i.e.*, righteousness, wealth, sensual appeasement and eternal freedom.”

Then the author takes up everyone of the above subjects and explains how it has evolved out of the Vedic lore and has contributed to the better understanding of its spirit by elaboration and elucidation thereof. Hence it follows that the Vedic literature, such as it is, is the fountain source of all knowledge, and every other branch of learning is only what has emerged and fructified from its utterances. So much being said about the arrangement of the various systems of study, we now proceed to the subject in hand.

GANDHARVAVEDA AND ITS SCOPE

Music takes the appellations of *Gandharva Vidya* or *Gandharvam* in our ancient literature, and it is considered to be one of the four *Upa-vedas* as shown already. The above author summarises its purpose thus in his venerable work :

. . . “Similarly the science treating of *Gandharvaveda* has been elaborated by Bhagavan Bharata. It comprises three

different branches of study, vocal music, instrumental music, and dance music, and serves manifold purposes. Its ultimate goal is the worship of God or the Gods on the one hand, and the realisation of unrippled self-consciousness on the other."

We see from what precedes, that the conception of music is a peculiar feature of the Aryan mind, nay, a unique Vedic revelation so to style it, consistently with the traditional shastraic view, and we will do well to understand what it is as far as it lies in our power, and derive all possible benefit.

WHETHER MUSIC IS AN ART OR A SCIENCE

A conflict of views is taking place abroad as to whether music is an art or a science or both. In this connection, it becomes essential to define what is meant by art and science, and here again we find divergence of opinion. Whatever this is, we may conclude that music in general is treated either as an art such as painting and sculpture, or as a science such as physics and chemistry. The more thoughtful section of erudite people take it as a combination of both. Shri Madhusudan Saraswati's definition of music is couched in a language which implies that it is a realisation of something more edifying, which works out the emancipation of the soul from the trammels of repeated births and makes it achieve everlasting bliss. If so, let us make an attempt to understand it, even in a little measure, in accord with the Vedic traditions.

The differentiation of an art from a science and *vice versa* has become visualised to us, the more on account of our contact with English literature. The corresponding expressions in Sanskrit are *Kala* and *Shastra*, and works on music use both of them indiscriminately in reference to it. We find the same thing in the case of some other arts so styled, such as sculpture and painting. If so, does such an uncritical use of the expressions indicate that no such distinction between an art and a science obtains in Sanskrit or that the authors on such subjects were not aware of such differentiation even if others had observed it? It cannot be supposed for a moment that either

of the propositions is correct. Subjects such as *Samkhya*, *Tharka* and *Mimamsa* never take the appellation of *Kala* but go invariably by the name of *Shastra* or *Darshana*. This indicates that Sanskritic authors use these expressions not unwittingly, but with a knowledge of all their import. That being so, we have to make further research into the matter in issue before we launch on any such conclusions.

This necessitates that we should form an idea as to what is an art and what is a science, as generally understood according to Western notions. One states art to be 'the doing of a thing' and science to be 'the knowledge of a thing.' This definition seems to follow more from the derivative meanings attached to the words than from the manner of their application to existing facts. Some others define art as 'something which appeals to our taste or sense of beauty' and science as 'consisting in the classification of facts and the recognition of their sequence and relative significance.' Judging from the way in which we apply the terms, I prefer to define art as a representation or a reproduction of something phenomenal so as to make it appeal to our senses or to our mind, and science as a systematisation of the laws which govern facts and a series of facts which come into existence, being subjected to the law of causation. In other words, whatever expresses the impulses and the passions innate in creation is termed an art, and what formulates and systematises the culture of the human being is a science. The term *Shastra*, the Sanskrit equivalent of the word 'science' means almost the same thing. It comes from a root meaning 'to rule' or 'to correct,' and hence it means a collection of laws which govern existing facts or which serve as a corrective of one's conduct in regard to a certain sphere of his activities. The word *Kala* comes from a root which means 'to shine' and is hence applied to denote such arts as arouse our æsthetic tastes.

Considering music in the light of the foregoing observations, we may conclude that music can either be construed as an art or as a science, view-points differing. As something which appeals to our sense of hearing or arouses the inner

impulses of the mind and deep-laid emotions of the heart, it affords the highest conception of an art. Again as a concatenation of phenomenal sounds arranged and co-ordinated in a specific manner and producing well-defined melodies, it has to be styled as a science. Or the scientific aspect of music is that branch of its study which deals with the rules which govern its several poses and which the artist has to obey to steer through its course properly to the satisfaction of the audience.

From what is said above, we see that the generality of theorists have assigned a place to music either in the category of arts or in that of sciences. They seem to take only a superficial view of the matter and do not gauge its inmost realities. The art of painting or sculpture is a representation of forms by the hand of man. The representations are not realities but mere conventional resemblances sometimes expressed in symbols as well. Again the science of physics or chemistry is mostly a collection of laws and their sequence, and deals with dead matter or its forces. So also every art and every science may be traced to technical conventions and natural laws respectively. Now then, will you say that music is a conventional representation of phenomenal facts or a collection of natural laws dealing with lifeless matter or the forces innate therein? No considerate man will say 'aye' to this question.

Music has no conventions about it, since it is a natural product of sounds which permeate the universe. Nor has it any inviolable concern with any such laws of nature, a study of which strains the nerves, because the moment it touches the ear-drum, currents of emotional impulse rush through the mind and throw it into solace automatically. Hence on closer scrutiny we cannot but be convinced that it is neither an art nor a science, strictly speaking, but something transcending both these conceptions and defying our attempts at categorisation.

MUSIC AND ITS ASPECTS

This transcendental feature of the conception of music is not within the easy reach of ordinary intellects, and hence a

tendency has arisen to construe it either as an art or as a science, and technical conventions and artificial rules are framed to bring it in line with such a notion or to curb and correct the wayward fancies of the so-called scholars.

In view of the foregoing remarks it may be concluded that music has two aspects—conventional and transcendental. It is the conventional aspect of music which engages the world at large, and not the transcendental aspect of it. This latter aspect belongs to the realm of Aryan culture and that alone. Other nations have not been able yet to reach perfection in music at least as an art or as a science, and *a fortiori* it may take centuries for them even to sight the foreshadowings of this transcendental phase.

THE TRANSCENDENTAL ASPECT

What is this transcendental aspect of music, which I picture in such radiant colours in the preceding paragraphs? The answer is easily put in a few words. It is a most abstruse subject which I may fail to place vividly before the reader. Perhaps I have not understood it perfectly myself. Whatever that is, I wish to present to him the shadowy glimpses I have gathered of it, incongruous as they may prove after all.

The transcendental aspect of music is that which accords with the highest purpose music is said to serve, namely the attainment of eternal bliss. It is an inviolable rule that the effect is nothing else than the cause itself in another phase or form. Hence that kind of music from which eternal bliss emanates must be that which is itself all-blissful; and what is this all-blissful entity but *Bhagavan Brahman* Himself who is described in the Upanishads in the following terms, *Anandam Brahmethi Vyajanath*, “*Brahman* is bliss.” *Brahman* proper is by himself unmanifest and unqualified. *Aum* is His highest and noblest manifestation with all His attributes of eternity-consciousness and infinity, and thus this *Aum* has assumed the various phenomenal forms by an inconceivable process of disintegration into elements and their subsequent combination to give the resultant phenomena

composed of life and matter—life representing the subjective self as emanation or reflection, in all His essence, of the unqualified *Brahman*, and matter affording the apparently-real objective projected out of His qualified personality, *Maya* becoming transformed as such.

The aim of life according to the Aryan theological doctrines is to investigate, as already stated, on what principle the universe rests, and by what means man attains eternal happiness. The cosmos has evolved out of the all-blissful *Brahman* manifested as *Aum* at the inception, and it therefore has its being in that *Brahman* as such. This solution of the fundamental principle of the cosmos suggests the answer to the next question involved in the subject of our enquiry ; and it is this. A person who wishes to attain eternal happiness has to realise that he is the subjective self which is a reflection of the universal self, that he is as such all-blissful as the *cosmic* self, that the objective matter is only an emanation from or a projection out of the conventional and hence illusive vesture of the *Brahman*, termed *Maya*, and that self-realisation is possible through the medium of the all-pervading, all-blissful sound, a manifestation of the *Atman*.

SELF-REALISATION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF SOUND

We have to see how sound can be considered the medium of self-realisation. Sound is something more than the effect of vibrations of matter. It is an emanation from *Aum*, the highest manifestation of *Brahman* and it is as such all-blissful as *Brahman* Himself. Bhagavan Sri Krishna says thus in Chapter VII of *Bhagavad Geeta* :

“I am the *Rasa* (taste) of water, the light of the sun and the moon, the *pranava* of the *Vedas*, the sound of the sky, and the manliness of man.”

This verse occurs in a context where *Bhagavan* tries to teach His disciple the way to realise Him in the material objects around. He declares in the next previous verse thus :—

“Oh ! Dhananjaya ! There is no other cause whatever than Myself (for the universe). As a wreath of diamonds is held up in its thread, the visible world is contained and continued in me.”

Laying down a general rule in those words, He has amplified the idea by particular examples and the first-quoted verse furnishes some such examples. Applying the general rule enunciated in the latter verse, the former verse is thus interpreted :—

“Water exists in such a sensuous form because I am the *Rasa* (for tastefulness) thereof ; the sun and the moon are considered centres of life because I am the light thereof ; the *Vedas* are such supreme compositions because I am the *Pranava* thereof ; the sky (or rather the ether) is known to pervade the cosmos, because I am the sound thereof ; and man is turned as such, because I am the manliness in him.”

Thus every sound has the imprint of divinity about it, and more so the metrical sounds such as we hear when the *Vedas* are recited or when music is produced.

NADOPASANA

Now we have almost solved what is meant by the transcendental aspect of music. It consists in a recognition of the fact that sound is the supreme manifestation of the all-blissful *Brahman*, and He has therefore to be approached and realised through sound as the medium of communion. This mode of spiritual communion goes by the name of *Nadopasana* in technical phraseology. The word *Upasana* literally means ‘to be near’ and it is applied as conveying the idea of a person coming in nearest contact with God, so near as to get merged in His personality. *Nadopasana* has therefore to be explained as spiritual communion and self-realisation through the medium of sound.

PRANAVOPASANA

This *Nadopasana* is of two kinds—*Pranavopasana* practised by *Gnanayogins*, and *Geetopasana* practised by *Bhaktiyogins* and *Karmayogins*. *Gnanayogins* enter into

spiritual communion and realise *Brahmanandam* through the medium of *Pranava-dhyanam* as enjoined in several *Vedic* texts such as the following :

“Oh satyakama! *Aumkara* is *Para Brahma* and *Apara-Brahma* alone (personal and impersonal God). Hence through *Aumkara* as the medium, one who knows this fact realises oneness with either.”

By certain *yogic* exercises *Gnanayogins* learn to turn the mind and the senses from the outside objective world of distractions and fix them inwardly on the subjective self of abstraction, meditating upon it in the form of *Aum* as ordained in the *Vedic* text. Then they begin to hear the sweet murmurs of the all-blissful *Aumkara* taking its rise in *Mooladhara Chakra* and pervading the whole of the physical and the mental and the spiritual planes. As they thus hear the inward tunings of the *Pranava* sound, they are thrown into an ecstatic condition called *Sakritsamadhi* i. e., once realised blissful state. Thus realising the *Pranava* within the self in the first place, they gradually achieve better vision and realise it ever and everywhere, and are lost in unceasing blissfulness termed *Asakritsamadhi* i.e., constantly realised blissful state. Such a *Gnanayogin* is enabled thus to live in a state of ever-enduring unalloyed blissfulness because he beholds the highest manifestation of *Brahman* in every sound he hears. ‘Thus *Pranavopasana* leads to self-concentration, thence to self-communion, thence to self-realisation which is identical with *Nirvikalpa Samadhi* i.e., everlasting blissfulness. This is *Pranavopasana* of the *Gnanayogins*.

GEETOPASANA

Now let us see what is *Geetopasana* practised by *Bhaktiyogins*. To understand it we have to know, in the first place, who is a *Bhaktiyogin* as distinct from a *Gnanayogin* and *Karmayogin*. A *Gnanayogin* is one who practises certain *Yoga* exercises intended for the control and the concentration of the mind and is thereby enabled to detach his mental perspective from the objective world and

to focus it upon the internal ego '*Pratyagatman*,' so as to realise *Samadhi* (i.e., self-consciousness or self-blissfulness). A *Karmayogin* is one who is always engaged in performing the ritual ordained by the *Shrutis* (the Vedas), the *Smrithis* and the *Puranas*, either for the attainment of worldly and heavenly desires or for the sake of pleasing God, absolutely with no such desires lurking anywhere in his mind. Strictly speaking, one who performs *karma* with any desire whatsoever is not a *Karmayogin*. The *karma* he does is '*Sakama karma*' i.e., *karma* with desire, and he is styled as *Karmatta*. The other who performs *karma* with no desire whatsoever but to please God is a *Karmayogin* proper, because his *karma* is intended to effect *yoga* i.e., control of the mind. His *karma* is known by the name of *Nishkama karma* i.e., *karma* with no desires. A *Bhaktiyogin*, on the other hand, is one who tries to silence his mind and attain *Samadhi* (i.e., blissful state of the mind) through intense devotion to God side by side with *Nishkama Karmayoga*. He learns to love God with all his might as one loves his child or wife, and gets attached to Him the more with each day. He realises that God is the creator and Lord of all things tangible and intangible, that He is omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent, that He is as such the '*Pratyagatma*' (i.e., the ego) within, and that everything seen and felt is only His manifestation and nothing else. Hence he (i.e., the devotee) gets enamoured of Him (God) all the more and completely resigns himself to His care and companionship, with the verified conviction that there is none else whom he can approach for the attainment of his only desire i.e., absolute blissfulness. A devotee of this type is styled as *Ananya Bhakta* or *Ekanta Bhakta* and his devotion *Ananya Bhakti* and *Ekanta Bhakti* respectively, the distinction between which is very subtle. Both these kinds of devotion are known by the term *Antaranga Bhakti* as opposed to *Bahya Bhakti* described hereunder.

A *Bahya Bhakta* is one who realises that God is the be-all and the end-all of all creation as described above in full and constantly engages his *Gnanendriyas* i.e., sense-organs

in appreciating God and His *Leelas* (i.e., playful acts) and his *Karmendriyas* i.e., labour organs, in the active service of God and the God-like. Further he keeps company with kindred devotees, leads happy discourses on spiritual problems as a disciple or preaches to others about God and His ways as a teacher. Engrossed in one or all of these ways of divine worship, he derives the utmost pleasure or is merged in blissfulness. His *Bhakti* (i.e., devotion) is named *Bahya Bhakti*. *Bahya Bhakti* literally means devotion expressed in outward acts as well, and *Antaranga Bhakti*, devotion centred inwardly.

Devotees of these two types discard everything worldly and love everything divine, and thereby realise *Gnanayoga* resulting in self-realisation and everlasting blissfulness, (Vide, Chapter X of *Bhagavad Geeta*, Verses 8, 9 and 10).

In all these stages or forms of *Bhakti*, the devotee employs *Geetam* i.e., song, as the pre-eminent medium of self-concentration. When he utters words by the mouth, you find they come out automatically set to music, as it were. When he muses within himself, you can perceive he is *musicing* to himself, if I may so style it. His music may not be similar to that of the so-called scholar. It may be wanting in the technique of the art as we understand it. He may not know the *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma* of music nor the various forms of time-keeping thereof. Nevertheless, there is music in every word which proceeds from his mouth, in every idea he expresses, and in every gesture he makes; and this is real music because it lulls the hearers into a repose.

One Thalari Rangadas who lived about 25 years ago at Masulipatam was a living example of the foregoing spiritualists. He was not an educated man in the sense in which we understand the phrase, and yet he always delivered his sermons arranged in *ex tempore* metrical compositions automatically set to music. The names of Ramadas. Kabirdas, Thukaram, Thulasidas, Thyagaraja and a host of similar devotees outlive creation, and they afford the best instances of established reputation for my conclusions.

Hence it becomes manifest that *Bhaktas* employ *Geetam*

(i.e, song) as an essential means of centralising their spiritual thoughts and as an assured source of bliss to themselves and to their following. They cling on to this kind of self-enjoyment and congregational entertainment through the medium of *Geetam*, even after they become accomplished *Gnanayogins*. This proves that *Geetam* is not only a means but an end in itself. That *Geetopasana* bears such fruit is borne out by the testimony of Shri Krishna's utterance in the following oft-quoted verse :—

“Oh Narada ! I do not reside in *Vyikunta* nor in the hearts of the *Yogins*, nor in the sun ; but I am present where my devotees sing (my praises).”

Just as every sound musical or unmusical throws a *Gnana-yogin* into endless raptures, every musical sound finished or unfinished enchants a *Bhaktiyogin* and merges him in ecstasy. Thus *Geetam* leads to self-concentration, thence to self-communion and thence to self-realisation, which is the same as *Nirvikalpa Samadhi*. Such is *Geetopasana*, i.e., spiritual communion through the medium of *Geetam*.

A *Gnanayogin* or *Bhaktiyogin* above treated of belong to the category of persons who follow *Nivrithi Dharma* sometimes called *Gnanamaraga* and we have seen that they attain *Nirvikalpa Samadhi* through the medium of sound, the former through *Pranavopasana* and the latter through *Geetopasana* as stated briefly by Madhusudana Saraswathy in his *Prasthan Bheda*.

GEETOPASANA OF KARMAYOGINS

Now coming to the case of the followers of *Pravrithi Dharma* or *Karmamarga* or *Karmayoga*, you will find, that music has a noble part to play in the programme of work. The Vedas themselves are musical compositions as already stated, and the *Samavedic* hymns are such in a much greater degree. The recitation of the Vedas, especially the *Samavedic* hymns forms a primary factor of Vedic ritual, and the *Veena* is employed as an accompaniment in

certain functions. Again certain *Upasanas* such as *Pranavodgeetopasana* which accompany the ritual imply that they have to be performed in a musical manner, the Vedic ritual being mostly addressed to the Minor Gods, Indra, Varuna, etc. You find that music is employed to please them in *Shroutakarma*. So also in many forms of *Smarthakarma* music has a very important place to occupy for the purpose of pleasing God worshipped in the form of the several deities for whom they are intended. Thus we see that *Pravrithi Dharma* or *Karma Marga* has assigned a pre-eminent place to music in its observances, and its adherents are able to satisfy the presiding deities all the better for the use of music in their functions. The deities being so pleased, the *Karmayogins* achieve their objects such as *Satya Shuddhi* i.e., absolute purity of mind, and *Devata Sarupyamu* i.e., likeness of the deities according to the ideals they set before themselves in the course of their service.

From the above discussion, it may fairly be inferred that transcendental music ranges in three grades or types according to merit—*Pranavopasana* of *Gnanayogins*, *Geetopasana* of *Bhaktiyogins* and that of *Karmayogins*. The first two types lead to self-emancipation sooner or later, and the third makes for the spiritual progress of the votary.

CONVENTIONAL MUSIC

Now let us know what is meant by conventional music. It is that kind of music which obtains credit with the world at large either as an art or as a science. We Aryans generally know it by the word *Sangeetam*. Works on music define it as composed of three elements—*Bhava*, *Raga* and *Thala*. *Bhavam* may be taken to mean ideas, as generally understood, and emotion as truly interpreted. *Ragam* is defined as a combination of *Swarams*, a *Swaram* being so named as it automatically pleases the hearer's heart. *Thalam* refers to time-keeping. Such a definition of music, of course, covers as well the three types of transcendental music above commented upon, but the three conceptions of *Bhava*, *Raga*

and *Thala* are found therein in their *Sukshma Sthithi*, i.e., subtle form, whereas in conventional music they become perceptible in their *Shthula Sthithi*, i.e., gross form. The spirit of subtle things, as everybody concedes, is inconceivable to ordinary minds, and hence the generality of people are not able to discern the splendour and grandeur of transcendental music. Knowing this, our Maharshis have discovered such forms of sounds wherein the all-blissful aspect of *Brahman* becomes manifest even to the untutored mind and named them *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni* as they occur in nature.

Just as the sun and the moon manifest the all-resplendent attribute of the all-pervading *Brahman* in such a way as everyone may comprehend its glory beyond doubt, the seven musical notes above-named manifest the all-blissful aspect of the all-pervading sound so as to bring it home to each and everyone in all its vividness. The reader will appreciate the truth of the above remarks all the better when he understands the real import of the arrangement of the scale of musical sounds. The scale consists of twenty-two sounds called *Shrutis* arranged into seven periods of *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni*. Each period consists of several notes and they are pronounced as *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni*, according to the periods in which they occur. The word *Shruti* means 'that which is heard' and covers every sound produced; and hence it follows that *Shrutis* are innumerable; but every such sound is not a *Swaram* because a *Swaram* is such that it should please the hearer's heart the moment it touches his ears. Such *Swarams* are those which are produced in certain relativity to a given starting sound called *Athara Shruti*. So every *Shruti* becomes a *Swaram* only when it occupies a relative position from a given *Athara Shruti*. I have dealt with the *Shrutis* and the musical scale of *Swarams* in detail in my paper styled, 'Lecture on music' and hence I pass over the matter with these few remarks made for the purpose of this essay.

MODERN SCIENCE AND MUSIC

Modern scientists of course define a musical sound as one produced by a regular number of vibrations, and noise as produced by an irregular number of vibrations. Regularity and irregularity are only relative conceptions of the ordinary human intellect, and you will be convinced on better research that there is nothing irregular in nature, and that regularity is the dominating principle of the cosmos. My discussion above on *Shrutis* and *Swarams* lays bare the wrong conception of the scientists as regards the definition of musical sounds. The invention of the gramophone supports my views still further. It records all sorts of sounds—the so-called musical as well as unmusical sounds. If really the so-called unmusical sounds have no regularity about them, they cannot be produced and reproduced in the same manner. Hence the scientist's definition must be taken to be deduced from general notions of relativity and he does not make an accurate statement on the matter with a sound mastery of the cosmic theory. Again our Maharishis have recognised that concepts formed out of words, and time-keeping kept by the hand can be easily grasped by men of ordinary equipment and have prescribed the same as constituting *Bhavam* and *Thalam*. *Bhavam* literally means 'existence' and implies the *Satya* aspect *i.e.* the eternity aspect of Brahman. The derivative meaning of *Ragam* is 'pleasingness' and it connotes the *Gnana* aspect *i.e.* the all-conscious or the all-blissful *Shruti* aspect of Brahman. *Thalam* comes from a root-meaning 'time' and it signifies the '*Ananta*' aspect *i.e.* the infinity aspect of Brahman. Our Maharishis perceived that these three aspects of Brahman, discernible though they are in every phase of sound, and in every atom of matter evolved therefrom, are vividly manifest in verbal concepts, *Swara* combinations and time-keeping, assuming the names of *Bhava*, *Raga* and *Thala* respectively, and have achieved a system of music on these premises to please all grades of people. This is the conventional system of music as opposed to the transcend-

ental system above described, wherein the three elements of music representing the three aspects of *Brahman* overlap one another, as it were, and become unrecognisable by the lay mind.

THE PURPOSE OF CONVENTIONAL MUSIC

The purpose of conventional music is two-fold—first, it is prescribed as a means to achieve access to the sphere of transcendental music, and secondly, it can be utilised as a source of worldly happiness which consists in the appeasement of earthly desires. I may be pardoned when I say that the majority of present day musicians and hearers have the latter purpose in view and not the former.

The next question is, how conventional music secures access to transcendental music, and the answer is this. In all human actions, you find three agencies working—the mind, the tongue and the body. The ultimate object of transcendental music is to attain *Nivriti*, i.e., inaction resulting in and following from self-realisation. *Nivriti* which leads to self-realisation is what should be achieved by a perfect control of the above three agencies of human action, and their undivertible concentration upon *Brahman* seated within and without oneself. We have seen already how in transcendental music, these agencies get centred upon a spiritual plane either inward or outward and almost coalesce into a unified product of self-communion. In conventional music, you have the three agencies working for a common goal, *Bhavam* representing the mind, *Raga*, the tongue, and *Thalam*, the body. If the common purpose be to gain approach to transcendental music, the agencies have to be so wielded as to take you to its portals by continued and sustained efforts for their concentration. Once we reach the avenues of transcendental music through conventional music, it is no longer conventional but more and more transcendental, and leads you to absolute blissfulness all the sooner. On the other hand, if the common purpose for which the three agencies are employed pertains to worldly advance,

you begin to secede from God by degrees and finally get landed in inextricable shoals of self-annihilation.

A WORD OF EXPLANATION

The reader may question me how it is that I have not touched the subject proper in spite of so long an expatiation on introductory matter as it appears to be. The answer is not far to seek. He will be mistaken if he considers the preceding observations as constituting a prelude to the subject of investigation. The Aryan system of music has two main branches, the Hindustani and the Karnatic. It is my honest conviction, not based upon any surmises of a layman but upon due deliberation worthy of a practical artist, that the Karnatic school has preserved the individuality of the Aryan conception of music intact much better than its sister school. The Hindustani school is more a hybrid rather than a purely natural product, owing to its assimilation of a foreign system, that of the Mussalmans, to a fault. Hence everything I have stated above appertains to Karnatic music in its philosophical aspect. In my next article, I shall deal with the essentials of Karnatic music.

British Beginnings in Andhradesa¹

BY LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., F.R.E.S.

MADHAVAYAPALEM

I

Metchlipatam,
March the 17th, 1699.

Rangarays Governor of Madapollam to the Consul with the Bill of Sale and Cowle for the Ground.

The ground which I have granted you. You write me you cant build upon it. Yet these three months 'ts very well when 'ts expired you may begin to build your Factory and Walls and go on with your affairs as you think fit and desire you'll still continue your friendship.

II

Rangaray's Coule to the Consul for a washing Tanck and Ground belonging to it. March the 20, 1699.

I Rangaray's Governor of Maddapollom grant this Cowle to the Honorable John Pitt Esquire² Consul and President for affairs of The Honorable Company for their use for Washermen, Beaters, Peons and Coolies; and a Compound of Ground with a Tanck from Seid Cawn's House to the abovesaid Tanck, upon which ground these people shall live in his service wholly without molestation; all which I grant the Consul Rent-free.

III

Rangaray's Bill of Sale for the Ground sold the Consul in Madapollam, March the 20th, 1699.

I Rangarays (son to Coldindee Ramrays Proprietor and Governor of the Country of Ellore) have sold to John Pitt Esquire Consul and President for affairs of the Honorable

¹ Continued from the last issue.

² Cousin of Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George from 1698 to 1709.

Company on their account a compound of ground from East to West 260 yards long, from north to south 148 and the Godown built by my Uncle Kanmunt Rass for 430 pagodas and the House built by the Old Company's Merchants (which they sold me) for 150 pagodas and the Ground it stands on, with its Compound for Pagodas 100. So the whole extends from the Dutch Factory Eastward, to the English Factory Westward, to the River Southward; the whole Cost amounts to 680 Pagodas which I have received and have allowed him a Sheet from East to West and an other fronting the factory Gate toward the Governor's House, and whosoever shall trouble or molest him for what I have sold him, I promise to be answerable for it to him; and by virtue of this Cowle grant him the privilege of building or what he thinks fit upon it.

IV

Metchlipatam,
September 19th, 1699.

Copy of a Cowle from Rangarays to the Consul.

You wrote to me for a Cowle to carry on the Company's affairs in Madapollam which I have granted. You may take my Cowle and come to Madapollam where you shall find all imaginable assistance in your Investments where you may employ whom you please for Merchants and Servants and find a satisfaction to your hearts content.

V

A Cowle granted by Callidindeh Ramarauze to Mr. Humphrey Holcombe, United East India Company's Resident at Metchlipatam.

I hereby give the English permission to resettle at their old Factory at Madapollam there to trade in cloth and other commodities the product of this country and do grant them their Merchants and Servants free liberty to import and export all sorts of goods that they shall think proper to deal in custom free, and do allow them to build ships, Boats, or any other Vessels whatever that they may or shall have occasion for and assure them they shall not be hindered or troubled in their commerce as long as they are under my protection.

VI

A Cowle granted by Nabob Moobaurize Cawn Bahadur, Subah of Golcondah to the United English East India Company for a settlement at Madapollam under the Government of Narsapore.

Having been told that the Honorable United English East India Company formerly had a Factory at Madapollam where they carried on a great Trade but finding it decaying retired from thence; but being desirous to resettle there and having requested of me a Cowle for that purpose, do now grant them the following one, viz;

I hereby grant the English free liberty to purchase cloth and all other commodities Madapollam produceth and permit them to import or export all manner of goods, build Ships, Boats, or any other Vessels whatsoever without the least hinderance or molestation and do not require to them the customs paid by me according to Sallabat. In order to their living in tranquility at Madapollam, I have issued out my orders to all Phousdars, Jemindars, and other Officers under my jurisdiction not only to permit them to trade freely at Madapollam but have strictly commanded them not to impede or molest them in their traffic directly, or indirectly under pain of my displeasure provided, that if any disputed among the Merchants, or other Inhabitants, they are to be decided by my Deputies.

MASULIPATAM

I

Metchlipatam,
November 2nd, 1699.

The Nabob Fakier Ulla Cawn's Roka or Letter to Maumud Husseine Begue. Phouzdar of Metchlipatam.

That 'twas his Orders that the English Company's business should be aiding and assisting in it and encourage it to his power. That he should not trouble nor disturb them on account of customs; that they were preparing to request a Phirmaund if they did not succeed in't, 'twas time enough to consider of that hereafter that he had ordered a vest and Horse to be sent.

II

Madapollam,
October the 11th, 1700.

Meedee Cawn Begue Nabob's letter to Meer Salla Governor of Metchlipatam : received from Siccacull.

The Honorable John Pitt, Esquire, Consul &c has wrote to me for my Phirwonna and to write to you to forward their business. For that reason I write this Order you to assist them according to the former custom of the English Nation.

III

Copy of Meer Salla &c Officers of Metchlipatam Cowle given to the Honorable John Pitt Esq. Consul &c April the 17, 1699.

Where-as the Honorable John Pitt Esquire, Consul for the English Nation on this Coast, has given notice to the Government that an ambassador from the King of England¹ &c is set out from thence designing to land at this Port or Surat to proceed either place for the camp of the presence of the Great Mogul to procure a Phirmaund for carrying on their business ; upon which notification We order, that they import and export Goods of all sorts Bullion, Gold, Silver &c Stores Shipping and ammunition for the same and all sorts of Grain and Provision to and from any port in Ships, Sloops, or Boats of any nature whatsoever and farther they may trade by or sell in this country what, when and how they please, or do anything else at pleasure according to Sallabad or the former custom and do give them leave and free liberty to transact according to the same as well for their Merchants, Factors, Servants and all others belonging to the English in Metchlipatam or any other place under that Government ; and as for themselves they may carry on their affairs live and prosper ; and we further order, that they be not molested or hindered in the same ; and we shall and will protect and assist them to our power and they may rely upon't and proceed in their business till the Phirmaund arrives.

¹ The Reference is to the arrival of Sir William Norris as the ambassador of the New English East India Company established by charter on the 5th of September 1698.

IV

Metchlipatam,
November 28th, 1699.

Translate of the Request and Cowle given by the Government of Surat to Mr. Newse, etc.

Mr. Benjamin Newse and Mr. Clud Broose New Company's Merchants Salam to the Great Governor the 2th of November of 1699 on the 3d day of the Jamada Hassane and 43d Juluse or Year of the Throne by the grace we arrived safe in Surat Port and about a month before us the Montague one of our Ships was dispatched for India whom we expect every day to arrive here, and upon her the Consul; after we came they intended to send another ship which will be here in a little time an ambassador with five ships and from thence to the King. The Ships are to look out for rogues. Meer Sauheb Salamut we hope you'll give us a Phirwonna that will please us that we may bring our goods ashore and trade till the ambassador brings a Phirmaund and Hassaball Hoockum from the King.

V

Metchlipatam,
November the 2nd, 1699.

Fakier Ulla Cawn Nabob to the Consul from Sicca-cull.

Courageous and Honorable Senior Consul Governor of the English Company now residing at Metchlipatam, I congratulate their arrival and wish you prosperity. In the year IIII you sent Haggee Soliman Begue to me and I am made acquainted with and sensible of your affairs and for your sake and satisfaction have dispatched my Roka to Maumud Hussein Begue now Fouzdar of the place about your business and given him leave to Tachereife¹ you and for what you desired you must not suspect or apprehend any trouble but believe and be assured all will go well. The Second Day of Samal dea Oval.

¹ Honour and offer presents.

VI

Metchlipatam,
October the 11th, 1700.

Noboob Mede Cawn Begue to the Consul from Sicca-cull.

The two letters you wrote me I received; one intimating your affairs and another concerning Narsinga Raw. I have perused them and observe the contents and accordingly have granted you two Phirmaunds; one to Narsingraw and the other to Marsall the form as customary; so you may follow your affairs with discretion. You must consider the Emperor's interest by a plentiful Trade and number of Europe ships that he may be assured of your honorable design for the good of his country which will add to your reputation and gain an honorable esteem for your masters.

VII

Madapollam,
October 11th, 1700.

Nabob Meede Cawn's Letter to Narsingaraw, Governor of Rajahmahindrum Country. From Siccaculle.

Lately the Consul wrote me a Letter which I received; they have sent for cloth, Red wood &c from Reddeminehim and those parts and has sent to me a Phirwona which I grant him; you must observe and strictly examine whether the English in the time of Mustapha Cooly Cawn (who is dead) paid any custom or Duties for any manner of commodities; if so you must act according to the old custom, otherwise not.

PETTAPOLE

Metchlipatam,
September 28th, 1699.

Goondapa, Governor of Peetapolee; his Cowle given to the Consul.

You have desired from me a Cowle to forward your Company's affairs in Petipole and Deourum Parr or Devorum

Pock ; so, according to their Phirwonna you get from above and as you proceed in Metchlipatam I have granted you a Cowle for landing or shipping your goods and assisting your affairs as shall concern these places so desire you'll send your shipping in these parts for the promoting of Trade where you shall find every thing answerable to your expectation.

VELAGAPUDI AND DEVARAMPOKA

I

Metchlipatam,
July the 22nd, 1700.

Meer Sallas, Fouzdar of Metchlipatam, his Cowle for renting Deourum Parr or Devorum Pock and Yallaga Poonde.

I, Meer Salla, give this Cowle to the Honorable John Pitt, Esquire, Counsel &c for three years for the renting of Deourum Parr or Devorum Poch and Yallega Poondée belonging to the Government of Petepolee for the time, his to pay 1110 Pagodas ; he must manure the ground and encourage the people for the good of the places that the Inhabitants may live happy and easy under him ; he's to pay Deurum Parr 200 Pagodas, the the River Custom Pagodas 50, Yallaga Poondée Pagodas 120 ; all which amounts to 370 Pagodas a year and every 4 months is to pay 123 Pagodas 12 fanams till the time's expired, so may manage his affairs according as he pleases from the 44 year of the King's Reign till the 46th is expired. Dated July 5th 1700.

II

Metchlipatam,
December the 2nd, 1700.

Perseram, Phouzdar Pettepolee, His Cowle for Deourum Parr and Yellaga Poondée gave the Consul.

I, Perseram, give this Cowle to the Honorable John Pitt Esquire Consul &c for three years for the renting Deorum Parr or Devorum Poch and Yallaga Poondée belonging to the Government of Pettapolee, for the time he's to pay Pagodas 1110 ; he must manure the ground, and encourage the

people for the good of the place that the inhabitants may live happy and easy under him ; he's to pay for Deourum Parr or Devorum Pock Pagodas 200, the River Custom 50, Yellaga Poondée Pagodas 120 ; all which amounts to 370 Pagodas a year and every four months is to pay Pagodas 123 and 12 fanams till the time's expired so may manage his affairs as he pleases from the forty-four year of the King's Reign till the 46 is expired. Dated 9th day of July 1700.

Mullapara's.
Pearum Rass.
Chundera Secaur.
Narran Chunno.

Proprie for
Do.

Memorandums.

Metchlipatam.

Ameene Gundapa granted the Consul a Cowl for the Rent of Deouram Parr or Devorum Pock which we have still by us, but the Government being changed and he removed, we got a fresh Cowl of the same purport from Perseram, his Successor, in the Month of December as in course you'll find which is the reason we have not entered Gundapa's Cowle.

PROHIBITION OF THE TRADE OF THE NEW E.I.G.

Metchlipatam,
December 23rd, '99.

A Phirwonna General given by Fakeir Ulla Cawn, Nabob, to the Old Company prohibiting all others but those own'd.

Translate of a Cowle given Mr. Holcomb, Chief of Vizagapatam &c. westward as far as Munagala, North as far as Pallow, being eighty leagues along shore to enjoy a free Trade ; and whatever English Shipping shall arrive in any of your Ports, and are not acknowledged by him as such and have not his permission shall not have any liberty to trade but liable to a seizure. I accordingly have given this Cowle this 2d day of Suffer.

SPECIMEN RECEIPTS

I

Metchlipatam,
March the 20, 1699.

Moyante Naso's Receipt (Srof to Rangaray's) for Pagodas 680 paid him on account Ground &c granted the Company at Madapollam.

Received of the Honorable John Pitt, Esquire, Consul and President for affairs, on the account of Rangarays the sum of 680 Pagodas being for Ground bought of him in Madapollam. I say received this 20 day of March 1699.

II

Madapollam,
June 12th, 1700.

Rangarays Receipt for Pagodas 320 received in full of Pagodas 1000 for his Cowle and Ground &c Privileges given the English Company trading to the East Indies ; the said 320 Pagodas being a present for the Grant of the said privileges more than the 680 pagodas.

Paper Manufacture in India

BY T. VENKAJI

I

Paper, as we all know, derives its name from 'Papyrus' the Greek name of a material used for writing purposes, manufactured in ancient times in Egypt from the Papyrus plant and which was the best approach to paper known up to the eighth century.

The stem of the Papyrus plant was divested of its skin, and the interior cellular tissue or pith was sliced or cut by a sharp instrument into thin strips or laminae which were spread lengthwise upon a table or slab moistened with water from the river Nile. Having prepared a sufficient quantity for a sheet in this manner, another layer was placed over it crosswise and the two were pressed together. The sheet, 'Plagula', thus formed was taken off the slab, dried in the sun and glazed by means of a tusk. About twenty of these sheets joined together formed a 'scapus' and several 'scapi' together a 'volumen' of more or less size.

The quality of the Papyrus manufactured in Egypt was very inferior but was greatly improved by the Romans, who not only used a superior sizing but rendered the sheet more compact by means of pounding with a hammer. A second coat of sizing and repeated pounding increased its durability. The Roman Papyrus was very white and measured about 27 x 30 cm. It remained in use in Italy until the eleventh century, although its fame was greatly impaired as early as the eighth and the ninth centuries by the rapidly increasing use of parchment and at a later period by the invention of the cheaper and better classes of paper in more recent times. The historical interest of Papyrus centres in the fact that the Papyrus plant was first used for this manufacture about 800 B.C.

What we call paper at the present day is not a ready-made product of nature but is a sheet artificially felted from many fibres in which the original form of the raw material can no longer be recognised and which does not bear the slightest resemblance in outward appearance to the Papyrus of the Ancients.

The Chinese were probably the first manufacturers of felted papers and for many centuries they used the inner bark of the mulberry tree. In Japan too, the process of manufacturing paper was very much the same. The plants are steamed for six hours in large vats with perforated false bottoms, after which the bark is peeled off and dried in the sun until quite brittle. It is then put to soak in clean cold water for four days to render it sufficiently soft to admit the outer bark to be scraped off. Having been thus cleaned, the good inner bark is peeled off and put in bundles and again exposed to the sun to be dried and bleached.

These are then boiled in a lye for sometime. The lye is prepared by the extraction from the ashes of the tobacco and buckwheat stalks, after a long and elaborate process. Where lime is cheaper, this is used instead of the lye for inferior grade of papers.

The bark is then placed upon a heavy slab of hardwood and beaten into pulp by four men sitting around the slab each using a hardwood mallet. The beaten fibre is then placed in the pulp vat and sufficient water is added to render the stuff suitable for paper making. In order to fill up the pores of the paper and make it still whiter, a sizing of rice flour in water is filtered through a cloth into the pulp and evenly distributed by means of a paddle or an agitator. In this manner the stuff is kept in continual motion preventing deposits until the vat is emptied.

The pulp is dipped out of the vat by means of a seive made of fine strips of bamboo held together with silk or hemp strings. A removable wooden deckle forms an elevated border around the seive and retains a good quantity of the liquid pulp while the paper maker shakes the mould backwards and forwards. By this operation the water is drained from

the seive and the fibres are deposited on the bottom, intertwined in all directions according to the motion of the mould in the hands of the workman. Thus the fibres are formed into the felt which we call paper. The vatman places the finished sheets one upon another and only sheets of specially fine paper are separated by straw placed between them. A post of sheets having been completed it is placed in a lever press where it remains for several hours. The sheets are then removed one by one and dried in the sun on wooden planks like doors, etc.

This crude and primitive method was in use in China for eighteen hundred years and we hear that there are places even to-day where this old method is still carried on. With the many invasions and annexations of empires, this art was carried slowly towards the West and in about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we see many paper mills established in almost all the countries in Europe.

<i>Spain.</i>	Good paper was manufactured in ...	1150
	Paper Mills near Bologne in ...	1200
<i>Italy.</i>	Cividale ...	1293
	Bataglia ...	1340
	Pinerolo ...	1381

(Fabriano was the most important paper trade centre at that time.)

<i>France.</i>	At Troyes in ...	1350
	Essonnes, Corbeil, }	
	Banme-les-dames }	1411

Watermarks of the Bull's Head were found in the papers as early as 1315.

Germany. A Paper Mill in Ravensbürg in Swabia was established in 1324, and the famous paper Mill of Ulman Stremer in Nuremberg in 1390, in Strassberg, now in France, in 1408 and in Breslau (1490) and in Kempen (1477) Augsburg in 1482.

<i>Switzerland.</i>	At Faverges near Annecey in	...	1350
	Allemogne (Pays de Glux)	...	1426
	Basel	...	1440
	Zurich	...	1470
	Marly near Freiburg	...	1411
	Worblaufen near Bern	...	1466
<i>Belgium.</i>	Huy	...	1405
	The Netherlands followed later
	The English in the year	...	1498
	The United States of America in the year	...	1690

Thus the art of paper making took nearly 1000 years to travel round the world, starting in Japan in about 800 A.D. and returning back to Japan in 1870 when the most modern Mills were erected in Japan.

II

Tracing the same development in the manufacture of paper in India, the first authentic records of this art date from the time of the Emperor Akbar when it is said to have been introduced into the Province of Kashmir. Prior to this only birch bark and palm leaves were the materials used to write upon. This is known in Sanscrit as 'Pathra' and 'Bhurja Pathra'. The Chinese art slowly descended from the Himalayas. It is recorded that a letter was written on a thing called 'paper' by the King Bhoja of Dhara in the Malwa State in the eleventh century. The way in which the art of paper making was introduced as recorded by the great historian Alberuni was through the prisoners of China. Peterson discovered in Anhilvad Patan, manuscripts of 1328, the leaves of which were cut according to the size of the palm leaves. It is very doubtful if any of the manuscripts from Caaskhar which were written on a peculiar paper covered with a layer of gypsum were of Indian origin. Doctor Hoernle believes that all of them were written in Central Asia. During his recent visits to Khatmandu, Pandit Harprasad Shastri acquired a Sanscrit manuscript belonging to the eleventh century A. D. on Nepal paper.

It may be interesting to mention that paper was made in Nepal partly from bamboo and partly from the bark of a small thorny shrub known as Mahadeva's flower (*Daphne Cannabina*). The surface was made glossy by rubbing with a smooth piece of stone. The Daphne paper was generally very thick and was made thicker by coating it with a paste made from the boiled kernel of the tamarind seed. It was coloured yellow on one side with turmeric. The paper thus prepared becomes very hard and looks almost like a piece of hide. A solution of starch made by boiling sunned rice was used for sizing paper which operation is called in the vernacular as 'tulat.' Except in the case of correspondence with the outside world, the Nepal government never used any machine-made paper.

The Daphne paper though commonly known as the Nepal paper was mostly made in Bhutan. The Bhutias used also the bark of another plant locally known as 'Diah' for paper making, the process being the same as in China and Japan.

As times advanced, the paper-making industry was gradually dying out. In the times of the Peshwas, rag of coarse texture was used by Indian saints for their religious compositions, by merchants for their accounts and by officers for their correspondence. The number of the educated was small and the production was very restricted and hence the cost of paper was very high.

During this century, the chief centres for paper making were :

Bombay Presidency.

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Roje. | 2. Ahmedabad. | 3. Erandol. |
| 4. Junnur. | 5. Nasik. | 6. Poona. |
| 7. Bijapur. | 8. Bagalkot. | 9. Gokak. |
| 10. Tallikot. | | |

Benqal Presidency.

1. Villages Maiah, and Uieberia in Hooghly Dt.
2. „ Kristpur and Srirampur in Moorashadbad Dt.

This industry was in the hands of a class of Mahomedans known as 'Kagjees' or paper-makers (from the Persian word 'Kagus') and the locality of paper making known as 'Kagji Peth.' The development during this period was so much that nearly 800 boys were employed in the year 1846 in paper making. The Ahmedabad paper was chiefly used in the Government offices for their vernacular registers and by Indian traders whose ways of book-keeping and book binding required a tough and close-grained paper. Down to the South this industry was brought very late. In 1800 A.D. it is said that one Balajee Abbajee brought a colony of Musalman 'Kagjees' from Roje in Ahmedabad and set up a paper factory in Nasik, while at the same time one Allubhai brought another colony of 'Kagjees' from Junar and started the first Paper Factory in Poona. The Peshwas helped this industry very much by the grant of free lands and buildings and as soon as their power declined this industry too shared the fate of the Peshwas. In the village called Kondapalli near Bezwada on the M. & S. M. Railway this industry was existing till very recently, but due to the advent of industrial concerns and the consequent inefficiency of crude craft and also to the poverty of the masses, the 'Kagjees' found it expedient to forsake their ancestral art and they were therefore obliged to devote their attention for their livelihood to weaving, agriculture and daily labour.

Thus this art of making paper by hand is still carried on well in Kashmir perhaps owing to the encouragement given by the Maharaja of Kashmir, but it is only a thing of ancestral legendary antique beauty and historical interest. Further the cost of production prohibited the growth of this art any further. The following varieties may be noted:—

1. 'Bara Rukhi' (Small sized paper the width being about 8" to 9" or 12 fingers laid side by side) cost 12 quires for Re. 1 or 1sh. 6d.

2. 'Sola Rukhi or Jangri' (the width of 16 fingers or 16" to 18") 5 quires for Re. 1 or 1sh. 6d.

3. 'Biara' (Used in state offices) 9 quires per Re. 1.

4. 'Baleswari' White or blue (a thick paper made at Amta, Howrah District) 2 quires for Re. 1.

Though costly the paper was considered very strong and durable but it could not stand the competition with machine-made paper, nor was the surface of the paper smooth and even enough to be used for parchment and currency paper as is used in Great Britain, etc.

III

Coming to the modern times, the most appalling contrast with the ancient times presents itself to us. In the olden days India had its own share and could manage to supply its own paper when the other countries could not help themselves. But when other nations are supplying paper at a very cheap cost, Indians probably thought it not worth their while to worry themselves about making paper but were content to be supplied by others. There are only five good and big paper Mills in India at the present day, worth the name.

1. The Upper India Couper Paper Mills at Lucknow on the banks of the River Gumpti is the oldest one existing in India and that entirely under Indian management ; started in 1872 and manufacturing now nearly 35 tons a week.

2. The next oldest paper Mill is that of Messrs. F. W. Heilgers at Calcutta who have two paper Mills one at Kankeneira and the other at Titagarh, both manufacturing nearly 350 tons a week. This Mill was started as early as 1882 and is entirely under European management.

3. Though small the next oldest Mill is the Reay Paper Mills at Mandhwa, near Poona, which is also entirely managed by Indians and one important point worthy of mention is that during 1922 when I was working in that Mill, the Managing Director was a lady, Mrs. Nusservanjee Merwanjee. This Mill is not on a grand scale nor does it use the staple raw material of sabai grass but all mill waste from the Mills in Bombay and Ahmedabad. It is not run all through the year.

4. The Bengal Paper Mills at Ranigunj started in 1889, has an output of nearly 130 tons a week.

5. The most recent and successful Mill using bamboo as raw material is the India Paper Pulp Company, at Naihati started in the year 1918.

The other Mills of minor importance but yet existing still in India are :—

1. The Meenakshi Paper Mills at Punalur, in Travancore.

2. The Pudumjee Paper Mills near Lalchimney, Bombay.

3. The Girgaum Paper Mills near Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

All these Mills put together do not manufacture more than 30,000 tons annually while we consume in India nearly 100,000 tons annually. One thing that strikes us is that in a country like India with all its natural advantages for the manufacture of paper, *i.e.*, abundant supply of raw material, water and transport, and more than all cheap labour, we are not able to manufacture what we want but depend on countries like Great Britain to supply what they cannot manufacture owing to the want of natural conditions there. In Great Britain, they have no raw material at all, as they import the wood pulp from Norway and Sweden, and grass from Spain and North Africa. Water too they have not enough, except in Scotland. Another depressing aspect is that India with all its natural advantages and with an area of nearly 1,900,000 sq. mls. has only five Paper Mills to count, while Scotland with 45,000 sq. mls. has fifty best Paper Mills supplying paper to the world.

The Import and Export Statistics give a shock when we see that nearly one crore rupees worth (One Million Pounds) of printing paper is annually imported into India from the United Kingdom and nearly half the quantity in value of writing papers are also similarly imported, not to speak of the other supplies from Sweden and Germany.

It is needless to mention how important and necessary an article like paper is. It is an article of everyday use and is needed by everybody, educated or uneducated. And the spread of education along with civilisation is increasing the

consumption of paper though we have not yet reached a stage like the one in America where the consumption of paper per head is 100 lbs. per year. And if we ignore this side of development in trying to produce cheap paper, it would be a very long time before we can think of development and this cost in paper hinders the spread of education a great deal.

IV

Apart from this internal difficulty, we are now thrown into a world problem, which is threatening the Paper Trade in the world. It is generally believed that the consumption of paper in the world is increasing while the supply of raw material is constant in some places and decreasing in others. The development of towns and the consequent increase in population are mainly responsible for the various schemes of de-forestation, thereby curtailing the supply of wood for paper manufacture. The situation has of late been growing very serious.

Even now there are two different schools of thought, one trying to destroy all the forests in the interests of colonisation in places like Canada where the growth of towns is proceeding vigorously, while the other section of politicians favour the preservation of the forests to maintain an unlimited supply of raw material for the manufacture of paper and attempt to make the penny paper cheaper still. Any increase in the cost of paper strikes at the purse of the poor and diminishes the possibilities of cheaper education. Hence a dire necessity has been found for the exploitation of new raw materials and to conjure up the secrets of Nature to get newer material for this commodity, without which the very name of civilisation must go down to oblivion. So every nation in the world is now busy with experiments for the search of new raw materials. Ideas worth listening to have been expounded and discussed. Cotton stalks, Bagasse, the refuse of the sugarcane after removing the sugar-juice from it, and the dust-bin waste have been some of the ideas that have been propounded but none of them could

stand the crucial test of industrial efficiency, some even floundered in the laboratory itself, while some are still in the experimental stage.

Anyway, it was as early as 1850 that the first attempts were made for the exploitation of bamboo to investigate if it contained the necessary fibre for paper manufacture. The name of Mr. R. W. Sindall, the British Paper and Pulp Expert, must be mentioned first of all, though before him Mr. Thomas Routledge, the Pioneer in Esparto Grass Pulp making, carried on his experiments on bamboo. The labours of Sindall came almost to a success but in the end he was not much satisfied with it, as he could not find a way to get rid of the nodes on the culms of the bamboos. Across the seas, Mr. Richmond made some experiments in the Hawaiian Islands but all these did not conclusively prove the possibilities of bamboo as a fit substitute for wood for paper making for one defect or other, either in bleaching or in the removal of the nodes.

The question of bamboo was therefore suspended for a time till Mr. R. S. Pearson made elaborate investigations regarding the supplies of bamboo and brought out the possibility of getting abundance of bamboo sufficient for the whole world's consumption. Mr. Raitt, an analytical chemist and paper maker, was called in to help the Government of India and he made elaborate experiments to get rid of the defects pointed out by his predecessors in this field. Mr. Raitt devoted all his time to this and made a life-study of bamboo for nearly twenty-four years and he invented a new method by which he could not only remove the drawbacks pointed out by Mr. Sindall and others but also made the cost of this bamboo pulp cheaper than the Swedish pulp from wood, which is the chief raw material for all printing papers. Mr. Raitt proved by experiments in laboratories and on an industrial scale in Paper Mills, that the production of bamboo pulp is cheaper than any other kind of pulp on the Continent. The wood pulp in a grade similar to bamboo pulp has now a cost value, landed in England, of £13-10-0 per ton and of this nearly £7 goes towards the cost of wood

itself. The corresponding figure for bamboo is a minimum of £1-10-0 and would never be over £2-10-0 per ton. To quote a recent report of the Indian Tariff Board :—

“Bamboo can be landed at a Mill at a cost low enough to make it a great deal cheaper than wood to the European manufacturer with all the duties and freight included.” Thus taking all the worst circumstances into consideration, the bamboo pulp delivered in British markets would never be over £11-10-0 per ton while the wood pulp is never less than £13-10-0 per ton, with possibilities for the cost to increase in view of the anticipated shortage of wood supply and a wood famine in 25 years to come, calculated on the strength of the increase in the spread of education and paper consumption and a proportionate decrease in the growth of wood. Further bamboo has unique advantages in the growth. It grows in five years and so five plots of land reserved for the growth of bamboo and one plot cut every year would guarantee the Mill a perennial supply of bamboo, as the cut plot would be ready with bamboo in five years, while wood requires nearly 30 to 40 years to grow. The present estimate of the availability of bamboo in India shows that there is sufficient bamboo in India and Burma to supply the whole world's consumption of pulp.”

Thus India is now drawn into the vortex of a "world problem to actively take part in this supply of bamboo pulp to the world and save the world from an impending starvation and help itself.

If we are too slack to take the task upon our shoulders, we cannot blame the other nations who take this task of helping themselves with large supplies of bamboo pulp, by establishing nearly eighty pulp factories in India and eradicate the present trouble but it would not be to the interests of Indian capital. Foreign capital would easily flow in and we shall stand back gaping at what others are doing to their own advantage. India has all the advantages but lacks in co-operation, industrial venture and business grit besides a wee bit of Luck.

A Wanderer in the Middle East

BY P. CHENCHIAH, M.L.

VAGABONDAGE

As in life, so in travelling, a man is rewarded according to the measure of his hopes and expectations. The American who is anxious to 'do' a country returns home satisfied with a thinner pocket-book and a thicker note-book. The studious traveller imbibing solid knowledge wherever he goes, endows the public libraries with books of travel that repose undisturbed on the shelves. The 'sight-seer' is a grade above these. To him the world is a new film released, with this difference that while he moves the 'film' is stationary. Above the plebian crowd, stands the 'philosophic wanderer' to whom travel is one long wondrous drama in which he acts the title role. He endeavours to 'lose' himself among the 'people' he is visiting, to get some insight into the 'soul' of the country as limned in the smiling faces of its children, the serious faces of its citizens; to catch a vision of life through the 'windows' of human hearts and minds. When you have seen all that could be seen, there is still a strange dissatisfaction which is removed only when you dress like the natives, wander aimlessly in their bazaars, mix promiscuously in their crowds, laugh and chat with them and for a supreme moment feel that you are one of them. True travelling has always a spice of vagabondage and is an end in itself.

THE GREAT MANŒUVRE

To the unimaginative, modern travelling is very prosaic. It has none of the dangers, surprises and thrills that make the adventures of 'Sinbad the Sailor' so dear to our hearts. No shipwrecks on the sea, no bandits on the land, no magicians who bewitch you, no rocs that

carry you into the valley of diamonds, and no princes to welcome, honor, and wed you to beautiful damsels. You enter the ship at Bombay and are deposited safely like the insured luggage at the destination. Yet with a little imagination you can turn your journey into an adventure full of thrills and narrow escapes. To a modern traveller, all the ancient enemies—the wild animals, cannibals, dragons and witches—all are transformed into guides. They beset you on the 'landing' at Port Said, lay in wait for you at the entrance of the hotels in Cairo, snare you at Jaffa gate in Jerusalem, capture you in the bazaars of Damascus. The great manoeuvre consists in dodging them when you can, outwitting them when you have a chance. It is a difficult game requiring a cool head, a stout heart, and strong nerves. The victory in almost every case is with the guide. Yet it is the mark of the intrepid traveller not to succumb without a fight. The guide, to give him his due, is like our pandit. He has a marvellous assortment of futile knowledge which he gets by heart. He knows the sights, and their history. He can take you along the beaten tracks. But for anything more, he is a broken reed. If you are fortunate to escape him, you will wander into uncharted realms, meet adventures, see life. All that is worthwhile remembering in my travels happened to me when I ran away from my guide.

STRATEGIC CENTRES

There is a regular science and art in travelling. When you want to understand a country, you must get hold of its physical and social strategic centres. The uninitiated may wearily 'rush' from place to place, from mosque to mosque, 'dragged' by the guide hither and thither and left in the end a lifeless inert mass, bored and tired. The 'wise' take themselves to the 'one' place which unrolls the whole panorama of a city before their eyes. One sees 'Cairo' from the citadel. One never knows the spell of Cairo unless one gazes for an hour on that mystic city from that supreme vantage point. There on the outskirts is the

endless desert, with the eternal pyramids standing sentinel and the sphinx puzzling out ageless mysteries; just below you is the forest of flats—uncouth and modern, redeemed by a thousand minarets pointing out their tapering fingers to the heavens as if in protest against ‘modernism’ in human habitations. To see Cairo from the citadel is to realise how truly it is a city of mosques.

There is a winding pathway that zigzags among mountains and valleys as you proceed from Bethphage to Jerusalem—a road sacred to Christians as the one on which Jesus rode when he entered Jerusalem for the last time. As you approach the city, you reach an eminence when without warning the city ‘bursts’ on you. From that height you see the holy city mapped out before you. There is the golden gate, which the Mahomedan tradition says will be opened when Jesus comes again to judge mankind; above it ‘Haram-esh-Sherif’ the beautiful and magnificent mosque with an exquisite porcelain dome that has risen over the ruins of the Jewish temple; beyond is the city of Zion, the dream and solace of a tortured race and in its centre the church of Holy Sepulchre—the traditional place where Jesus was crucified. How can you understand the agony of that crucified race, unless you weep over it from the place as Jesus did on a memorable occasion? How can you enter into the meaning of Christian religion—which symbolises the light that issues out of darkness, resurrection that emerges out of death, unless you ponder over the garden of ‘Gethsemane’ that is beneath you or over the dream of a city before you which as often as it was ‘razed,’ rose triumphantly in Resurrection?

But to understand Damascus, the oldest city of the world, you need mount no hill, climb no tower, but follow me to a café five miles outside the city and sit beside the ‘Arab’ who carries on his person and clothes the stains of a long journey. He has come from Baghdad in a caravan, ten days in the desert, and is now drinking in the sweet music of seven rivulets that are rippling below, with

carpets of superb green on the banks, as only a traveller in the desert can. Situated between howling sea and burning deserts, this city of orchards has ever been the praise of the poet. As you sit with this Arab and throw back your memory into the dim depths of the ages, conjuring up the visions of the storied past, you can enter into the feeling of Mahomed when he exclaimed, "As there is for man but one Paradise, it should not be sought on earth; and therefore I would not enter Damascus." The Arab's idea of Paradise is Damascus—an orchard with flowing streams and trees laden with fruit.

GATEWAYS OF THE HEART

But how can a traveller enter into the life of a strange city—understand something of the play of its social life? Here too the experienced traveller has his 'open sesame' which opens the locked doors. To understand the life of a city to which you are a stranger, here are the pass words. The first entrance is the café, which in the Middle East is a key to life. In Cairo there is the 'Café de Nile' just opposite to Ezbakir gardens. Sit at one of the round tables and clap hands. Like a jinnee at the bidding of a magician, a black Nubian waiter will materialise from somewhere. Speak the magic word 'coffee' and as the shoe-shine roughly takes hold of your feet, gently lean back and give yourself up to the study of swirling life around. Tram-cars disgorge every minute a most wondrous stream of coloured humanity—Beduins, Copts, Turks, Soudanese,—all types and varieties of the Middle East. Spend an hour at the game of guessing what type of beauty smiles behind the Yushmak, what kind of thought simmers beneath the Turbush and you have learned more about Cairo than an army of guides could tell. Right in the heart of the business quarter in Damascus, is the far-famed ice-cream shop. The proprietors guard the recipe, inherited from their forefathers, with zealous care. They beat the ice-cream with rollers just as the South Indian housewife pounds paddy in the mortar, till they draw it out like rubber and ladle

it to you in generous quantities. Around are marble walls with inscriptions from the Koran, reminding you of the vanity of life and the value of wisdom. A queer setting for eating ice-cream. That is however the key to Damascus social gaiety—pleasure as in paradise with none too obtrusive a suggestion that time is on its wing. This ice-cream shop is the Dasmascus version of Omar Khayam's tavern.

Next to café is the theatre. The stage is the window through which you can look into the soul of a people. The language may be foreign but the drama—the action and music—leaps into your understanding across the barriers of the spoken word. The dance too, is the true expression of the heart. There is no understanding of the East unless you catch the music of the feet. 'Thousand and one nights' is the poetic name, reminiscent of Arabian Nights, of the variety hall in Cairo. On the day I attended, it was a dancer from Stamboul who was drawing the city. Order your tambuk and in the mists of smoke curling upwards enigmatically yield yourself to the charms of the dance. Then you will catch a passing glimpse of life which otherwise is a sealed book.

The bazaar is another key of life. Is there anything more 'symbolic of Eastern life than the indescribable confusion and bustle of the bazaars? He must be a sorry pessimist, who can toss in the ebb and flow of an Eastern bazaar and yet feel that the Middle East is not a land of Romance. Alas! the bazaar is passing away. Three years ago the glory of Damascus was its 'Square' where camels and cars, beduins and city fops, fakirs and tribal Lords, water vendors, lemonade sellers—all wove clouded patterns of life. Now a well-ordered, decent, ugly piazza rules where once life rollicked in untrammelled confusion. Let us be thankful that no modern innovation can rob Jerusalem of its David Street, with its vegetable markets and grocery stalls. Who is the man that is walking down the street with the dignity of a Nawab and the pomp of a prince, with an elaborate

contraption of burnished brass, twinkling bells, strapped round his neck crying out "All ye who thirst come and drink my sharbet"? He is the lemonade vendor—the glory of Jerusalem.

Yet you stand outside the sanctum, till you enter the mosque and bow with the faithful before the august presence of the Almighty. The Arab has not only his gay but serious life as well. After the daily round in the bazaar and café he goes to the mosque. In the chaste severity of ornamentation and the chastened purity of architecture, the mosque is the visible embodiment of the spiritual message of Islam. The magic brotherhood, the sustained glory of Islam, perpetually issues out of the heart of the mosque. The stern simplicity, the spontaneous joy of life are the gift of the solemn spell of the mosque. I have entered many a mosque but never came out without some sense of the vanity of 'caste' and the value of brotherhood. Nevertheless it is not in the mosque that you understand the genius of Islam, any more than you discern the spirit of Hinduism in the temple. Mahomed is the prophet of the desert and Islam the religion of the sands. The Middle East is dominated by the desert. Its geography, history, botany, and culture can only be understood when the riddle of the sands is grasped. Every city is an oasis, every river a life giver. The Nile makes Egypt, the Jordan Palestine, the Abada Syria. After a desert journey, you quaff a cup of water with the reverence due to the elixir of life. The ungainly camel becomes the most beloved of the animals as it makes it possible for you to sail across the land seas to the city ports. The feverish thirst for joy, the true abandon of the Arab for music and dance, are born out of the restraints of a desert life destitute of colour and expression. Even his dream of the eternal home is cast after the pattern of cities with a river. A night in a desert is true education in Islam. We pitched our tents for a night in the desert and as the night stole, spent hours in the immensities of its solitude. I looked up to the heavens.

There on an ink-black sky, the solitary moon (without the accompaniment of a single star) looked down on an ocean of sand that billowed in endless waves. What a landscape ! A bare sketch—not a single object to break its monotonous sweep. Alone in the silent world is the moon—the pallid witness of a mystery which populous civilizations can never apprehend. On a desert night like this, it seemed to me that the heavens proclaimed the creed of Islam—‘ There is no God but God ’.

A PILGRIM'S REWARD

It is as a pilgrim that I went to Jerusalem this time—not so much to see the sights nor even to understand the Arab life and culture but to get some vision of the meaning and significance of Christianity, whose founder sanctified the history of the Jewish race by his life and death. At first it seemed a hopeless task for one nurtured in the Aryan spiritual tradition to hope to get into the heart of a faith whose body and mind is cast in a culture fundamentally different from ours. The more I saw Jerusalem the less it seemed likely that my prayer for a revelation will be answered. The history of the Jew is like a palimpsest—written over and over again in strange and unknown languages. The Arab and the crusader have changed the form and shape of the life of the Old and New Testaments. Not a scene of the life of Jesus is left untouched, not a Jew remains who looks like Jesus. A mad piety has built with unmeaning zeal a magnificent Sepulchre where Christ was crucified. The incongruous vision of a splendid church has risen over the manger where Christ was born. How can I pierce through these eras of new life and get some insight into reality? A miracle alone can help and a miracle did help. That strange and inexplicable prompting which not infrequently is God's response to prayer, guided my steps to the Coptic khan—a choultry as we call it—which across centuries of change remains an exact replica of the

manger that witnessed the birth of Christ. You can read the story of the birth of Jesus in such a place like that, and see before you every touch and suggestion of that wonderful story realised in brick and mortar. A blind man was singing in one of the rooms—a song which had in it all the pathos and pain of a heart crying out for a love that life cannot give. Just at the entrance was a maid lost in the memories of the song—to me symbolising in her expression of infinite sadness and sorrow the very mother of the Saviour. And between them I saw as in a day dream—the infant Jesus. I stood in a sacred place—for was it not such a conjunction—the pain-fraught cry of man and the love fraught compassion of the mother—that brought the very God into a lowly manger?

Love in Tamil Poetry

BY K. RAMARATNAM AIYAR, B.A.

Love and War are the two perennial themes which, as they make an instant appeal to every human heart and raise an immediate echo in every human bosom, have in every age and country enkindled the imagination and inspired the lyre of the Poet. Hence it is that the early literature in any language consists almost entirely of poems which either celebrate the love adventures or commemorate the martial achievements of some local or national celebrity, some real or legendary hero. Though to this principle Tamil Literature forms no exception, the poetical treatment of these themes in this language is, however, very peculiar, regulated as it is by an elaborate set of very rigid rules as binding and and irrefragable as the Laws of the Medes and the Persians, to which rigorous conformity is enjoined on all literary aspirants to fame—and food.

Among the great languages of the world, ancient or modern, Sanskrit and Tamil alone can claim to possess anything like a perfectly comprehensive, systematic and well-codified Grammar of undoubted antiquity or undisputed authority. What the work of Panini is to Sanskrit, that the treatise of Tholkappiyar¹ is to Tamil and both of them may be considered to be about 2000 years old.

The ‘Tholkappiyam,’² so named after its author, is the oldest extant and most authoritative text-book on Tamil Grammar, and is the basis of all later grammatical works, which professedly only restate in a condensed and more compendious form the rules elaborately set forth in the premier treatise, with here and there a few modifications introduced by later usage, or called for by the natural

¹தொல்காப்பியர்

²தொல்காப்பியம்

growth and development of the language, or necessitated by the importation of foreign elements into it.

There is said to have been a still older and more elaborate work, of which the 'Tholkappiyam' is stated to be but a better arranged and more systematic redaction and which is known as 'Agathiyam', so named after its author, the sage Agastiyar, of puranic fame according to many or some other namesake of his according to some. But of the scheme, scope or structure of this supposed original we know almost next to nothing, as it has been completely washed down the stream of time into the sea of oblivion, except a few stray 'surras' quoted in later works as extracts therefrom. The 'Tholkappiyam' therefore is the Grammar of Grammars which even after the lapse of twenty centuries still continues to occupy the throne without a rival and exercise supreme sway. Time has writ no wrinkles on its brow, nor has custom staled its infinite beauties.

It is only after a considerable period of wild literary efflorescence in any language and with a view to set up a certain uniform standard of literary excellence and ensure the artistic beauty of literary productions that the need for a grammar of the language arises, and to supply that need a grammatical work appears. And as not only in the early stages but even for a long time afterwards all literary expression in any language invariably takes a poetical form, we may take it that the main, if not the sole, purpose of such a work is to guide and regulate the erratic flight of wayward poetical genius across the realms of human thought or the fields of human activity. The study of the form and features, the frame and structure of the language, its orthography, etymology and syntax, is useful and valuable only in reference to its use and employment as a fit vehicle for the full expression of free flowing thought. Hence the true grammar is that which concerns itself not merely with the words but also with the thoughts and ideas which the words serve to express. This the 'Tholkappiyam' steadily keeps in view.

The 'Tholkappiyam' consists of three main parts, the 'Elutt-atikaram,'¹ the 'Soll-atikaram,'² and the 'Porul-atikaram,'³ corresponding roughly to the sections on Orthography, on Etymology and Syntax, and on Prosody and Rhetoric of a modern English grammar. But it is the third part which is the most important, the other two being in fact but subservient and ancillary to it. In the first part the Letters of the Tamil Alphabet are considered both individually and as combined into words, whose function is to express individual conceptions. The second deals with Words both separately and as constructed into sentences, whose service is to express isolated thoughts. The third treats of poetical compositions, that is, the proper poetical structure of sentences individually and as built up into poems, whose duty is to express elegantly and effectively organised groups of thought.

The question naturally arises, Why and for what purpose does or should a Poet compose a poem, arranging, as it were, in martial array serried phalanxes of thought? An English grammarian would answer that the true function of poetry is to enlighten the understanding, influence the will, move the passions or please the imagination. But the ancient Sanskrit grammarian and the Tamil grammarian following in his wake had a very different, perhaps a higher, conception of the true office of the Poet.

The view of the Sanskrit moralists was that the great cardinal objects to be strenuously striven for by all right-minded men were only four, compendiously expressed by the words 'Dharma,' 'Artha' 'Kama' and 'Moksha.'⁴ The Sanskrit grammarian accordingly laid down that these alone could legitimately engage the thought or employ the pen of an author, and, as a corollary to it, also held that no book was fit for study or deserved to be read, which did not either directly or indirectly deal with one or more of

¹எழுத்ததிகாரம்²சொல்லதிகாரம்³பொருளதிகாரம்⁴தர்ம, அர்த்த, காம, மோக்ஷம்.

these four, and, *a fortiori*, that the noblest and most perfect work was that which treated of all these four.

The Tamil grammarians who had come under the influence of Sanskrit accepted this view and adopted this four-fold classification under, however, the Tamil nomenclature of 'Arram',¹ 'Porul',² 'Inbam'³ and 'Veedu'⁴ which are only Tamil equivalents of the Sanskrit terms. But the earlier Tamil writers, to whom Sanskrit literature and philosophy were unknown, though they also held a similar view as regards the legitimate purpose and province of Literature, had hit out a two-fold classification of the subject matter of Poetry with distinctively Tamil names, which the 'Tholkappiyam' has adopted and all later writers have followed. Thus in the third part of Tholkappiyam the proper material of poetry, or 'Porul' as it is called is broadly divided into two kinds and treated under the two heads of 'Akap-porul'⁵ and 'Purrap-porul'⁶ or more briefly 'Akam'⁷ and 'Purram',⁸ 'Kama', 'Inbam' or Love being denoted by the former and 'Dharma' and 'Artha' or 'Arram' and 'Porul' being expressed by the latter. The use of these words in these specific senses is somewhat peculiar, needing a little elucidation. The word 'Akam' in Tamil means 'inside' and also the 'mind' which is inside the body, and 'Porul' means an 'object' or 'thing' applied indifferently both to material objects and mental feelings and experiences. All sensual pleasure (or pain), of even the lowest kind and connected but with any one of the senses is something which can only be perceived by the senses concerned and felt and enjoyed by the mind within itself, but cannot be well expressed in words or communicated to others and hence it is an 'Akap-porul.' Much more so is 'kama-inbam' or sexual pleasure which is the highest and most intense of all sensual pleasures, being connected at one and the same time and in one and the same object, with all the

¹அறம்²பொருள்³இன்பம்⁴வீடு⁵அகப்பொருள்⁶புறப்பொருள்⁷அகம்⁸புறம்

five senses. As the great Tamil poet and moralist, Tiruvalluvar finely puts it,

Of Sight, Hearing, Taste and Touch and Smell
All pleasures in one lovely woman dwell.¹

Hence the use of this word to denote Love which is the source of this supreme pleasure. All else is 'Purrap-porul.'

Having considered, in a manner necessarily brief and imperfect, the position occupied by Love in literature in general and Tamil literature in particular, let us now proceed to explain the scheme adopted for this purpose. Love, to suit the requirements of poetry, is considered as marked by five main incidents or episodes. These are, (1) the accidental meeting of an young man and an young maid, the sudden birth of love at first sight between them, its further progress and fruitful culmination in regular marital union, called 'Koodal'² or Union; (2) the absence of the husband abroad for a longer or shorter period at the call of duty or in pursuit of pleasure, in search of Knowledge or from love of wealth, called 'Pirivu'³ or Separation; (3) the love-sick wife, staying at home, pining in silent grief and longingly looking forward to her lord's return home, called 'Irutthal'⁴ or 'Remaining at home'; (4) the outburst of her silent grief, when no longer bearable, into loud, pathetic lamentation, called 'Irangal'⁵ or Weeping and Wailing; and (5) her jealousy born fits of ill-tempered scorn and disdain with which she meets her husband on his return home, his efforts to pacify her, and their happy reconciliation and reunion, called 'Oodal'⁶ or 'Love-quarrel.'

As fitting and appropriate scenes for these five love-episodes the five natural divisions of the country are cleverly utilized and a very full description of each of them is given with such a wealth of geographical detail as would enable a

¹ கண்ணகைட்டுண்ணுமிர்த் துற்றறியும் ஐம்புலனும்

ஒண்டொடடி கண்ணே உன.

² கூடல்

³ பிரிவு

⁴ இருத்தல்

⁵ இரங்கல்

⁶ ஊடல்

skilful poet to effectively interweave them into his poem for purposes of vivid local colour. Though a good deal of information is given a great deal is still left to be supplied by the poet's own observation, insight and imagination.

The country of the ancient Tamils—the land of 'Sen-tamil'¹ or pure Tamil—bounded on the north by the Venkada Hills—the modern Tirupati Hills—by the Bay of Bengal on the east, by the Kumari (river or mountain) on the south and the Arabian sea on the west, consisted of five main natural divisions, with well-marked differences as regards their physical features, fauna and flora, and the nature and character, the habits and occupations of the inhabitants. These are (1) the mountain regions, (2) the central arid desert, (3) the jungly tracts at and near the foot of the mountains, (4) the sea-side regions and (5) the river-fed arable country. After the most prevalent tree or flower peculiar to each these are named respectively the 'Kurinji',² the 'Palai',³ the 'Mullai',⁴ the 'Neidal',⁵ and the 'Marudam'.⁶

The 'Kurinji' people were a warlike race of sturdy huntsmen, living mainly by hunting diversified by the cultivation of 'Thinai' grain and the practice of cattle-lifting. Their tutelary deity was Muruga. The most prevalent trees were the Teak, the Sandalwood, the Akil, the Vengai and the Asoku; the characteristic flowers, the 'Kurinji' and the 'Kandal';⁷ the familiar beasts, the lion, the tiger, the bear, the elephant and the boar; and the common birds; the peacock and the parrot.

The 'Palai' people were a fierce race of murderous bandits living by rapine and plunder and by waylaying and robbing unprotected travellers and merchant caravans of their belongings and also by enlisting as mercenary soldiers under a king or chief. The tutelary deity was Durga, the goddess of war. The characteristic trees were the withered land leafless 'Palai', Iruppai and 'Kalli';⁸ the

¹ செந்தமிழ்² குறிஞ்சி³ பாலை⁴ முல்லை⁵ நெய்தல்⁶ மருதம்⁷ தினை⁸ காந்தள்⁹ கள்ளி.

prevalent flowers, the 'Kuravam' and 'Maravam'; the common animal the wild-dog and the familiar birds the pigeon, the kite and the eagle.

The 'Mullai' region was inhabited by a race of simple herdsmen who lived by the breeding of cattle, the sale of their dairy produce and the cultivation of pulses. Their tutelary god was Vishnu. The trees peculiar to this region were the Konrai,¹ and the Kaya;² the characteristic flowers, the Mullai, the Thonri³ and the Pidavam,⁴ the prevalent animals, the deer and the rabbit and the common bird, the jungle-cock.

The 'Neydal' tract was the home of the hardy fishermen whose occupation was fishing and making salt and manufacturing toddy. They worshipped the sea-god Varuna. The prevalent trees were the Punnai and the 'gnazhal,'⁵ they peculiar trees, the Neydal and the 'Thazhai'⁶ or 'Kaithai', the prominent animal was the shark and the common bird the king-fisher.

The inhabitants of the 'Marutham' country were an industrious race of agricultural people whose occupation was the cultivation of rice, sugarcane and plantains. The god whom they worshipped was Indra, the lord of the clouds and the giver of rain. The Marutham, the Vanji and the Kanji were the most familiar trees; the lotus and the violet the common flowers; the prominent animals, the buffalo and the otter and the prevalent birds the swan, the heron, the stork and such other aquatic fowl.

Of the inhabitants of the 'Kurinji' land, the males were called 'Kurravar'⁷ and the females 'Kurrathiyar',⁸ of the 'Palai' land the men were named 'Eyinar'⁹ and the women 'Eyirriyar',¹⁰ of the 'Mullai' land the men went by the name of 'Ayar'¹¹ and the females 'Aychiyar',¹² of the 'Neydal' land the males were known as 'Nulaiyar'¹³

¹கொன்றை

²காயா

³தோன்றி

⁴பிடவம்

⁵ஞாழல்

⁶தாழை, கைகை

⁷குறவர்

⁸குறத்தியர்

⁹எயினர்

¹⁰எயிற்றியர்

¹¹ஆயர்

¹²ஆய்ச்சியர்

¹³துளையர்

and the females 'Nulaichiyar'¹ and of the 'Marutham' land the men were known by the name of ²'Uzhavar' and the women 'Uzhathiyar.'³

These five broad divisions of the land are correlated to and connected with the five main episodes of love in such a manner that each particular locality may serve as a suitable background for the corresponding incident. Thus the 'Kurinji' is the scene of the lover's 'Union', the 'Palai' of their 'Separation', the 'Mullai' of the wife's 'Staying at home' in silent solitary, sorrow, the 'Neythal' of her pathetic lamentation, her 'weeping and wailing', and the 'Marutham' of those little love-quarrels which give no small zest to love.

The jungle tracts e'v'r to Vishnu dear,
The mountain slopes, fav'rite haunts of Skanda,
The river-fed regions by Indra blessed,
The sandy sea-sides under Varuna's care,
Mullai, Kurinji, Marutham and Neythal
Have by the wise ones been right aptly named.
The desert waste, arid, vast and dreary,
As Palai stands amidst the other four.⁴

The loving and wedding, the parting and leaving,
The staying at home and silently sorrowing,
The weeping and wailing to the wind and the wave,
And the fits of jealousy with its queer little quarrels.
Are the incidents proper to Kurinji and Palai
'To Mullai and Neythal and Marutham fertile.⁵

¹ நுளை : ஸியர்

² உழவர்

³ உழத்தியர்

⁴ மாயோன் மேய காடுறை உலகமும்,
மாயோன் மேய மைவரை உலகமும்,
வேந்தன் மேய தீம்புனல் உலகமும்,
வருணன் மேய பெருமணல் உலகமும்,
முல்லை குறிஞ்சி மருகம் மெய்தலென்ற
கொல்லிய முறைபாற் கொல்லவர் படுமே.

(தொல்காப்பியம், III, i, 5)

⁵ புணர்தல், பிரிதல், இருத்தல், இறங்கல்
ஊடல் இவற்றின நிமித்தம் என்றிவை
தேருங் காலைத் திணைக்குறிப் பொருளே.

(தொல்காப்பியம், III, i, 14)

Having thus determined and described the locality and landscape best-suited and most appropriate for the selected episodes, the grammarian next proceeds to consider the special seasons of the year and periods of the day favourable, from a natural as well as a poetic point of view, to each and to allocate them accordingly.

The Tamil year is divided into six naturally well-marked seasons, each of two months' duration.

The first two months of the year, 'Chittirai'¹ and 'Vaikasi,'² comprise the 'Ila-venil'³ or spring season, the next two months of Ani⁴ and Adi,⁵ the Mudhu-venil⁶ or summer season, the next two months of Avani⁷ and Purattasi,⁸ the Kar,⁹ or rainy season, the next two months of Aippasi¹⁰ and Karthigai,¹¹ the Koothir¹² or cold season, the next two months of Margali¹³ and Thai,¹⁴ the Mun-pani¹⁵ or the season of the evening dew and the last two months of Masi¹⁶ and Panguni,¹⁷ the Pin-pani¹⁸ or the season of the morning dew. These are the six major time divisions. The six minor time divisions are the six parts of the day, called Vidiyal,¹⁹ Nan-pakal, Malai, Erpadu, Yamam' and 'Vaikarai,' that is, the morning, noon and afternoon, the sunset, midnight and dawn, each of four hours' duration.

To the Kurinji episode the appropriate time is the 'Koothir' as well as the 'Mun-pani' season, and the midnight; to the 'Palai,' the 'Venil' and 'Pin-pani' season and the midday; to the 'Mullai,' the 'Kar' season and the afternoon to the Neythal, all the six seasons and the forepart of the night; and to the Marutham all the six seasons and both the dawn and the morning.

Such, in brief, are the grand natural theatres with a

1 அக்திசை	2 வைகாசி	3 இளவேனில்	4 ஆனி
5 ஆடி	6 முதுவேனில்	7 ஆவணி	8 புரட்டாசி
9 கார்	10 ஐப்பசி	11 கார்த்திகை	12 கூடிரி
13 மாகாசி	14 தை	15 முன்பனி	16 மாசி
17 பங்குனி	18 பின்பனி	19 விடியல், நண்பகல், மாலை, எற்பாடு, யாமம், வைகறை	

rich variety of landscape and scenery and such the times and seasons with a wide range of suitable opportunities, specially designed for the enactment of this love-drama, of which the main characters are an young lover and an youthful maiden. In addition to these there are several minor characters who bear important parts in it. But of these the two most essential are the 'Pangan'¹ and the 'Pangi',² the clever, sharp-witted, very intimate and faithful and male and female companions of the hero and the heroine respectively.

Before proceeding to give a detailed account of the course of such true love from the mountain to the sea through the intervening regions of Mullai, Palai and Marutham, one other matter has to be explained. The whole conduct of the two lovers which, considered under one aspect, is divided into 'Koodal', 'Pirivu', 'Irutthal', 'Irangal' and 'Oodal', gets separated, looked at from another point of view, into two parts known as 'Kalavu'³ (i.e., stealth or secrecy) and 'Karpu'⁴ (i.e., chastity) all the incidents prior to and culminating in the regular union of the two lovers under the bonds of wedlock being placed under the former head and all the subsequent events under the latter. The two classifications, both of which are more or less arbitrary and artificial, are in fact overlapping, 'Kaluvu', including all the several events connected with the 'Kurinji' episode of 'Koodal', and 'Karpu' embracing all those pertaining to to the 'Mullai', 'Neithal' and Marutham' incidents of 'Irutthal', 'Irangal' and 'Oodal', the 'Palai' episode of 'Pirivu' with its concomitants being connected with and incidental to both, as such separation may be the parting of the lover from the company of his dear companion from various causes during the pre-marital stage or the absence, necessitated by business or occasioned by pleasure, of the husband from home and the society of his newly-wedded wife, during the post-marital stage.

¹ பாங்கன்² பாங்கு³ களவு⁴ கற்பு

As all the pre-marital meetings of the lovers are quite clandestine and generally under the secrecy of the night and unknown to any but their most intimate associates, they are called Kalavu, and as all the post-marital incidents are in some way or other associated with the chastity of the wife and her decorous demeanour they are designated by the name of 'Karpu'. The whole subject is treated, in elaborate detail under the heads of 'Kalav-iyal'¹ and Karpp-iyal,² of which 'Kalav-iyal' will form the subject of the next article.

¹ கனவியல்² கற்பியல்

Modern Currents In Malayalam Poetry

BY C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D. PHIL. (Oxon)

Sriman Vallathol Narayana Menon is recognised by a very influential school in Malayalam as the greatest living poet of the country, and many even say that he is the greatest poet that Malabar has ever seen and count him among the foremost poets of the world. He is known as 'Malayali Tagore.' Mr. K. M. Panikkar, M.A. (Oxon), Dixon Scholar at Oxford and a well-known figure in the public life of India, has contributed some articles on Malayalam Literature to some journals in recent years and in these articles he has given a fair picture of the poet's contributions to Malayalam. I am not here writing an essay on Vallathol, but only on modern Malayalam Literature. I refer to Vallathol only as the representative poet of the age. He is not merely the greatest poet of the land, but he is also the pioneer of a new movement in Malayalam Literature, the leader of what may be called the romantic period in Malayalam Literature. In this he may be compared to Wordsworth or Coleridge.

To understand this new movement, it is necessary to pass through the various stages in the development of Malayalam Literature making a general survey of the whole field, skipping over details. We do not know much of the earliest period in Malayalam Literature. Chronology cannot be settled by the evidence of the antiquity of the type of language in a particular poem that one may be considering. There are many other circumstances that influence the type of language that one may come across in a particular poem, circumstances other than age. A poet may deliberately use an archaic form of language in a later age. In the same period, the language in one part of the country may be of a

more ancient type than in some other parts. The language of poetry is sometimes of a more ancient type than the language of prose, and even within the range of poetry, certain varieties may show an inclination towards archaism. From these considerations I am rather diffident to accept the dates of such works as 'Ramacharitam' and 'Unnunilisandesam,' which have been assigned to them by specialists in the field.

We have no evidence of a period in Malayalam Literature when there was no Sanskrit influence. 'Lilatilakam' is a work on Malayalam Literature belonging to a very early date. It gives quotations, by way of illustration, from ancient works and these quotations reveal Sanskrit influence to a very large extent, so much so that the stanzas quoted are composed in Sanskrit metres. The work is itself written in Sanskrit. It describes 'Pattu' as a variety in Malayalam Literature—written in Dravidian metre and having only Dravidian sounds, perhaps not excluding Sanskritic words. From this we are justified in inferring that there must have been some period in the history of Malayalam Literature, when there was absolutely no Sanskritic influence. Or is it that Malayalam is only a variety of Tamil branched off from the main stem by the influence of Sanskrit, and as such there is no period in the history of Malayalam Literature when there was no influence of Sanskrit? I am inclined to accept this view, with the reservation that the dialect in the West Coast even from the earliest times had certain basic difference from the Tamil in the East Coast. Thus so far as we know even from the earliest times, there were two parallel currents in Malayalam Literature—one, Malayalam poetry written in Sanskritic metres, with a profusion of Sanskritic words (not merely Sanskrit stems with Dravidian terminations) and with Sanskritic sounds introduced without any restriction; and the other, Malayalam poetry written in Dravidian metres, with only Dravidian words (Sanskrit stems with Dravidian terminations being accepted as Dravidian words) and with Sanskritic sounds occurring only rarely though not strictly excluded. The first variety influenced the second in so far as there are Sanskritic elements in the vocabulary

of the latter, and the second influenced the first in so far as certain canons of Dravidian prosody were strictly observed in the first, namely the appearance of a kind of alliteration known as 'dvitiyaksharaprasam' (alliteration on the second syllable of the lines).

Till about a century back, the second of these two types held the ground. Most of the best works in Malayalam Literature are written in Dravidian metre, for instance the 'Kilippatukal' of Ezhuthasan, the 'Krishnapattu' of Cheruseri and the 'Thullals' of Nambyar. Sanskrit metres were used only for minor works like 'Champus.' After the time of Nambyar, the Dravidian metre was practically banished from the field till very recently when Vallathol recalled it and gave it an honorable place in Malayalam Literature. In this aspect Vallathol is a reformer for he revived the true spirit of Malayalam Poetry.

Malayalam Literature consisted mainly of epic poetry. There were few ballads, and very little of lyrics. It is true that there were lyrical pieces in these epics, that there were some devotional lyrics, and that there were a few ballads. But what counted among the critics as the principal things in Literature were epics—works of the type of Ezhuthasan's 'Bharatam' and Cheruseri's 'Krishnappattu.' No one took the 'Thacholli Pattukal' as literature, and I do not know if selections from these 'Pattukal' have ever appeared in textbooks prescribed by the University. It is Vallathol who has for the first time written lyrics as literature to be taken seriously, not as songs for the farm-girls. In this way Vallathol is the pioneer of a really new movement in the field of Malayalam Literature.

Vallathol started life in the realm of Malayalam Literature in the school established, though not started, by Kerala Varma Valia Koilthampuran, writing poetry in Sanskritic metres, taking all ideas from Sanskrit authors, using long Sanskrit compounds, introducing a profusion of the Sanskritic element both in vocabulary and in intonation. Along with some other members of an association of young poets, who were dominated by the spirit of Kerala Varma,

he wrote the 'Pancha Tantra' in Malayalam verse (in Sanskritic metre). He was contributing small poems to various journals in Malabar. Then came his great undertaking in the form of a translation of the epic, Valmiki's 'Ramayana' into Malayalam closely following the metres used by Valmiki. Kunhukuttan Thampan of the Cranganore Royal family had already begun a translation of the 'Mahabharata' on the same plan. It was this work that brought Vallathol to the forefront, although this is not the work for which he is known as a great poet in Malabar. He wrote an epic called 'Chitrayoga' on the model of Sriharsha's 'Naishadha.' All these were preliminary stages that led to his being crowned as the 'Sarva-bhouma' or Emperor in the field of Malayalam Poetry.

It was about this time that the name of Rabindranath Tagore reached Malabar. His poems attracted the attention of the literary celebrities of Malabar. His 'Gitanjali,' 'Fruit-gathering,' 'Crescent Moon' and other works were being translated into Malayalam as they appeared in English. It was the poems of Tagore that directed the attention of Vallathol to lyrical poetry. I do not suggest the Vallathol is only an imitator, that he turned his attention from 'Naishadha' to 'Gitanjali,' ever remaining an imitator, only changing the model from the old Sriharsha to the modern Tagore who has more glamour about him in the modern world. Tagore's poetry was only an occasion for Vallathol to see his own soul, his real genius. The political movement in India at the same time had also a great influence on Vallathol. He began to take a great interest in the political movement of the country though he did not identify himself with any particular party, but only inspired the political movement in general, like Tagore. Till then the learned few were the audience for whom poetry was intended by the poets; their poetry was modelled to suit their tastes. Nature with all her variety and beauty, the people with their aspirations and emotions were as nothing to the poets. They were completely ignored. The political movement with the accompanying factors of social reform and the development

of local industries, local institutions and the welfare of the common people, brought Vallathol into direct contact with life, instead of his seeing the world merely from the picture drawn of it by the ancient Sanskrit poets. From that time forwards, he relegated Sriharsha to the background and he took interest in Nature, in the fields and in the meadows, in the forests and in the woods, in the flowers of the fields, in the clouds of the sky, in the birds of the air and in the beasts of the earth, in the changing seasons, in the ordinary people with their unsophisticated beautiful life, in the feelings, in the emotions, in the aspirations of man instead of in the intellects of the prodigies.

I give below the titles of some of the poems written by Vallathol in recent years, and these titles are expressive enough, so that one can judge of the great change that he has brought about in Malayalam Literature without any long comment from me.

‘Somagrahanam’ (in ‘keka’ a Dravidian metre) on “lunar eclipse”.

‘Motiram’ (in ‘pana’ another Dravidian metre) on “that ring”

‘Karshakajivitam’ (in ‘makandamanjari’ another Dravidian metre) on “the peasant life.”

‘Onapputava’ (in keka) on “the presents during the “onam” festival.”

‘Kochumarappu’ (‘kakali’ still another Dravidian metre) on “that small bundle.”

These few are some specimens selected at random from some of his recent publications. One can search the whole of the Malayalam Literature for the last thousand years of its existence, and he will be sorely disappointed if he expected one single piece of poetry of this type. The ‘Ramayana’ and the ‘Mahabharata,’ and ‘Kathasaritsagara’ were the chief sources from which poets drew their material as in Sanskrit, and no one even dreamt that they need not go to a second-hand dealer for materials for their poems but that there is Nature from whom they can get the things they want for their poetry direct and first-hand. It is the catholicism of

his spirit that distinguished Vallathol from the earlier poets in another very marked way. He selected his subjects from the Christian Bible and from the Koran, he never restricted his choice to the stories centering round Sri Krishna and Sri Rama. He wrote a poem called 'Magdalana Maria,' being the story of Mary Magdalene, taken from the Bible. He has a poem on Allah. His poems are about the world and about life in the world, and his poems are for man. He never tired the reader by the monotonous repetitions of the classical enmity between the lotus and the moon. The flowers that he saw with his own eyes and whose beauty he appreciated and enjoyed were the real thing for him, and he expressed in poetry the beauty in Nature that he realised and enjoyed. I give certain lines below in English translation to show the contrast between his poetry and the poetry of the old classical school :

'Let the news spread, the owls will listen to it with their humming.'

'Has the mercy of the guardian deities of my land, the cow, ceased to yield milk?'

'Hot water at the base of the flower-growing plant, my aspirations.'

'Is it the burial ground that lies beyond this place of affection fragrant with attractive snow?'

I can multiply instances, if instances will strengthen the point. It is the quality and not the quantity that is the chief thing in poetry, and one instance is enough. I have made certain selections at random to show how Vallathol draws his inspiration from Nature. That he has written his poems in Malayalam, a language not accessible to the world at large, is a misfortune of the world, not a defect of Vallathol. Although his poems may be unintelligible to the world, his spirit must be a source of inspiration to the whole of the modern world. He has given to Malabar what the greatest of men have ever given to the world. It is a handicap of every genius that his genius is not appreciated by the whole world, and linguistic and other limitations cloud the issue, though the genius is above all these limitations. It is the

common people that create an artificial fog around them and say that the work of the genius is defective and cannot be seen. It is only through articles like the present that one nation can understand the spirit that moves the life of another nation, and through this exposition of the present tendency in Malayalam Literature, I believe I have contributed something to a correct understanding of the present spirit of Malabar represented by this great poet, to those outside Malabar.

F. W. Bain as a Story-writer

BY K. CHANDRASEKHARAN, M.A., B.L.

The art of F. W. Bain, the author of a series of Indian Tales is at once fascinating and suggestive. His surpassing love of Sanskrit with the attendant fondness for its imagery, has impelled him to offer us this bunch of delicious stories, all sweet with their Oriental fragrance. Steeped in the culture of the East, and with a sympathy born of his personal touch with the Hindu, he refuses to be obsessed with a sense of the superiority of his own race. Nay, his keen pleasure in drinking in the charm of Indian scenery has almost bred in him a bias for the Hindu mythology with its numerous Gods symbolizing Nature. He says once, on gazing at his own Welsh Mountains, "this is not quite the golden glow of my Indian eve ; for this is just chilly ; and yet yonder is a hill worthy to be haunted by Parvathi herself." He seems even willing to become "a pagan suckled in a creed out-worn" in order to retain the heart "where echoes some scrap of ancient poetry, where the everyday sun descends to rest behind the Western hills."

But the stories of Bain, unlike the merely romantic ones narrating the amorous adventures of Prince Udayana, have a silver thread of message running throughout. The thought often disturbs the reader whether these works have been dug out from our own treasure troves and for the first time translated into English as represented by the author. Rather we demur at the idea, since none among us seems to have known of their existence, at least in the form in which they have been received, though we hardly feel Mr. Bain himself would have the temerity to launch upon a scheme of writing stories of Eastern love without a deep and regular study of the Sanskrit Literature. It cannot but leave the impression on us that such intoxicating lines on the beauty of woman and the moon, have nothing in common with any other language than Sanskrit. Moreover, the author himself is not forgetful

of his debt to the originals which he is careful enough to point out by a note here and there. But beneath all this care, we suspect a secret which suddenly reveals, as it were, a flood of sunshine. He disarms us completely when he takes us into confidence and says regarding the origin of these stories in the last book of the series entitled 'The substance of a dream' that "they come one by one, suddenly like a flash of lightning all together; I see them in the air before me like a Bayeaux tapestry, complete from end to end, and write them down hardly lifting the pen from the paper straight off 'from the M.S.' I never know the day before, when one is coming; it arrives as if shot out of a pistol; who can tell? They may be all but so many reminiscences of a former birth."

Now, one wonders how a Westerner, with an inborn dislike for anything not scientifically proved, should have imbibed the Indian temperament of dreaming which "chooses rather to err with Kalidas and Valmiki than go right with some elementary manual of geography." And again we are not a little struck by Bain's spirit in justifying the polytheistic religion of India as "better reflecting the many facets of an incomprehensible divinity." For he perceives in the East "some curious indestructible asbestos, some element of perennial, imperturbable tranquillity, and calm . . . which is conspicuous by its absence in the worry of the West." Walking once through the narrow streets of Benares, crowded with its multitudes from all quarters, he came to the river scene where "lying with the bodies still alive, the ashes of bodies just burned or still burning on the Ghat" he was taught to appreciate the great philosophy of the Hindus that "Life and death touching, running into one another . . . is a matter of course." Yet his heart feels a strange thrill at the quietism of India and he breaks out, "it is curious, this peace, this indifference, this calm, it does not seem a reality: it is like a thing looked at in a picture, like a dream."

This passionate taste for the Indian life and its beautiful literature which is "all one gigantic stream, fairy tale

reduced to a kind of system, where wild imagination is reality and the commonplace is not," has permeated his soul with a great yearning. Hence his intense desire to be ever dwelling in fantasies, wherein the God with the moony-tiara and Uma, the mountain-born, appear in a splendid vision before him and begin narrating the stories which he has given us, in the manner in which they were told.

To the modern lover of short stories, these tales, mere figments of imagination, with more of poetic conceit in them than of reality, may give little pleasure. But the deftness with which he weaves them, and his bewitching style with its delicate touches, attract young and old. His powers of description excelling those of Oriental authors have really set the minds of the students of Sanskrit on a quest after their originals. The charm of his pen consists in creating an atmosphere, wherein we feel ourselves transported to cool forests besides pools of lotuses, with the silvery digit above us, and camphor-oozing stones around. His knowledge of a foreign language and its traditions is unerring. He is faithful to Sanskrit poetry, mellifluous and rich with metaphors, and never wafting anything but pollen-laden breeze. His perfect imitation of the Oriental art is still a marvel to many.

Each of the books bears a lovely title, highly suggestive of the contents within. And each story again embosoms a fine suggestion. Love is the theme of almost all of them, though each exhibits a distinct phase of it. 'The Heifer of the Dawn' is a little story in which a lady woos her hero. As the story proceeds, the position is reversed. The parts have been so dexterously pieced together, with a number of other stories from the mouth of the lady in love, that the sweetness and variety of the whole are enhanced. We are ourselves so captivated by the magic of the Cheti's speech that, no wonder, the prince who listened to her finally desired to have the story-teller ever near his heart. Even the loquacity of a Rosalind is not half as enlivening as that of Madhupamanjari.

Again the lofty Indian conception of wife-hood has been

chosen the subject of another tiny volume 'In The Great God's Hair,' where Indra seeks in vain to win the love of a chaste woman. She is steadfast in her devotion towards her lord. Bain is so saturated with the Indian belief in rebirth, that he says with Wanallari, "a woman recognises in an instant, with unerring sagacity . . . her husband ; for, this depends not on the shallow and casual experiences of this life, but the store of reminiscences of a former birth." We find him echoing with pride the Hindu idea of 'Sati' when he says, "every woman needs a lord. When she has found him, let him treat her how he will, she is his. But if she finds the wrong man, though he may treat her as a queen and adore her as a goddess, yet she will never love him."

The thought which is ingrained in us for ages, is that the whole of this lower life (*ihaloka*) is wrapped up in a fascination for fleeting shadows. And love which alternately binds human hearts in bonds of pain and bliss, is perhaps the worst of illusions, in which men forget themselves. Bain calls it a bubble of the foam, "so beautiful in its colour while it endures ; so evanescent, so hollow, leaving behind it when it bursts and disappears, nothing but a memory and a bitter taste of the brine." So feels Aranyani, an innocent maiden, born and bred up in the lap of Nature, when she falls an easy victim to the smiles of Atirup, only to realize the grief of being rejected after a brief spell of happiness. Her tragic end only confirms the truth, 'the course of true love never did run smooth.' And Bhabru's figure haunts us long after the book is closed, even more pathetic in its appeal to us, than that of Victor Hugo's hero in the 'Toilers of the Sea.'

The volume 'An Incarnation of the Snow' evokes conflicting emotions in us. The prologue finds us quite as earnest as Uma herself, to hear the string of stories, though the epilogue suddenly fills us with joy at the turn of events towards the close--all the work of a mischievous God playing the role of a lover. We are in transports at the devise, which is Bain's own, employed to appease the anger of His consort.

A close study of human psychology leaves no room to

doubt the influence of woman's beauty on the mind of man. The great God's anger at Love only hastened his final defeat at the latter's hands. Hence 'The Mine of Faults' deals with the history of Prince Chand, an inveterate foe of woman's smiles, becoming the target of a shower of sharp glances from the corner of the eyes of the daughter of King Mitra. The interview between her and the prince, diplomatically arranged by a cunning minister to bring about amicable relations between two kingdoms, ended in failure on both sides. The enchantress of the prince herself felt the sweet compulsion of being ensnared in his arms. Love knows not when it will strike its victims, and if love is true it has a great capacity to forgive.

'The Livery of Eve' is a story of a Naga woman whose affections for a mortal, Kesava, is so great that all her woman's wits are at her service, when she hits upon a plan to liberate her lover from the deceit played on him by a malicious rival. Love has power to overcome all barriers.

'A Digit of the Moon' has a remarkable attraction for us. A prince with his avowed dislike for the other sex meets with a damsel, whose beautiful looks and accomplishments slowly wear out his obduracy, even as waves do, by beating repeatedly on the rocky shore. His love waxes with every day's meeting which brings him a fresh story from the inexhaustible store-house of his sweetheart. The final reward is the union of their souls, for "without that all beauty of a woman is but nectar-poison." Bain is so well versed in Eastern lore, that he successfully adopts the most beautiful method of developing the progress of his tale with a number of minor stories. For the Indian mind has not shown signs of fatigue in creating such dreams, which allure the hearts of even the grown-up among us.

'The Essence of a Dusk' is a wild romance, alluring and yet bewildering as the expanded hood of an Indian cobra. The wild chase of beauty by prince Aja enthused him to brave even the witch-craft of the Yakshas who entice him to a mysterious death. Love is mad and is ready to risk even life itself.

Love is jealous of a rival and is unsparing in its frequent demands of reciprocity from the object of its adoration. It is with such consummate skill and insight Bain prepares in his book 'The Syrup of the Bees' the heart of Makarandika to suspect another sharing her husband's love. She begins spiting a rival and ends by hating her lord. In the convulsive grasp of jealousy she turns out an evil woman, only to engulf herself and the rest in a catastrophe.

'The Descent of the Sun' is full of love's speechless messages which induce prince Umarsingh to search for the queen of his heart. Her face is familiar to him when seen with the 'creative eye of fancy' but unreal in substance. The strange curse of a sage wrought on a pair of youthful lovers this change and separation and longing for each other, which like a dream was only for a while.

The story in 'The Ashes of a God' has the usual theme of a woman's attempts to spoil the *tapas* of a sage, in order to diminish his 'mountain of merits.' The jealous God Indra resorts to his devise of sending down an Apsara to shake the firmness of a disciplined mind. Trishodadi who "stood four-square to all the winds that blew" was shaken when his weakness was delicately touched by the flattery of a woman's tongue. His fall was prepared by himself.

For an intense dreaming of love with its feverish delights and fatigues we have to look to 'A Draught of the Blue,' a story pregnant with significant touches, all converging on the one theme, that love knows no bounds. Alichumbita and Rudralaka have their feast of youth, all evanescent as the evening glow.

Finally, the question is asked by Bain why woman becomes the load-star of man's heart. The queen Tarawali has been powerless to ward off a host of suitors, who like bees hover about her person. Hatred, born of loving the same woman, sets two men Satrunjaya and Narasimhan to seek each other's end as well as the pathetic close to the career of a queen, whose only fault is her beauty. Maheswara answers the query in the 'Substance of a Dream' that man is to blame for love's follies and woman

is powerless in his hands. His impulses goad him to fall into a deep passion for her, though he soon feels disgusted at her loveliness, when he learns how it is potent in its influence on others as much as on himself. Bain is perhaps thinking with Dr. Tagore that "woman is not only the handiwork of God but also of man . . . she is half-woman, half-dream."

These then are his wonderful tales perhaps intoxicating us with their thousand beauties. The thoughts of Bain lie scattered about like flowers on the polished floor of an Indian back ground. They emit their odours all alike pleasing, though each bloom can be distinguished by its peculiar fragrance. All his women are ranged before us in their best form and they are as fresh and soft as the substance of a dream. It is indeed for us to choose the best. Madhupamanjari alone stands above the rest, in the fullness of her glory, for hers is a charm which does not merely belong to her person. Her culture is deep and her imagination powerful. The flow of her words is a crystal stream which is limpid and fertilizing. None will deem her wanting in taste or delicacy when she wins her heart's desire, for her heart is fixed on a permanent love.

Bain has added his rich store to the world of ideas. He inspires us to estimate the true value of our own books. His perfection as an artist needs no better testimony than that his books have ever impressed us with what he would have desired deeply, that they should be deemed genuine translations. The mind which conceived of such a pleasure to be derived from literature stands in its own majestic isolation though none the less our hearts are wrapped up in the felicity of knowing it. For it blesseth him that gives and him that takes.

The Rise in Human Values

BY PROF. N. G. RANGA, B. LITT (OXON)

CANNIBALISM

There were times in the history of most of the nations of the world when cannibalism was an accepted system of human existence. To eat one's own children was considered to be an extreme form of this, although there were certain tribes which did not prohibit such a thing. But cannibalism was quite a popular mode of life as regards the inter-relations of different tribes.¹ In the numerous and frequent wars which took place between different tribes, captives there were in plenty and the fate of such people was a hopeless one, since they were intended to be eaten by the conquerors. The vanquished were considered to be one of the different kinds of game, secured by the more fortunate who lived mostly by hunting. This habit of considering human beings as game became so ingrained that the civilised Europeans of the mediæval times found it possible to talk of the people caught in their man-traps as game, although they were free from the reproach of cannibalism.

SLAUGHTER

But as man's power over nature increased and as he found it more and more easy to capture game, other than human beings, he came to be able to grow out of his habit and need for human flesh. But the constant inter-tribal wars brought the question of the disposal of the captives into prominence and it was solved by the only alternative of wholesale slaughter. For those primitive people believed that the people of other tribes brought with them their evil gods, spirits and associations, and that their very existence was unpleasant to their own gods and deities.² This

¹It is only two years ago that the Governor of Assam persuaded a tribe to give up head hunting.

²Machiavelli and Kautilya talk of slaughter as if it were nothing extraordinary. Timur, the Tiger, converted the streets of Delhi into streams of blood.

progressive evolution from cannibalism into slaughter was helped by the messages brought to the tribes by their old men and witch-doctors from their communion with their spirits, from time to time. In this respect, there were constant changes of policy. The European nations have been guilty of massacring many tribes in Belgian Congo and other parts of Africa, and in Australia, during the nineteenth century as if they were no better than beasts.¹

SLAVERY

It is difficult for any one to fix the century in which these primitive fathers of our civilization stumbled upon the more fruitful and humane idea of slavery. But certain it is that by the time the idea of slavery dawned upon them, they must have passed through their hunting and nomadic stages of life and reached the pastoral and agricultural modes of existence. For, only when the labour of a dependent came to have some value in the economy of the primitive society that a slave working for his master in return for his food and clothing could be considered worth having, in preference to his total destruction. Slavery thus became the condition of life for large masses of people who happened to fall captives to other tribes. As the economic life became more and more complex and as it was found to be more convenient to depend upon the labour of others for one's existence than upon one's own labour, and as the inequalities of fortune amongst the members of a tribe became more and more important, slaves came to occupy a very important place in the economic organization of the primitive society. Hence the unpopularity of the socio-economic habit of marrying numerous wives in order to extract work from them and the growing value of the possession of slaves. Hence the constant raids upon other tribes for winning slaves.

ECONOMIC EQUIVALENT OF SLAVES

With the development of inter-tribal social organisa-

¹ 'Economic Imperialism' by Wolff.

tion and a systematic code of customs and conventions, both the society as a whole and the individuals in their own turn came to prize their possessions of slaves. Only after the creation of a democratic state in Ancient Greece, an economic theory of the ownership of slaves came to be developed in a systematic manner. Not only was it found possible to fix a price for the labour of a slave but also a regular exchange of slaves for other commodities came to be popular. Slaves were not only sold in open market as was still the custom in Egypt, but were also leased out for certain periods at certain fixed prices. The next step in advance was to recognise the fact that a slave worked better and more to the advantage of the owner if he was offered a salary in addition to the food and raiment provided, or a wage higher than what was needed to maintain him. Thus it came about that a few slaves found it possible to accumulate small sums, acquire land and other properties and carry on business on a small scale. The constant depletion of the population of freemen caused by the numerous wars between different peoples made the freemen depend more and more upon the labour of their slaves and so it had become possible for the latter to attain an economic importance in society which they lacked before. After a while, the masters began to claim all the property of their slaves after their death in addition to claiming a right of property in the lives of their children and they persisted in laying their claims in however subdued a form it might be to both these legacies of their bondsmen for centuries after slavery was practically abolished; for the freed serf had to pay 'heriot'¹ to his lord upon all the deceased members of his family and to obtain the sanction of his feudal lord to send his children abroad or to marry them or to allow them to marry² into the families of other Lords' bondsmen. Yet the slaves continued to make progress and won the right of purchasing their freedom from their masters for the payment of a price.

¹The Greek Economics, edited by Leistner.

²The Mediæval Village by Coulton.

SYSTEM OF RANSOMING CAPTIVES

With the growth and popularity of money economy had arisen the system of ransoming the captives. With the development of Central Governments and the establishment of more or less permanent societies of people, it had been found that it was profitable to ransom the captives by the people of different warring societies rather than converting them all into slaves. Even long before ransoming the captives became so popular, it was found more profitable to allow slaves to purchase their freedom, owing to the inter-breeding that had been going on between slaves and masters, among other causes.

EVOLUTION IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Different countries reached the stage when slavery as an important system of human relations came to be abolished, at different stages of their economic and social development. Greece and Rome were never able to get on without slaves and in fact the economists of Greece laboured hard to develop a scientific theory of the economics of slave-ownership. True it is that the Stoics and others strove their best to conceive the idea that human beings could all be equal and the Roman lawyers successfully argued that all men were equal in nature and so the *Jus Naturale* should make no distinction between different people. But we must not overlook the fact that both Plato and Aristotle took the system of slavery for granted and that the latter even went to the length of providing a political and philosophical justification for slavery and that the Roman Tribunes as well as Emperors found it a convenient instrument in the then prevailing social and economic organisation of society.¹ Although most of the nations in Western Europe were able to emerge through the mediæval times, after having shed their systems of slavery, they persisted until the time of Wilberforce in converting free human beings of Africa into slaves and carrying on in them a very remunerative trade and peopling the South

¹Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire by Rostovzeff.

Indies and South America with large numbers of black slaves. Wilberforce set the seal of a more humane civilisation upon the history of the nineteenth century by persuading the British Government to abolish slavery in its Colonies, and Castlereigh persuaded the International Conference of the second decade of the last century to accept the British policy.¹ But Russia continued its disastrous policy of converting the free Russian peasants into slaves, a policy inaugurated by Goodnoff Boris, until 1855 when Alexander II took the epoch-making step of abolishing this inhuman institution of slavery. India has not escaped the curse of slavery and her history bristles with instances of more inhuman slave trade than can be found elsewhere. Kautilya only tried to place slavery upon a systematic basis and the instance of Harischandra and his wife being sold in the bazaars of Benares symbolises what was already an accepted human system. That Brahmins could be converted into slaves is indicated by the allegorical story of the Tamil saint Gnana Sambandar.² It is only a couple of years ago that the Maharanee of Nepal decided to abolish slavery in her State. There are still people who believe that this nefarious trade is being carried on in Negroes of Africa by some European businessmen. As for India, many Brahmins and Vaisyas of the South sell their daughters to their castemen, and some Brahmins and Non-Brahmins sell their young girls to prostitutes, who hope to perpetuate their degrading progeny by such incumbents. The cry against 'white slave traffic' indicates that through some means or other, some white women are bought and sold, their inherent utility being their sex. Therefore it is wrong on the part of students of Social Science to comfortably conclude that the blot of slavery has at last disappeared from human society. Through some crevice or other, in some garb or other, real slavery persists, though to a less extent than formerly.

¹Russia and Democracy by Wesselitsky.

²Saints of Southern India by S. V. Ramaswamy Iyer.

VILLEINAGE

Very many causes contributed to the disappearance of slavery and the creation of the system of villeinage ; the most important of them being that it was found cheaper for the masters to let the slaves become villeins who had to try their best to maintain themselves upon the small patches of land given to them, after contributing freely as much labour to their lords as was demanded. The villein—the so-called free-man—was superior to slaves, in that he had a right to his life while the slave was completely the property of his master. The villeins enjoyed a wer-gild, ranging from £2 to £4 per head but the slaves did not possess such a privilege. On the other hand, the former had to work freely on his lord's farm whenever called upon, to the detriment of his own interests, to get his corn grinded into flour, his bread made and his beer brewed by his lord, while the land he was granted was insufficient to provide him with enough food. He was obliged to give presents to his lord whenever the eldest son and daughter of the latter were married, and to purchase his consent to let his sons and daughters marry, and win his permission to leave the estate either temporarily or permanently. His children were considered to be the villeins of his lord, who looked upon them as a piece of property. He could be sold along with the property of the lord to which he was attached. His women were not free from the corrupting influence of his lord's attentions and his marital relations were strictly regulated by his lord. Thus his freedom was circumscribed to such an extent that his life was on occasions less bearable and enviable than that of his ancestor—the slave. He inherited all the disqualifications of his ancestor without his economic security.¹ It often happened that more fortunate men *i.e.*, freemen were forcibly degraded into villeins, while the few privileges enjoyed by the latter were gradually abridged. Hence it was that the wer-gild of villeins was considerably decreased and the number of Anglo-Saxon freemen dwindled almost into nothing after the Norman Conquest.

¹The Mediæval Village.

THE SPORTING CHANCE

Slowly through the shelter of custom and many non-apparent changes in the economic structure of society, the villein came to improve his condition and to win a few privileges. Owing to the unrest amongst the villeins and the outbreaks of rebellion in the Manors and the Monasteries, both the lords and monks were obliged to lessen their control upon the social and economic life of their villeins. But such privileges as getting fuel freely from the lord's woods, using the village commons, cultivating a small portion of the lord's lands for their own use, breeding a few cattle or pigs on their own account, were so much subject to indefinitely understood privileges that there was very little chance for these people to prosper. That the number of these people was not inconsiderable is indicated by the fact that as many as fifty per cent. of the population of England in the thirteenth century belonged to this class.

But this system of villeinage was not peculiar to Europe alone. It existed in all its rigour and misery in India until very recently. It is only within the memory of most of our old villagers that our rural economy came to be free from this degrading system. Every ryot used to have a right of property in the person and progeny of his villein. It is true that most of our villeins belonged only to the castes of untouchables, but even these people numbered fifteen to twenty per cent. of our rural population. The famous example of Nanda, the Pariah saint, slaving for his master, shows how severe and merciless this system was in its incidence even in this spiritualised country. The Nairs of Malabar were scarcely in a better condition till the other day, and what the European landlord claimed hesitatingly was enjoyed freely and profusely by his Indian prototype—*i.e.*, the right of 'samban dham'.¹ Even to-day, the Chetties of the Nilgiris look upon their Panians as property and they know how to sell or purchase, lease out or rent families of Panians. In fact, a Chetty buys his land with its Janmam Panians who are thus considered to be a portion of the property changing hands.

¹The Census of the Madras Presidency, 1870.

REVOLTS

Although the revolts of villeins and peasants of the Continent in the twelfth century did not achieve much good in the way of improving their economic conditions, they paved the way for their more systematic revolt in England against the landlords and monks, in the fourteenth century, after the Black Death. Because of the ravages of plague, the population was halved and the ranks of workers were thinned to a still greater extent, with the consequence that the villeins were left in a strong strategic position. This, the unhappy workers were quick to realize and they began to demand higher wages, in addition to freedom from the time-honoured contribution of free labour on the estates of the lords and the monks. Many managed to emigrate to the growing towns, which were then coming into prominence and many more were able to force their lords to accept commutation of their services in terms of money. The Great Revolt¹ ended disastrously for the workers for the time being, but it sounded the warning that unless the overlords changed their policy, there was nothing to stop the villeins and peasants from freeing themselves completely from all feudal dues, control and serfdom. Many villeins were able to extricate themselves from their untenable position and to become tenants at will and many peasants came to be free from all outside interference and feudal control. The Wars of the Roses and the resulting transformation in the industrial organisation of the country helped this evolution. But on the Continent things moved more slowly because no such natural blessing as the Black Death helped the workers, and the supremacy of the lords and abbots was very much greater than in England, while the masses were more docile than their brethren across the Channel. However the great Protestant Reformation² gave an impetus to the movement of freedom among the villeins and the rebellion of the poor in the sixteenth century assumed gigantic proportions. It was typical of the times that so great a Protestant as Luther should dissociate himself

¹The Economic History of England by Charlotte M. Waters.

²Religion and the Rise of Capitalism by R. H. Tawney.

from this cause of economic freedom and that all the princes and priests should make common cause to suppress this raising of the banner of revolt, just when they were leading a rebellion against the Pope. The success of the Princes in their revolt against the Roman Church sealed the fate of the peasants and postponed their partial salvation till the French Revolution.

Russia did not even attempt like Germany to take part in the popular peasant revolts. Its serfs were in a very much greater stupor and they had never had a chance of breathing the atmosphere of freedom.¹ In fact it is doubtful whether the Russian slaves ever passed through the intermediary stage of villenage before they attained complete freedom. As for India, it is not at all an exaggeration to maintain that there were never any risings on the part of her serfs against their lords. Just as in Europe, the priest vied with the lord in exploiting the slave and the villein, so also the Brahmin and the Kshatriya waxed rich upon the labour of the suppressed classes. But whereas in Europe there were frequent risings of peasants and their inferiors against their masters, there were none in India. The caste system with its accompaniment of the theory of the cycle of births had not a little to do with the notorious submissive spirit of Indian villeins. The preachings of Buddha, Ramanuja, Chaitanya, Kabir, Tukaram, and Vemana would have produced widespread risings in any other country, and the fights waged more or less successfully by the many untouchable saints would have stirred to action the working classes of any other country. Unfortunately, India was sunk helplessly in her slavish slumber. The thunderous movements of revolt against her caste system, priest-craft, corrupt idolatry and meaningless ritual and superficiality and materialism went by without enlivening the masses. The Indian untouchable is at the lowest rung of the ladder of civilization in the world and he does not show any effective sign of rising above his station merely because he has not

¹ Cambridge History of Europe.

had any tradition of revolt, and he has become a slave mentally and morally to the caste idea, and he has not known that aspect of Hinduism which was taught by Vemana and Brahma Naidu of Andhra country and Nanda and Ramanuja of Tamil Nadu and Chaitanya of Bengal. .

Reviews

[We shall be glad to review books in all Indian languages and in English, French and German. Books for Review should reach the office at least *SIX WEEKS* in advance of the day of publication of the Journal.]

Telugu Literature.—By P. Chenchiah and Raja M. Bhujanga Rao. The Heritage of India Series. Published by the Association Press Y.M.C.A, Price Re 1-8-0.

So little is known of the Andhras outside the Telugu Districts that any attempt to acquaint the outside world with the culture and civilisation of the Andhras deserves to be warmly welcomed. This little brochure of 124 pages is the first attempt in the English language to narrate the broad outlines of Telugu Literature and, considering that it is a pioneer work, it must be pronounced to be a distinct success.

The book is closely modelled on Mr. E. P. Rice's earlier volume in the same series on the history of Kanarese Literature. There is little wonder that this should be so, for the Kanarese and Telugu Literatures developed under almost the same vicissitudes of political history and were influenced by almost the same currents of social and religious thought, so that the two histories are very closely allied. Some of the earlier Telugu poets like Palkuriki Somanatha and Nanne Choda were also great Kanarese poets. The great Telugu poet Srinatha characterised his own poetry as 'Karnata Bhasha.' The great Empire of Vijianagar under whose patronage Telugu *Prabhandas* reached its high-water mark was itself a 'Karnata Samrajya;' and at the Royal Court of Krishnadeva Raya and other Emperors, Telugu and Kanarese poets flourished together and composed their works side by side. The interaction of the two Literatures has been so continuous and deep-seated that no history of Telugu Literature can be considered complete unless it notices contemporary literary developments in Kanarese Literature, and *vice versa*. Mr. Rice attempted this to some extent in his 'History of Kanarese Literature.' It is to be regretted that

the learned authorities of the present work neglected this aspect altogether.

It must, however, be said that within a short compass, the authors have been able to compress the maximum amount of matter, without in any way detracting from lucidity and clearness. Almost every poet of any eminence has been noticed. And the literary estimates are, generally, sound and accurate. The introductory chapters dealing with the Andhras, their country, their language, and their script, and the sources of Telugu literary history and the historical and religious background which gave rise to the same, are specially valuable as the book is primarily intended for Non-Andhras. The division of the history of Telugu Literature into five periods adopted by the authors is very convenient and is, in fact, the most widely-accepted among scholars. The authors have devoted one chapter to each of these five divisions, in which they notice the general literary tendencies of the period and give a short account of the leading poets and their works, and wind up by adding a list of the works of the more important minor poets of the period. The special chapters on women-poets and Christian and Mahomedan poets make very interesting reading. The authors' appreciation of Mangalagiri Ananda Kavi's 'Vedanta Rasayana', a Telugu poem dealing with the life of Jesus, deserves special mention. For 'Vedanta Rasayana' is a poetical work of high merit. It is undoubtedly the best piece of Christian Literature in the Telugu language. The work is not as widely known as it deserves to be. It is to be hoped that at least the Christian publishing societies will rescue this excellent little work from unmerited oblivion and render a cheap and popular edition of the poem available to the Telugu reading public. The chapter dealing with the Southern school, that is, the literature produced at the Royal Courts of Tanjore, Madura and Mysore, is specially instructive and is one of the best portions of this work.

But perhaps the finest feature of this short literary history is the important place that it gives to the popular literature in Telugu. From very early times, two distinct streams of literature have been flowing side by side in the land of the Telugus, one the literature of the 'Kavya' and the 'Prabandha' which was exclusively the literature of the learned and of the Royal Courts, and the other a popular literature

which consisted mainly of 'Satakams' or devotional hymns, 'Yakshaganams' or 'Harikathas,' ballads and songs. The authors call these two streams the 'Margi' and the 'Desi' respectively. Strictly speaking, this is not the sense in which these two words are used in the famous quartette of Nanne Choda from which the words are borrowed. But these words are certainly very convenient to describe the two currents that have always been running parallel in Telugu Literature. Thanks to the labours of the late Veeresalingam Pantulu and the late Gurujada Ramamurti and the indefatigable researches of Manavalli Ramakrishnayya, almost all the important works of the 'Kavya' literature are now available to the reading public. But the scholars entirely excluded the popular literature from the purview of their researches. It is regrettable that no one has yet been found to do for this popular literature what Veeresalingam and others have done for the 'Kavya' literature. For there is undoubtedly much that is exceedingly beautiful and of the highest literary and artistic value in this popular literature. As the learned authors rightly point out, "When the industry of the Research scholar makes it available for the critic to sift and winnow, it will be found that this literature, scorned by the Pandit, looked down upon by the learned, is the true heritage of the Andhras—their characteristic contribution to the Commonwealth of Letters—their true 'Gitanjali'".

Dealing with modern literature, the authors hold progressive views and reveal a very sympathetic understanding of the new literary ideals, which have been animating and inspiring contemporary writers of creative literature. The impact of Western culture with traditional but decadent ideals has aroused the dormant creative genius of the Andhra race and has produced during the last 20 or 30 years a volume of creative literature which is really prolific. The authors' summary of this recent literature is generally correct and comprehensive. One important omission must, however, be noticed. Almost everyone of the modern poets acknowledges that his forerunner and inspirer is the late Gurajada Appa Rao (and not Rayaprolu Subba Rao as the authors seem to think) whose 'Muthyala Saramulu,' though not available in book form, were published in the 'Andhra Bharati' and other magazines and directly inspired and brought into existence the modern school of poets. It is quite surprising that the authors do not

even refer to the late Gurajada Appa Rao as a poet, though they refer to his brilliant social comedy, 'Kanya Sulkam.' Most of the work of this new school is certainly a hybrid patch-work, which has neither the sweetness and the beauty of Telugu nor the virile strength of English. But signs are already visible that the wave of nationalism sweeping over the entire country is making its influence felt in the realm of Andhra Literature also. There is now a distinct tendency to assimilate the views of the best Sanskrit critics of poetry like Mummata and Anandavardhana and to draw inspiration from the best works of early Sanskrit Literature. The leading exponent of this new phase in the realm of criticism is Akkiraju Umakanta Vidyasekhara, while in the realm of creative art, the same tendency is clearly visible in the best work of Viswanatha Satyanarayana, a rising Telugu poet of great promise and merit. This new phase of modern literary development has been left unnoticed by the authors.

In the last chapter entitled 'Retrospect and Prospect,' the authors summarise their views of the characteristic merits and defects of Telugu Literature as a whole. The authors point out that "true literature is the artistic expression of life" and remark that the central weakness of Telugu Literature (excluding modern tendencies) lies in the dissociation of art from life. This is, in one sense, strictly true; for Telugu Literature as a whole reflects very little of the daily life of the Andhras. But before a whole Literature is condemned, as the authors have done in unmeasured terms, one must acquire a deep and sympathetic understanding of the literary ideals which inspired the greatest masters of the Literature. Telugu Literature is the epitome in the realm of Letters of the same ideals as are embodied in ancient sculpture and painting. In literature, no less than in art, the imitation of nature, even in the larger sense of the expression, was never an ideal. Realism, as it is understood in the West, had never any high place in the literary idealism of the Andhras, though it is certainly true that two of the greatest Telugu poets, Tikkana and Pingali Sooranna, were also great realists. The delineation of a mere man was always looked down upon. Literature concerned itself almost exclusively with pious lore, nor did literature, any more than sculpture, concern itself with creating original characters of striking individuality; it only depicted

types, the 'Dheerodatta' and such like. Even the 'Shrungara' of Telugu Literature, at its best, has the same justification in art as the rude images of Indian sculpture. It is not possible to discuss this subject fully in the short space of a review. Suffice it to say that the defects pointed out by the authors are defects, if they be such at all, which Telugu Literature has in common with other Indian Literatures; for they are all the products of almost the same literary and artistic ideals. In point of sweetness and witchery of expression, however, Telugu Literature stands supreme. As the authors rightly put it, "Telugu poetry is song set to music: symphony and sweetness is its soul."

Taken as a whole, the book under review contains a short, reliable, and succinct account of the main currents of Telugu Literature. There are a few accidental slips or errors which need no special notice. The style is throughout simple and chaste, and, in some places, even eloquent and picturesque. The book is neatly printed on featherweight paper and moderately priced. An excellent introduction contributed by that eminent Andhra scholar and savant, Mr. C. R. Reddy, adds to the value of the work. The authors as well as the publishers deserve to be congratulated upon this neat little production.

V. RANGACHARI

The Next Rung. By K. S. Venkataramani, M.A., B.L., The Swetaranya Ashram, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rs. 1-8-0

The surge of nationalism has stirred the placidity of acquiescence. When have begun to think afresh. We have found new values for old and forgotten products of the past and polished them for use. A dormant love of the native has begun to burn aflame. A longing for what is alien has receded into remoteness. We have come to realise that what is real is ideal and what is ideal is real. We now see with a vision that eliminates the mist and lays bare the dawn in all its perfection. Mr. Venkataramani is one such visionary, not in the sense that he is unacquainted with or unconcerned with actualities, but that his ken is not limited by the external nor obstructed by walls of prejudice or hate.

The civilization that now ravages the world more like a fatal epidemic than a fascinating ideal, more like a cosmetic that

tentatively hides wrinkles that age has carved, has to be shed by those who have come under its grasp. It sets man against man, and nation against nation, till at last it consumes itself and those under its sway. It is a civilisation which breeds greed, breeds inequality. Here we find the rich growing richer and the poor poorer. Mr. Venkataramani goes to the very fundamentals and shakes the foundations of the fabric of society. He traces the origin of Government which is due to property which in its turn is incidental to marriage, and marriage is necessitated by the problem of cooking. And so Government came to be the protector of property and hence all the struggle, the slavery, the oppression. The rich are protected by the police, and with the aid of such protection there grew up the institution of the rich and the institution of the poor. War has been the fruit of this civilisation, and Mr. Venkataramani foresees a war more destructive than the last, which will end in the crash of the civilisation that has begot it. He makes some very thoughtful observations on this aspect of the civilization that governs the nations of Europe in particular. "He who talks of war as a biological necessity which keeps at maximum efficiency this idle and effeminate race has studied life only in the jungle."

"War instead of being in essence the messenger of peace, has become the angel of death."

"The last war in the world will be the most celebrated in this ugly chronicle, not for its poison gas and efficient artillery but for the extraordinarily wise, human and foresighted peace treaty which will announce as the highest and most inviolable duty of every man and state, the sanatanic value that underlies the four religions and the three institutions of man, to enforce which war has been a common and collective weapon of necessity."

That glorious day, as he says, is in our own hands and "let every one choose wisely and play manfully to hasten the day."

"The Next Rung" is a splendid plea for a better ordering of society, for a more equitable distribution of the fruits that nature yields, for a system of Government where man is not pampered by excess or oppressed by indigence, where there is less supervision and more co-operation. The village is the political and the economic unit, producing its needs, settling its disputes, administering its affairs. There is no fear of

invasion. No machine-guns, no bombs, no aeroplanes, no armies and navies are needed. There is no need for protection, for there is no need for fear. What does the invader come for? Food. Let him be given a plot of land, a pair of bullocks and a plough, and more than all, your love. He is content and would become one with you. War would be eliminated and peace become suzerain. The over-centralisation now so rampant would be absent. You weave your own cloth, you grow your own food. Man becomes self-reliant. Each village becomes self-dependent. It will have its own council of wise men, who will be responsible for soothing the occasional ripples and rifts. Science will help in the way of producing mechanical devices with greater rapidity, at less cost and in larger quantity. Science and its gifts are not tabooed. Arts and crafts will flourish. Poetry, philosophy, music, will bloom with a new perfume. Thus from the bottom rung man will rise to a high altitude, sublimated, sanctified. All the dross and dirt, all the suffocating and sulphurous atmosphere where vice blows its envenomed buds will disappear and be drowned in the nectareous perfume of heavenly breath. The new civilisation will be a glorious temple where enshrined dwells, away from the foul breath of slavery and oppression, the golden image of liberty, of equity, of justice. It rises spire on spire until it touches the heavens. We are not, as worshippers in that temple, afraid of wars of nations or greeds of men.

Mr. Venkataramani, in his "The next rung" builds up the vision of such a glorious edifice, and as we read it we are absorbed and identified with the magnificent work so naively consummated. It is not an impracticable dream. It is a tangible, a verifiable reality. These ideas are not the product of a fevered imagination or calculated discontent. Like brick on brick they are placed one after, or above, the preceding until the effect is an architectural perfection. The beauty of expression embellishes the idea. It is not a pile of ideas. It is a structure of a transcendental idea invested with poetry. "Next Rung" is the product of a mind dissolved and rarified by the one consuming thought of the beauty of the universe and the beatitude of man. It is the product of a soul that dances at joy and peace, and shivers at the sorrow and strife of man.

M. V. RAMANA RAO.

Current Topics

THE CONGRESS

How we view the Convention and the Congress in Calcutta depends entirely upon our own bent of mind. Not all the citizens of a country are sedate in temperament and sober in judgment. Nor are all adventurers. But he who runs may at once say that the struggle in Calcutta is between the old and the new, between the apostles of non-violence and the votaries of liberty to strive for Swaraj by all legitimate means. Indeed such amendments to the creed have been tabled, though they are merely of strategic value to force the way of more innocuous changes. The old, old Moderates are still doubting whether or not to plump for Dominion status at a bound. The younger patriots are for Independence at all costs. Those who are in between hold the balance even. But it requires only a straw to make the beam kick in favour of adventure and hazard. They that are slaves, and feel their slavery intensely, stand to gain nothing by mere 'law and order,' and equally stand to lose nothing by revolt—except the chains of their slavery. We have no wish to go into the merits and demerits of the issues raised by the compromise in Calcutta, but this much is obvious to everybody—namely, that if the resolution embodies an ultimatum to Government, the resolve that lies behind it is equally an ultimatum to Britain. Even Gandhi feels that he cannot hold his team. The yoke is heavy and it would be thrown off at all costs.

But hard words have broken no bones, much less Governments. Nor can harder resolutions be taken seriously by these hardest headed Englishmen, unless there is a strong backing behind the nation's resolve. A year is none too long for preparatory work. But it is none too short either. As Lloyd George said, the progress of centuries can be condensed into decades and years under the impulse of national

stress. The country need not go through the alphabet of non-co-operation in order to furnish first lessons in non-payment of taxes. When the mirasdars of Tanjore and the peasants of Bardoli can hold the Government at bay, the middle-class ryot can equally play the game. And too nothing succeeds like success. The very resolution of the Congress speaks only of 'organising,' not 'reviving' non-violent non-co-operation, by advising the refusal of the payment of taxes and other aids to Government. That the latter wording is changed means not that the idea underlying it is given up. The spirit of revolt is abroad. In the old, it is impotent and is stifled. In the middle-aged, it is lost in its struggle for expression. In the young, it is vocal and vociferous and no force on earth may succeed in silencing it or smothering it.

S. P.

SAROJINI DEVI IN AMERICA

The *Unity* of Chicago, as representing the better mind of America offers a warm welcome to Sarojini Devi, the unofficial Ambassador of India :

The presence in America of Mme. Naidu, of India, the friend and colleague of Mahatma Gandhi, is an occasion of profound congratulation. Her noble person should be seen and her eloquent speech heard in every corner of the land. In herself, she is one of the great women of the world. She radiates a power of intellect and spirit which marks her immediately as one of the supreme leaders of our time. But it is as an Indian, a representative of her stricken, yet unconquerable country, that she is chiefly important, and would, we are sure, be recognized and heeded. Among her own countrymen, she is honored as one of their greatest poets, a singer of the songs of a people for liberty and peace. She is also trusted and followed as a statesman who in 1925-26 was raised to the highest national office in her land as President of the All-India Congress of that year. Nobly born, highly cultured, utterly consecrated, dowered with supreme gifts of intellect and will, she stands in the forefront of India's life as defender of her people's rights and champion of their larger destiny. To America she has now come to

bear witness to the truth about India, so sadly maligned and therefore misunderstood, and to plead her cause before the tribunal of an instructed and awakened public opinion. *Unity* salutes Mme. Naidu with humble admiration. It welcomes her to this country which needs only to be taught in order to be won. We have known in these United States the struggle for liberty. We possess the tradition of blood and treasure bounteously spent for release from tyranny. In our pride we may have grown callous, and in our prosperity selfish. But the heart of the nation still beats true to its ideals. We know of no one better equipped to reach that heart by power of thought and speech than Mme. Naidu. America will leap to her when she finds audiences.

DICTATORSHIP IN YUGO-SLAVIA

The dissolution of the Yugo-Slavian constitution by Royal Edict is the culmination of nearly a decade of internecine racial jealousies and acerbities. King Alexander, who had, since the foundation of the Triune Kingdom as a result of the post-war remapping of Europe, witnessed bitter and sometimes bloody wrangles among the races, Croats, Serbs, Slavs, took the law into his own hands and by breaking the parliamentary constitution with all its paraphernalia of representative institutions and party factions, brought peace to the people. The most offended Croats welcome this military dictatorship which King Alexander proclaimed by dissolving the cabinet and appointing General Zifkovitch, who was unconnected with politics, Commander of the Royal Guard. Doctor Matsocheck, leader of the Croats, is reported to have said that "the fetters have been burst, the constitution which for seven years 'blessed' the Croatians has been abolished, and thanks to the wisdom of the monarch, we shall now succeed in attaining the ideals of the Croatian people and will really be masters in the house of Free Croatia". What bitterness of feeling, what anguish of political suppression lay behind the words can well be imagined. King Alexander has taken the bold step that previously had been taken in Spain, in Italy, in

Egypt, in Poland and in Greece. The new Yugo-Slavian Cabinet is responsible to the King in whom is vested all power. He represents the State in all foreign relations and the Ministers derive their authority from, and are responsible to, the King, and the law goes forth from the King and will be promulgated by a decree countersigned by the Prime-Minister, the Minister directly concerned, and the Minister of Justice. We are tempted in moments like these to doubt if the war-drunk and violence-ridden West is fit for responsible Government. The wrangle of races in Yugo-Slavia, political murders and political manœuvres could not be allayed by the federal constitution they enjoyed and the parliamentary form of Government. How much the creed of non-violence would have effected political tranquillity and racial harmony is indirectly demonstrated, and the shibboleth that the West is the best promoter of parliamentary institutions is blown to the winds. In the West, national evolution means revolutions, and political consolidation must be the result of political turmoil, and peace can only be the fruit of war. And if the West takes a lesson from India, as it has taken lessons before, peace of an enduring nature can be built on the sound foundations of non-violence.

THE AFGHAN CRISIS

The abdication of King Amanullah comes with a shocking suddenness to those who have been closely following a career of selfless devotion to the people, of strenuous service to the nation, of noble aims, and high aspirations. For the first time in Afghan history, a King of Afghanistan visited Europe, where he was received with royal pomp and grandeur as the first Eastern potentate, imbued with a love of the science and civilization of the West. But Afghanistan, led by the Mullahs and Moulvis, resented the Reforms His Majesty had introduced, and rebellion ensued with all its wreckage and carnage, bloodshed, and bitterness. The religion of conservatism, so deep-rooted amongst the Afghan tribesman, roused the 'Shinwaris' against the tearing

of the purdah, against Western science and education, and the new laws governing recruitment to the army; and after protracted and perilous fight between the King's forces and the rebels, evacuation of foreigners, sieges and counter-sieges, King Amanullah abdicated the throne in favour of his elder brother. Thus comes to a dramatic close the career of a King whose love of his subjects was the prime concern of his life and who wanted to import western culture and thereby enrich the culture of his own land. What is at the root of all this trouble? Is it the unreasoning love of the native institutions and the incapacity to appreciate and imbibe what is good outside? Will Afghanistan, which would have, under the ægis of King Amanullah, developed into a potent factor in the future federation of Asia, relapse into its primitive placidity and stagnation? We hope not. Time may have yet other surprises in store, and King Amanullah chastened by experience and grown more cautious in his zeal for reform, may once again come into his own, and realise his brilliant dreams.

M. V. R.

In Reminiscent Mood

By. K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO, EDITOR, 'TRIVENI'

As I send forth the first number of 'Triveni' for the new year, my mind naturally goes back to the day on which 'Triveni' first saw the light. It was during the Congress week at Madras in December 1927 and exactly at 12 Noon on Christmas Day that 'Triveni' was formally published at 'Malabari House' Purasawalkum, by my friend and former colleague on the 'Swarajya,' Sjt. K. Srinivasan. There was a large and brilliant gathering of friends, and the chair—in fact it was a beautiful carpet prepared by the students of the Jatheeya Kalasala—was occupied by Chavali V. Krishnaiya, a rising lawyer and publicist of Narasaraopet, the place of my birth. Krishnaiya, as I then described him, was "the friend of my boyhood, the companion of my youth, and, in the battle of life, my comrade-in-arms." A versatile scholar and a brilliant speaker, a gentleman of noble impulses and a born leader of men, he was indeed the idol of my heart from my earliest years. But, alas! he was snatched away ere these gifts could win him his rightful place in the larger life of the land.

For me, the note of joy and of triumph on the completion of an year of strenuous endeavour is stifled when I realize that he who inaugurated 'Triveni' is no longer present to guide me and inspire me in my work. Readers of Maratha history might remember how after the capture of the fort of Sinhagad (the lion-fort) Chatrapathi Shivaji exclaimed in sorrow, "the fort is won, but the lion is lost," referring to Tanaje Malusare, the comrade by whose desperate valour the Maratha arms had that day triumphed. Exactly similar is my feeling to-day. Life can never be the same to me that it was when he was alive. But since 'Triveni' is his gift to me, I shall cherish it and make it in

an ever-increasing measure a memorial worthy of his idealism. Thus shall I seek to return even a fraction of the love that he lavished on me during life and which I am convinced he continues to lavish on me from the Great Beyond.

* * * *

Another friend to whom 'Triveni' and its Editor were very dear — Andhraratna Gopalakrishnaiya — passed away shortly after the publication of the second number in March last. This hero of a hundred platforms, this sturdy fighter for freedom, had a most tender and loving heart. There are countless young men in South India to whom his death comes as a personal loss. Years ago when he has clapped into jail at Berhampore for disobedience to a gagging order of the District Magistrate, I felt that "his imprisonment removes for the time being the most popular as well as the most picturesque figure in Andhra public life. To his personal friends, the loss of his genial comradeship cannot be expressed in words." But to-day it is a loss that is of much longer duration. The grief is therefore much more poignant.

Between him and me there was a strange bond—the bond of failure in a common cause. We both worked for the same institution—the Jatheeya Kalasala—though at different periods. And we both failed to shape it in accordance with our ideals. But there is a realm where such failures are transmuted into triumphs. And that is the realm of ideas of the "dreams of the virgin soul, and the visions of early youth" of which Mazzini speaks. It is not generally known that Andhraratna was a great lover of the fine arts and collaborated with Dr. Coomaraswamy in the translation of the 'Abhinaya Darpana'—'the Mirror of Gesture.' In a more peaceful age, he would have made his name as a great savant, but the times were 'out of joint' and he felt that he must 'set it right.' This is the tragedy of even the noblest lives amongst a subject nation. The struggle for liberty absorbs all the energy and talent that in

normal conditions would have enriched the finer aspects of a nation's life. People talk of the great sacrifices of Andhra-ratna, but assuredly the greatest of them all was the sacrifice which the scholar and the poet made when he turned politician for the sake of a disinherited people.



'Expectation'

(By Anisetti Subba Rao)

She—the 'Vasavisijjika'—waits far into the cool starlit night for the coming of her Lord. In the stillness of her expectation, her song fades away and her fingers cease to move the strings of the 'Tambur' (a 'Sruti' instrument of South India.)

The colours are 'warm,' the deep green of the tree merges into the intense blue of the night, and the chaste marble reflects the rosy thoughts of the damsel. The young artist, Subba Rao, formerly a student of Sjt. Promode Kumar Chatterjea, has profited by his stay at the Indian Society of Oriental Art, for, we see in this picture a happy blending of the masterly technique of Promode Babu with the minute finish of Babu Khitindranath Mazumdar—a rare union of subtle movement and repose.

This artist's picture 'Savitri and Satyavan' was reproduced in the very first number of 'Triveni' (January 1928).

A. B.

Andhraratna on 'Triveni'

[This brilliant note was written by Adh'raratna Gopala-krishnaiya a few days before his death, and was meant for the Editor, 'Triveni'. But he passed away and the note was not communicated to the Editor. Sjt. G. V. Subba Rao, Secretary of the 'Andhra Vidyapitha Goshti', found this among the papers of the illustrious deceased and very kindly sent it on to the Editor last month. It will appear along with much other valuable material in the collected edition of the Andhraratna's writings, to be published shortly by the 'Goshti'. The Editor is deeply grateful to the 'Goshti' and its devoted Secretary for their courteous permission to print this note in advance in 'Triveni'.]

The confluence of the three rivers, 'Triveni-Sangam', is the point of Eternity. 'Gnana', the intellectual path—the pursuit of Truth, which is one of the three theoretic forms of Reality—this is 'Sarasvati' and it flows as *antar vahini*, unseen and below the surface; 'Karma' the ethical or moral path,—the pursuit of the Good—this is 'Ganga', the Ganges; 'Bhakti' or 'Rasa,'—the aesthetic or devotional path—this is 'Jamuna' or 'Yamuna', the pursuit of the Beautiful; these three meet and that is the point of Eternity. To justify the name, real values of Life and Eternity are to be employed in the discussion of problems in the magazine.

The ideal of a magazine is this : to allow in its pages the play of the three methods of pursuit to reach Reality. There are only a few of this sort in Europe. The many others have—some exhibitions style, some carnivals style, and most the crowded dusty Indian bazaar style. Bad things also have their own value for Eternity, I know; but I must note they have so only when they empty themselves in these paths, sink, be sanctified, and lose their name and form in them. The river that gathers in all the insanitations, abominations and abortions of towns and villages that adjoin it in their thousands, does all the work of a

sewage farm, a purifying fire and the *bhramara-keetaka* work (it is believed that *bhramara*, the bee, takes hold of an insect and works it into its own being), even as the ocean, that swallows up these rivers, does.

I wish your magazine strives to attain this end; for, our race, despite the terrific gale of modernisation, is yet, consciously or unconsciously, sticking to its traditional aspiration to look out for a book that endures through time. ‘*Khilamu Gakundunadi Dhatri Kritiya Gana*’, was the decision of Allasani Peddana, one of the greatest of Telugu poets. The only enduring thing in the world is a *Kriti*, literally a work of Art, of course, meaning in the passage a work composed of sound, a literary work.

Even on the summit of modernism in Europe, the tendency is to produce works of enduring value, print them on hand-made paper and preserve them for ever. So it is not an unpatented ideal and is worth our while to pursue.

But the question is, “can we aim at that?” But you will perhaps say we cannot and therefore we may not; granting, however, that we ought to. I know we cannot, with so many shackles on our spirit. But doing a thing that is not this, does it not still further corrupt our taste and make us so much more weak for the coming battle of freedom? So you will agree with me, we shall do our best, and leave the rest to the Maker of things.

I am happy to note that you have pitched your ideal in a higher key. I have my own fears about journalistic effort in our country, much more about magazines, and more so of those of an idealistic bent, and still more so in Andhra. And this is the first time that an English journal of the sort has appeared in Andhra. It requires the support and blessings of all.

I do not know whether I can hope to live: my all-round weakness denies the privilege of supporting it, but my most heart-felt blessings are on ‘Triveni’. May it justify its name!

Mahatma Gandhi:

As Gujarati Man of Letters

BY BIJAYA GOPALA REDDY

There are certain aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's greatness, which are not known to the world at large. They concern primarily his own province of Gujarat and his mother-tongue, Gujarati. He loves them passionately, like any other son or daughter of Gujarat. Had Gandhiji not appeared on the literary firmament of Gujarat, Gujarati would have been much the poorer today. Gujarati was destined to be reformed and enriched at the hands of this great man. No student of contemporary Indian literature can possibly ignore his services to a tongue spoken by ten million souls in Western India.

People in general judge of a man's worth by his achievements in the sphere which is supremely his own, though his achievements in other spheres may be by no means inconsiderable. A Sanskrit scholar who has specialised in grammar is known only as a 'Vaiyakarani', even if he happens to be well-versed in literature and philosophy. The world admires Tagore as a Poet who has scaled heights and dived into depths undreamt of before. But besides being a short-story writer, a fine essayist, a splendid letter-writer, dramatist and actor, Tagore is one of the best song-composers of India. His contribution to the world of music is very extensive and of a very high order. Sri Thyagaraja of South India, Kabeer, Meerabai, and Rabindranath stand on a level with one another. In softness of expression and depth of feeling, Tagore perhaps excels them all. But how many outside the intelligentsia of Bengal know of him as a hymnologist? The poet Rabindranath has eclipsed Rabindranath, the musician,

even as Chittaranjan, the politician and fighter, eclipsed Chittaranjan the poet and worshipper at the shrine of 'Vanga Bharati'.

The present article attempts to delineate the services of Gandhiji to Gujarati in a cursory manner. So far as I know, no such attempt has been made in any language other than Gujarati. It is a pity that no Gujarati writer or critic has cared to enlighten his fellow-Indians about this interesting subject. Gujarat has advertised her diamonds, her cotton and her piece-goods, but has never advertised her literature. And yet, her Narsim Mehta, Meerabai, Narbada Sanker, Dalpat Ram and Nana Lal are entitled to the same reverence, adoration and popularity as Rama Das, Tulsi Das, Chandi Das, Potana, Sarat Chandra and Vallathol. I do not claim to possess an up-to-date knowledge of Gujarati, nor does this article pretend to be authoritative. I am just trying to introduce the readers to a subject unknown to most of them, and I hope this will stimulate a more detailed and fascinating study in English by writers like Mahadev Desai or Ram Narain Pathak of Ahmedabad.

In India, as elsewhere, social reformers and leaders of liberal thought have also been pioneers of literary Renaissance. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Veeresalingam Pantulu, Narbada Sanker, Tolstoy, Bernard Shaw, Okakura, Kakuzo and a host of others have been savants as well as builders of society. Gandhiji also is one of such reformer-litterateurs. His work in the field of social reform is well-known. His unceasing propaganda to remove the sin of untouchability, his austere fasts and penances to bring about genuine Hindu-Muslim unity, his ruthless attacks on the 'Devadasi' system of South India, and his heroic efforts to revive our cottage industries, are all so many attempts to ameliorate the condition of society. But this reformer of society and of Government, is also reforming his mother-tongue, albeit unconsciously. He is gradually effecting a change in the language, weeding out the unhealthy elements, introducing orderliness and purity,

and making it a vehicle for the expression of the sublimest thought.

Before Gandhiji's advent, there was no dominant personality to set the standard and hold aloft an ideal. Each writer was a law unto himself. No intelligible method was followed as regards the spelling of words; no uniformity in their very shape. If one used a soft consonant, another used in the same place a hard one. If one poet used a particular word as one of four 'matras,' another used it to represent five 'matras' by elongating one letter. No one hesitated to use 'S' a' or 'Sha' for the dental 'Sa' and so on. The same disorderliness was in evidence with regard to the usage of words and idioms. Several words not meaning the same thing were used as synonymous. Little shades of difference in meaning were sometimes neglected, and at other times given undue importance. Consequently, the reader was at a loss to find out the sense in which a particular word was used. Display of erudition and an exaggerated use of sonorous and alliterative terms were regarded as qualities of high-class literature. Circumlocution in expression was constantly adopted. Obsolete words and unintelligible colloquialisms were freely used. The Northern Kathiawaris and the Southern Suratis employed their respective slangs, and the Ahmedabadis in the middle could understand neither of them. There was thus no standard Gujarati.

In those days, the press was entirely in the hands of the rich Parsis. Though the Parsis adopted Gujarati as their home-language, they could neither speak nor write correct Gujarati. They filled the columns of their Dailies and Weeklies with their 'Parsi-Gujarati' an euphemism for a queer and corrupt language like 'Mahomedan' Telugu or Kannada. The poems published in the papers were either in a highly Sanskritised style unintelligible even to the editors and publishers, or in Persianised style in 'Guzzle' metres abounding in 'Vaslo' (union) and 'Judayi' (separation) themes, which were a bore to the majority of the Hindu readers. In prose, the Hindus used a style replete

with Sanskrit words, bound up by Sanskrit grammatical regulations, and the Parsis could not keep pace with them. So no one mode of expression or style could become popular and respected by the entire reading public of Gujarati.

But the autumn of the language was bound to be followed by its spring. At an opportune moment, Gandhiji entered the arena, and as with the rising of the moon, the ocean of literature surged with a mysterious thrill and joyousness. There was a regularity and rhythm in the rising and the falling of the waves. Long before Mahatmaji inaugurated the Satyagraha and Non-co-operation movements, he was known, especially to Gujaratis residing in South Africa, as a good writer in the mother-tongue. His 'Hind Swaraj' and the articles he contributed to the Gujarati papers in South Africa, won him great reputation. But he had to wait till the days of Non-co-operation to make his influence felt. Gujarat was then brought into the lime-light, crowned with a crownless hegemony and respected as the home-land of the world's greatest man. Millions of eyes were turned towards that small sandy site on the banks of the Sabarmati. In the palmy days of Non-co-operation, 'Navajivan', Mahatmaji's Gujarati weekly, had to its credit nearly twenty-five thousand subscribers. No cultured Gujarati home was without it. Reading 'Navajivan' and wearing khaddar were looked upon as the outer signs of an inner patriotism. 'Navajivan' is just a broad-casting agency. Mahatmaji steals—though he is opposed to any sort of stealing—a quarter of an hour from his pressing engagements, writes off an article and sends it to the 'Navajivan' press. The next day, the whole of Gujarat, from Bombay to Kathiawar, reads it, hears it, and ponders over it. It carries the fire of patriotism and the glow of Truth with it. Even in the remotest villages of the interior, people used to throng at the post-offices to get their copies of 'Navajivan.' Scores of illiterate peasants sat round a person while reading 'Navajivan' and listened patiently and seriously to the contents of the paper from end to end. And as they left the place, a tear of expiation,

sympathy or emotion, would glitter in their eyes. Week after week, the people of Gujerat heard the language of Mahatmaji and got accustomed to it. They realised that his direct and simple style appealed to them more than any other. They refused to admire other styles of expression, which formerly used to exact their reluctant appreciation. This was the beginning of a reformation in the language. Mahatmaji's style was taken as the standard by which to measure the worth of other writings. This was how he was called 'the father of neo-Gujerati prose', though there was Ambalal Sankarlal Desai who had previously employed an equally effective and simple style. Desai could be compared to John the Baptist of the New Testament, paving the way for the coming Son of God. Thus, quietly and unobtrusively, and without sermonising on the need for new ways of expression, Mahatmaji introduced the people to a simple, effective and beautiful prose style.

Besides simplifying Gujerati prose, Gandhiji showed the ways in which it could be usefully employed. Before him, nobody dared to treat serious subjects like religion, politics and art in the mother-tongue. Even when there was a stray attempt, the language could not be understood by the common people, who were thus denied all opportunity to come into touch with politics, or philosophy. Mahatmaji employed Gujerati to express even the subtlest feelings and sublimest thoughts. He dealt with all the great topics of the day. His scholarly articles on religion, 'Varnashrama Dharma', 'Brahmacharya,' and 'Ahimsa' and his soul-stirring expositions of Satyagraha, Non-cooperation, dietetics and economic problems, indicate that he possesses a versatile genius, a profound knowledge of men and things, and a perfect and racy expression, that go to make him one of the greatest and noblest of Indian writers. He speaks with intuition and intelligence, and out of the abundance of his knowledge. Anyone who has followed his 'Atma Katha' or autobiography closely, can discern that he has a powerful yet a generous perception.

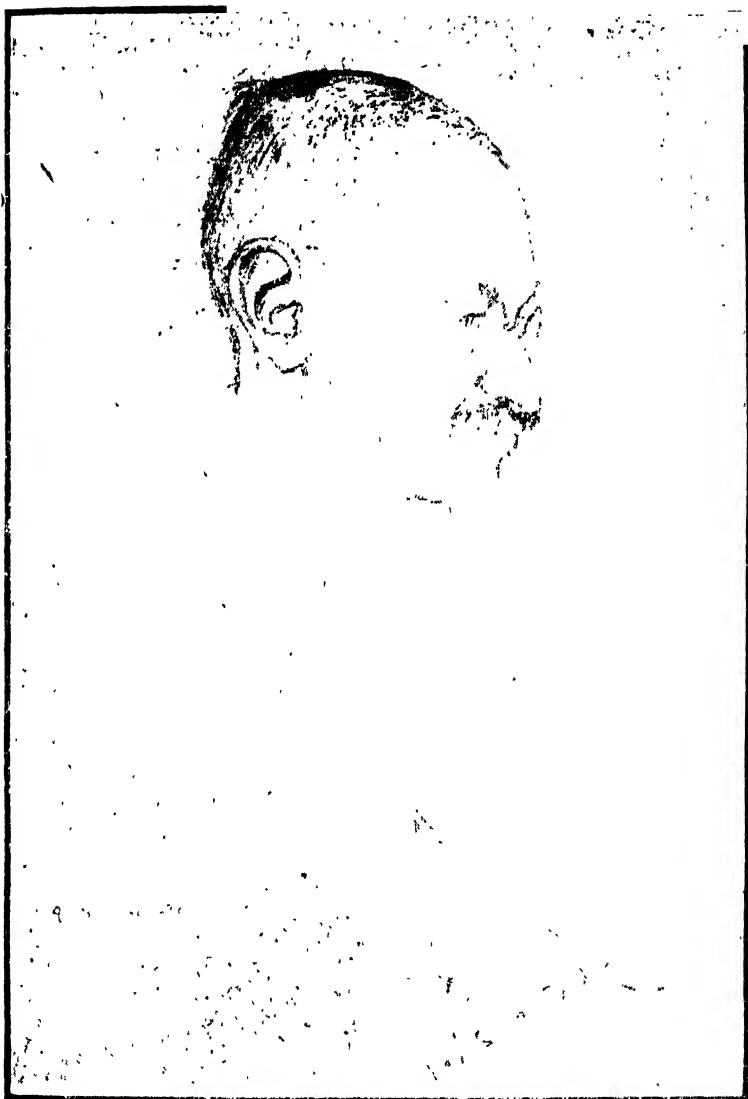
He visualises all the great forces that pulsate beneath the common crises of our daily life and describes them in their beauty and their strength.

His is a very natural style. He never wants to produce literature nor does he wish to be worshipped by future generations as an eminent literary personage. He never labours at a style. He does not pause to cull a more effective or sonorous word. This does not mean that his writings are not characterised by beautiful diction. In fact, his diction is extraordinarily virile, sensitive and illuminating, and he never selects a difficult or obsolete word in preference to a simpler and more current one. As one who spent much of his time in other parts of India, he introduced words and constructions from other Indian languages. Hindi is his main source. He uses also many Kathiawadi words and phrases, which have thus become popular and current.

Some of his descriptions of natural scenery are greatly admired in Gujerat. I shall just quote a few lines of Prof. Nagindas Parekh, a talented writer and critic of Ahmedabad. He says :

" Sometimes it (diction) is marvellous. His descriptions of natural scenery, occurring in some of his political writings, are really classical, *e.g.* the one of Sindhu, when he first went there during his All-India tour. The other is the one he wrote when he was sailing in a boat on the river Padma in Bengal in the same year. Really, I sometimes fail to understand how he can choose his words so correctly."

In his writings, Gandhiji does not employ far-fetched similes and hyperboles that make the sentence gaudy and ornate; but in his mild and picturesque way, he adds delicacy and grace to the sentence. He is parsimonious, economical rather, in his use of words. We can present to the Telugu readers a faint idea of Gandhiji's style and diction by comparing him with Kavi Tikkana, the most celebrated of their classical poets. Gandhiji is ever fresh and green as an olive. One is never tired of reading an article of his on Khadi, 'Brahmacharya', or untouchability, even if it



Mahatma Gandhi

(From a sketch by Sjt. Kanu Desai of Ahmedabad)

be for the hundredth time that he is writing on the subject. This is because he has an unerring vision and the capacity to dive into the depths of things. He does not indulge in platitudinous verbiage. His frankness has a great deal to do with this ever-new and impressive style of his.

But curiously enough, one finds sentence after sentence in a single chapter having a purely English construction. This might shock an old Pandit, but young Gujerat believes that these constructions really add power and beauty to the sentences. This is but inevitable for one in Mahatmaji's position. We may add that several sentences with similar construction are finding their way into the various Indian languages through the writings of English-educated Bengali, Telugu and Malayalam literary luminaries. The construction and idioms are so English, that we sometimes forget that we are reading a vernacular book or article.

When Rabindranath was a guest at the 'Gujerat Sahitya Parishad' held at Ahmedabad some years back, Gandhiji seems to have said in his address that he would consider that writer successful who was able to give a song to the water-carriers as they drew water, cartmen as they drove their carts, and to labourers as they toiled. This indicates exactly his idea of style and diction. Literature is no monopoly of any particular section of society. He has great aversion to the use of non-Indian words, especially English, in his speeches and writings. And this aversion has communicated itself to his Gujerati countrymen. This is another great service he has rendered to Gujerati, because this has led to the refinement and development of the language. But for him, Gujeratis also would have imported so many unnecessary English words into their tongue like the Bengalis. He appeared at a psychological moment and turned the tide that was threatening to rise and sweep away the purity of their language.

The Gujeratis used to nourish an idea formerly that their tongue was not fit for the expression of 'Veera Rasa' (the heroic). But after seeing Gandhiji's spirited articles,

and especially the one called 'Pariksha', written at the time of the first Bardoli campaign, they are convinced that, when properly handled by eminent writers, their language is also suitable for 'Veera Rasa.' The late Michael Madhusudan Datta rendered the same service to Bengali by writing his great epic 'Meghanadh Badho' (the killing of Indrajit, son of Ravana).

Gandhiji also took some practical steps to improve the vocabulary. For some years now, he has been demanding from the 'Puratatva Mandir' (Research Society) of the Gujerat Vidya Peetha, a spelling book which should include all the current and obsolete words in the language. His idea is that the anarchy prevailing in the spelling of Gujerati should be put an end to by the compilation of an authoritative spelling-dictionary. The dictionary is now nearly ready. It includes about 60,000 words. The Vidya Peetha is also preparing a standard Gujerati Dictionary at his instance.

Gandhiji resembles Tolstoy in almost all his 'puritanic' ideas and preachings. Both tried to introduce religion into politics, though both seemed to have felt that their participation in politics was a dire necessity. Gandhiji observes:—

"If I seem to take part in politics, it is only because politics encircle us today like the coil of a snake from which we cannot get out, no matter how much one tries. I wish, therefore, to wrestle with the snake.....I have been experimenting with myself and my friends by introducing religion into politics."

Though both of them are great seers, Gandhiji is certainly a greater man than Tolstoy, according to Romain Rolland and Rabindranath Tagore. The following sentences from the pen of M. Rolland will be of considerable interest to the readers:—

"Tagore has always acknowledged the saintliness of Gandhi and I have heard him speak to me with great veneration about Gandhi. When I referred to the resemblance of Tolstoy to the Mahatma, in the course of our conversation, Tagore expressed to me how much dearer Gandhi was to him (Tagore) and how much more glorious than Tolstoy Gandhi

appeared to him to be—(now that I have some to know Gandhi better, I also am of the same opinion)—for, everything in Gandhi is natural, simple, modest and pure ; an air of serenity surrounds his very fights, whereas in Tolstoy pride fights against pride, anger against anger ; everything is violent not excepting even non-violence.”

Tolstoy, while writing, gets excited and makes his sentences hyper-emotional. Gandhiji's plain, well-thought-out sentences appeal more than Count Leo's.

In his method of argument, in weighing the *pros* and *cons* of the subject under discussion, and in wealth of thought, Maurice Maeterlinck of Belgium comes nearer to Gandhiji. Some of the latter's sentences in 'Wisdom and Destiny' claim an affinity with Gandhi's in 'Young India' and 'Navajivan'. When Gandhiji is criticised for any of his opinions, he does not, like Ibsen, hurl at his critics more pungent remarks in order to assert his individuality. He welcomes all criticisms and replies to them courteously, yet effectively. And he never hesitates to confess himself in the wrong.

Gandhiji is a very quick writer. He writes his articles to 'Navajivan' and 'Young India' in running trains or in the midst of numerous and crowded engagements. He does not care to prune and polish his writings in order to create an impression.

Gujarat is unhesitatingly following Mahatmaji's lead and exhibiting her power of discipline and organisation. Refusal to pay enhanced taxes in Bardoli, or abstention from college as a protest against the high-handed action of an European Principal at Ahmedabad, are not mere isolated occurrences. They indicate a certain firmness and strength of mind. If Gandhiji has a Patel for his political lieutenant, he has, found an equally capable literary lieutenant in Mahdev Desai. Desai, Ram Narain Pathak, Kishore Lal, Kaka Kalelker, Jagat Ram Dave and a few other segments that form the 'Sabarmati circle' of writers have imbibed the essence of Mahatmaji's style. There are others too who are trying to spread the cult of simplicity

and directness of style, while maintaining the purity of the language. The future of Gujarati literature depends a great deal on the activities of this group of writers.

Gandhiji is a pioneer not only in Gujarati prose-writing, but also in Gujarati publication. Ten thousand copies of his autobiography in Gujarati were sold in a fortnight. His Gujarati books are incredibly cheap. In this, he is a contrast to Rabindranath. The fact that the original of his autobiography was written in Gujarati certainly elevates the status of Gujarati as a language, and a day may dawn when individual Germans, Chinese, or Russians will labour hard at learning Gujarati in order to study his autobiography in the original. Moreover, a study of his style is indispensable to all Indian students of linguistics, philology and syntax.

There is a rare charm in Mahatmaji's style. His expression of pathos is perfectly natural. It is said that 'style is the man', and in no other case does this adage hold good so literally as in Gandhiji's. Every sentence, phrase and word speaks of his Himalayan firmness, adamant will and death-defying determination, his high idealism and his burning love for the universe; and it is because of this that his style has acquired fluency, simplicity, strength and vigour. Restraint is one the greatest qualities of his style. Anyone who reads his articles on the sex-problem or the iniquities of the Administration cannot fail to notice this salient feature. Though he tackles all the burning problems of the day, his articles are never meant to create a sensation. They inspire, but they do not inflame. In one word, Gandhiji has democratised the language and at the same time placed it on a higher pedestal.¹

¹ The writer wishes to thank Sjt Nagindas Parekh and Bhai Prabhubhai Patel, his fellow-students at 'Viswa-Bharati,' who took great pains to introduce him to Gujarati and its literature.

Linguistic Provinces and the Problem of Minorities

BY R. R. DIWAKAR, M.A., LL.B.

The principle of linguistic re-distribution of provinces was accepted by the Indian National Congress as long ago as 1920, and it immediately divided India into linguistic provinces for the organisation of its own work. The principle has now advanced far ahead, in so far as the All Parties Conference at Lucknow in August, and the All Parties Convention at Calcutta in December 1928, have both accepted the Nehru Committee Report embodying the principle, and have recommended separate provinces for Andhra and Karnataka, immediately the scheme came into operation.

However, we have to lay down certain principles and devise some methods for solving the problem of linguistic minorities when the new order comes into existence. It would be wrong to suppose that the problem does not exist under the present arrangements. But it is equally true that the problem will be keener under the new dispensation. There is the problem of other minorities also, religious, racial, communal, etc. But so far as I am concerned, I want to isolate the problem of linguistic minorities and deal with it here. I shall deal with the problem generally, and with that of Karnataka particularly. I shall also refer to the solutions arrived at by different countries in post-war Europe.

Together with other advantages, the main idea behind the formation of linguistic provinces is that a kind of unity and integrality should be restored in each province: that there should be greater facility in the spread of ideas and education, that the Councils and other administrative bodies should be able to carry on their business in a way which is intelligible to every one of the councillors and to which every one can contribute something according to his own lights,

that it should be convenient to establish a University which can foster a particular tongue as its main charge, and so on. Naturally we expect that everything else, unless it be the interests of the nation as a whole, must be subordinated to these main advantages that are to be gained by the new distribution of provinces.

But at the same time, we can never close our eyes to the linguistic minorities which are bound to be there in the border districts, or might be like islands in the midst of a people speaking another tongue. Every one will admit that the best thing for the minority as well as for the province is that the minority should merge in the majority. But taking human nature as it is, it is too much to ask of a linguistic minority to merge like this. As a practical measure and with due respect for the mother-tongues of all, the mother-tongue of the minority can be given some protection, while the language of the province can have full sway in the province, both as the language of the majority and the language of the province. If we can make an equitable adjustment between the claims of the minority and the interests of the majority, we have solved the problem. In doing this, we have to take into consideration the fears of the minority that they would be lost in the majority, which they do not want to do so far as language is concerned, and we have to see that the minority does not render the majority hostile by trying to come in the way of its progress.

In my opinion, the following should be the main principles that should guide our steps in this matter : --(1) every majority should adopt a generous and a tolerant attitude towards every minority ; (2) the majority should think it to be its duty to safeguard the interests of the minority ; and, (3) the majority should treat the minority in the same way as it would be treated by, whenever it is in the minority.

On the other hand, (1) the minority should be content to live its life and should not try to be aggressive ; (2) the minority should realise that it can live better and grow in greatness mainly by identifying itself with the majority and by

its intrinsic value, and not by mere assertion of individuality and separateness ; and (3) the minority, while it has a right to live as a minority, is under the obligation to serve the claims of the province.

As a broad rule, when we set about forming linguistic provinces, the language of the ryot or the agriculturist should be considered as the language of the locality, as he is the most conservative element and as his interests are the most predominant in the land. The languages of all others may be considered as languages of immigrants and not as those of the sons of the soil.

While demarcating the boundaries of linguistic provinces, the division of existing provinces can either be (1) by districts, or (2) by taluks, or (3) by villages. In any case, the language of the majority will be the deciding factor as to which province each district or taluk or village should belong. In my opinion, subject to administrative conveniences, it is equitable to take taluks or villages as units rather than districts.

Now let us take the case of Karnataka.

The Marathi, Telugu, Tulu, and Urdu speaking peoples would be the considerable minorities in Karnataka, though the importance of the question would be minimised if the division is by taluks and not by districts. The main principles have been already laid down ; it only remains for me to work out some of the details.

It is necessary to state plainly at the outset that the most predominant claim, both on the majority and the minority, is the claim of the province, as such, in all aspects and not merely as any linguistic unit. Every one must aim at serving the province first in all its various aspects of physical, intellectual, moral and cultural development.

Every minority has the right to preserve its own mother-tongue and can have primary schools ; and in secondary schools and colleges, facilities for teaching it may be provided for, whenever such a minority is in considerable numbers. But it should be a condition that in every such school, the provincial tongue is taught together

with the history and geography of the province, the latter always in the provincial tongue. It is but plain that unless and until the minorities learn the majority language, they have to forego the broader life of the province. In fact, while any minority-linguistic group has a right to keep its own individuality as regards its language and can claim certain privileges such as provision to teach it in schools, etc., it has to learn the language of the province as well, and identify itself with the province in all other matters, if it wishes to live the full life of the province.

Certainly every minority has the right to depose in court in its own mother-tongue, but it cannot force the court to take it down in that tongue, while it can certainly claim that the deposition, taken down in whatever language, be read back in the tongue in which it has been given, before it is endorsed by the deponent. The pleading class should have the right to plead in the provincial and the national tongue, but it cannot claim to plead in any and every minority language, unless the court allows it in particular cases.

The provincial language and the national language should be the languages in which the public records are to be kept.

Every one shall have the right to speak the provincial and the national language in the Council chamber as well as on the public platform, provided that the majority of the audience may allow any speaker to speak in any language in particular cases.

In each of the Universities, the medium of instruction shall be the language of the province and the language of the nation, whichever may suit them in different cases. But chairs should be provided for the minority languages in each province, so that higher studies in those languages may be promoted in the Universities.

Just as a province has to sacrifice its own tongue and interests where the national interests are concerned, so too minorities may have to sacrifice to a certain extent their tongue whenever the broader life of the province is concerned.

It is always by a sacrifice that we can go from the narrower to the broader life.

These are, in brief, my views on the question of the rights and duties of linguistic minorities. The details are to be worked out by some expert committee with their eye on the solutions arrived at by post-war European nationalities which I give below.

Now I shall refer to some of the adjustments in Europe, which are very important in so far as they are practical solutions and are the outcome of experience.

The post-war reconstruction of Europe was made mainly on the strength of the principle of self-determination and the protection of minorities. These were what were called the Minorities Guarantee Treaties. The States that had to agree to such treaties were Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom etc.

I reproduce below some of the relevant and most important articles in the Constitutions of the several States.

THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES

Art. 4. There shall be one nationality in the Kingdom.

Art. 16. Minorities in race and language shall be given primary instruction in their mother-tongue under conditions prescribed by law.

THE POLISH CONSTITUTION

Art. 109. Every citizen possesses the right of safeguarding his nationality and of cultivating his national language and customs.

Art. 110. Polish nationals belonging to minorities in this nation, whether based on religion or language, have equal rights with other citizens in forming, controlling and administering *at their own expense* schools and other educational establishments, with the free use of their language and practice of their own religion.

In 1924, Poland signed the Minority Guarantee Treaty, one of the provisions of which permitted the opening of private schools in which instruction was to take place in the

language desired, and provided that at the request of parents of 40 children in regions where there was a non-Polish minority amounting to 25% of the population, instruction might be conducted in the language of the minority, although in all instances, Polish, Polish history and Polish geography should be taught, the last two always in the Polish language.

THE ESTHONIAN REPUBLIC

Art. 68. Austria will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of the nationals of other than German speech are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Austrian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Austrian Government from making the teaching of the German language obligatory in the said schools.

GERMAN POLISH CONVENTION, 1922

Art. 106. A minority school shall be established on the application of a national supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of 40 children of a linguistic minority.

Should a school be inexpedient, minority classes shall be formed if there are at least 18 pupils of a minority language.

Art. 118. For secondary and higher schools, 300 pupils are required to claim Minority State schools, 30 for minority classes in the lower forms; 25 for minority-language course in the ordinary State schools; and 18 for minority religious courses.

HUNGARIAN LAWS, 1923-1924

In these laws 20% of the population is taken as constituting 'a considerable proportion.'

While the majorities in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and

Serb-Croat are 69, 64, and 73 per-cent respectively, the lowest minority given recognition is 20% in Hungary. In Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, the minorities are 23 and 25 P. C. All the new European Constitutions agree that a minority should form a considerable proportion of the population by concentrating at certain places.

The Re-birth of Non-co-operation

BY B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

If, on the morrow of the Coconada Congress of 1923 December, any one had predicted that in five years, the political stalwarts of India would be fed up with Councils, the prophecy would have been laughed at, much in the same manner as people would have laughed at a prophecy in 1669 that one day India would be importing 70 crores' worth of foreign cloth, or equally at the prophecy today that one of these days, if we leave things alone, shiploads of wheat and paddy would be imported into India. But political prophecies are apt to be discredited as the fond imaginations of political speculators, until the hard facts of experience come down upon mankind like a bolt from the blue and carry conviction with fatal accuracy. Where was the glee on the 1st of January 1929, which had been seen on the countenances of reactionary politicians five years previously, when they discovered that Councils were after all the mighty maelstroms which would draw into their eddies the toughest of political straws that might be floating about them? When time after time, Nationalists and Swarajists alike walked into Government lobbies and voted promiscuously with the reactionaries upon Bills and Resolutions, when Congressmen in Councils were divided amongst themselves and allowed themselves to be diverted from the path of duty from various considerations, it was clear that the political team could be brought together or kept together only under the impulse of a full self-government and not in the midst of bureaucratic blandishments and official lures. 'Non-co-operation through Councils,' 'bearding the lion in his own den,' 'capturing seats of power in the very citadels of bureaucracy', all these have become mere rhodomontade, and the hollowness of the claims indicated by them has been made evident by the sense

of helplessness displayed by those very claimants in the cold shade of reason and experience.

When Gandhi was summoned from his 'den' and asked to shoulder the responsibility of running the Congress in Calcutta last December, he could have dictated his own terms and reverted to his orthodox formulæ, but his forbearance and love for his antagonists made him singularly free from all vindictiveness, wholly conciliatory in victory, moderate to a degree in tone, and businesslike in settlement from beginning to end. The younger men he could not alienate; the older he could not leave behind. He had therefore to effect compromises in his own faith, and hit upon a half-way halting place between Dominion Status and Independence, between boycott of British goods and khaddar, between Non-co-operation in Councils and Non-co-operation through and through. While therefore commending the Nehru Report, Gandhi lent the name of the Congress to the carrying on of propaganda in favour of Independence. Softening the sting of the boycott of British goods, he hit upon the happy thought of boycott of all foreign cloth through khaddar. And finally, while not tabooing council-entry, he enjoined it on all councillors that they should help the constructive programme from that vantage ground. Thus did he pave the way for a programme of Non-co-operation pure and undefiled, a programme which may, as the Calcutta Congress has stated in so many words, lead up to the non-payment of taxes.

Non-payment of taxes is a serious matter. It is easy to fly a foot and come down a yard. Nor would Government be soft and tender to those that raised the banner of revolt against their authority. That is why Gandhi is touring the country from end to end. At Pedanandipadu in Guntur District, the historic Firka round which the fight of 1922 should have concentrated itself, he has once again stated that if they meant to prepare themselves for the coming fight in 1930, fifty per-cent of the people should wear khaddar manufactured in its own area, and likewise fifty per-cent should give up untouchability and drink. It was the neglect of these

elementary injunctions last time that compelled a retracing of our steps.¹ They were the essence of the Delhi conditions of mass civil disobedience. They cannot be ignored next year, as they could not be ignored ten years ago.

But then people ask : "Is not all this the old story once again, the same old twice-told tale of sorrow and suffering, of defeat and shame ?" There is no such thing as failure in life, for every failure is a step to success. Success is merely the summation of a series of failures. But this philosophy apart, there is the supreme fact that the Non-co-operation movement of 1921 was not a failure. It had roused mass consciousness and diverted it from those channels of rude activity which a sudden awakening is bound to betray people into. Too much was demanded of the people at the very first effort. No crop could be harvested from out of seed-beds. The seed-beds may have been tilled and manured, watered and weeded; but the seedlings, in order to bear fruit, must be transplanted. This is an elementary proposition of life, of agriculture, of the villages. Every rustic knows it, but we who are sophisticated by western education, know it not. In 1920 and 1921. we did but prepare the seed-bed. Now is the time to transplant. Let us pass through the process. The weeds have been removed. Council-entry came in only as the growth of a weed in the midst of a flourishing growth of the paddy plant. People mistook the weed for the fruit-bearing plant. They must discover their own folly. They have had time and opportunities for doing it. Now they stand disillusioned. They must leave affairs into the hands of revolutionaries. Of this latter class, there are two groups—the violent and the non-violent. The activities and ideals of the first, they do not countenance. Those of the second remain the *pis aller* of the council-entrants of the Congress. Indeed they are the culmination of the Simon Boycott, which is but a phase of Non-co-operation. The prospects of Non-co-operation are bright from the standpoint even of Government. What are the alter-

¹Or was it due to lack of leadership ? (Ed. 'Triveni')

natives before them? Soviet Russia, Bolshevic money, Direct Action, strikes and all that they mean—disorder, violence, bloodshed, not to mention disorganisation of industry. All this is on one side, and in the open. It must be admitted by Government, for we are but speaking in their language. On the other, you have secret societies, bombs and revolvers, assassinations and anarchy; in a word, the unconcealed cult of unmitigated violence which Government fears and people abominate. Surely, Government can make no choice between these two. They must hitch their waggon then to the star of Moderate politics, but where is this commodity, this organism, this organisation? It is dead as Dodo or a door-mat. It is dead and buried seven fathoms deep beneath the surface of Liberalism. It is Liberalism and the Liberals that have made the Simon Boycott a real success. Were it not so, the authorities would today not be owning the success of the boycotters. Liberals being no longer friends of Government, and the veil that marks them off from the Non-co-operators being altogether thin, Government cannot look to them for support. Direct Action is anathema, and open anarchy means bloodshed. Liberalism of the old-world type is impotent, even if it is surviving in a nook there or a corner here. The only upholders of Law and Order—those that swear by non-violence in their very disobedience of Laws—those that are the best friends of Government, under the very banner of their civil revolution, are the non-violent Non-co-operators. Day by day the strength of Government on the plane of force is increasing. Aeroplanes are a new factor in putting down revolution, decimating whole villages and population. Government are strongest on the plane of brute force. On the legal or the constitutional plane, they are less so, but they are utterly frail, weak and helpless on the moral plane—the plane of Non-co-operation. On this plane we are impregnable. Right, justice, equity and morality are on our side. On the constitutional plane, we are less strong. On the plane of force, we are weakest. Let us therefore revive

Non-co-operation and silently work the end of autocracy in India. When the self-consciousness of the people is roused, when their desire for Swaraj is kindled, their deserts dare not be challenged by anyone. Revolution alone can bring emancipation to India, and that revolution which the Congress has all along encouraged, fostered and worked for, is the revolution of non-violent Non-co-operation. It is necessarily slow in its processes, but is inoffensive, unchallengeable and sure in its march. History may not exactly repeat itself, but the broad outlines of the processes by which India is destined to come by her freedom are already visible in the political horizon. We already catch glimpses of the heliocentric course of Indian politics in which the self-luminary planets of a revived faith in khaddar, of communal unity, of the removal of untouchability, the abolition of drink and the development of panchayats, revolve round the Sun of Gandhi, and in which the Councils are but a satellite like the moon around the earth, wanting in self-luminousness and playing but a nocturnal part in the 'akasa' of life.

A Love-song

BY D. RAGHUTHAMACHARYA

I am a beggar maid

At Thy temple's golden gate,
Singing in a faint voice
Of my love insatiate.

In the mellow hour of eve,

Inlaid with ruby and sapphire,
Beyond the burning West
I sight Thy shrine's high saffron spire.

In the silent hour of dawn,

When the smile of East is yet in bud,
The gentle breeze conveys
My song to Thee, though sung not loud.

Come, Lord ! out of the smile

Of dawn's silvery bloom,
Riding on the first sun-beam
To lift me from my gloom.

Enter the dew-drop of my soul

And dance to my plaintive singing,
Then let me reap my love's harvest ;
A kiss, an embrace and life's forgetting.

Current Topics

THE VICEROY'S ORDINANCE

It is the habit of Government to create a new grievance on the eve of every dole of Reform. The Public Safety Bill—now really the Public Safety Ordinance—furnishes that grievance. Ten years ago, it was the Rowlatt Committee, the Rowlatt Bill and the Rowlatt Act that heralded the advent of the Montford era. In 1908-10, it was the Seditious Meetings Act, the Press Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act which came as the precursors of the Minto-Morley Reforms. Under each of these, jail-loads of prisoners were taken and interned or externed, confined to solitary, simple or rigorous imprisonment. As the new era dawned, Viceregal pardons or Royal amnesties came into being, and the new sorrows of the nation, in which had been submerged the older and deeper ones, were assuaged by the liberation of shoals of prisoners. It is to effect a similar feat of psychology that the Public Safety Bill was introduced, and as if by an Act of Fate, passed not into an Act of the Legislature, but as an Ordinance under the extraordinary powers of the Viceroy. It is time that India co-ordinated the activities of the Government at Delhi and Simla, and saw through the deeper purposes the bureaucracy had in view in promulgating these uncommon measures. Nothing stays the hand of a Viceroy, neither Presidential rulings nor public opinion. We now see why Lord Morley predicted that India's rule must be absolute and personal, so far as his imagination could pierce. Beneath all the veneer and polish, beneath the paints and washes that glisten on the surface of the political edifice, there is a rot in the structure, a cracking of walls and a sinking of foundations, which is clearly visible. In effect, the so-called edifice of Responsible Government which it is pretended is being reared, is a mere make-believe and a

downright fraud. Swaraj cannot be granted by England. It must be established by India.

GANDHIJI IN ANDHRA

Gadhiji's visit to the Andhradesa is a historic chapter in the annals of the Province. Once again, public enthusiasm is roused to the pitch of 1921. Money has poured down in torrents. Villages have vied with each other to do honour to the uncrowned King of India. His movements have taken place with the unerring precision of a Viceregal programme, except when he, in his superabundant generosity, has relaxed his own limits of time and space. Although the visit has proved that the heart of rural India is sound, it is the English-educated folks and the foreign-cloth merchants that have been apathetic—and for obvious reasons. The former feel that their whole life—with its ambitions and prospects—is bound up with Government, and do not feel like participating in a revolutionary movement. Khaddar may not be revolutionary, though in one sense it is, but it is the precursor of a revolution—peaceful and non-violent, it may be, nonetheless a revolution. Left to themselves and freed from the shackles of the urban population, of urban interests, and of urban calculations, the people of the villages have during this tour given proofs of their sincerity, earnestness and readiness to serve and sacrifice. And if such an estimate of rural character is correct, Swaraj cannot be a distant vision. It must be, as it doubtless is, in sight, if it is not actually running towards us.

S. P.

THE KALASALA: A SAD MEMORY

But the sight of certain places and institutions must have awakened sad memories in Gandhiji's mind during his Andhra tour. Chirala is bereft of Andhraratna, Ellore of Annapurna Devi, Pallipadu of Digumarti Hanumantha Rao,

and Masulipatam of Kopalle Hanumantha Rao. And saddest thought of all, the Kalasala reared by a life of noble self-abnegation has lapsed into co-operation with Government, after accepting a little over thirty thousand rupees from the Congress. In Gandhiji's words, the life-work of Hanumantha Rao is "likely to be swept away into the sea", for his institution is no longer the "oasis in an educational desert" that it once was. Gandhiji's love for the Kalasala is as intense as ever, but he does not find it possible to devote time and attention to the work of clearing this veritable Augean stable. But we ask in all humility if it was not worth his while to have given a whole fortnight out of his Andhra tour to this vexed problem. He could have convened a meeting of all the donors and well-wishers of the institution, and once again set its feet on the path of true progress. That would perhaps have meant a few thousand rupees less for the khadi fund, but the cause of nationalism would have gained incalculable strength. While institutions like the 'Kashi Vidyapith' are holding aloft the banner of national education, the Kalasala has made an abject surrender. And that too, at the instance and on the specific recommendation of one of the leading lights of the Non-co-operation movement in Andhra. To most of the Andhra 'leaders', the Andhra University was a much more important institution than the Kalasala, and the location of the University Headquarters absorbed their attention to the exclusion of all else.

After all, every nation gets or keeps the institutions that it deserves. The Andhra 'leaders' as well as the rank and file, have proved by their criminal apathy that they deserved no better than that their Jatheeya Kalasala should cease to be either *Jatheeya* (national), or a *Kalasala* (abode of culture). The Kalasala of Hanumantha Rao's dreams is dead; but will there be a resurrection?

K. R.

THE BUTLER REPORT

The Butler Committee has laboured long and brought forth a monster. All the concentrated affluence of 'princely

India' was brought to play its luxurious part in the game, and the costliest counsel—Sir Leslie Scott—represented their cause. A sedulous and successful propaganda was carried on to exclude and avoid the representations of the subjects of the States, on the plea that the terms of reference did not permit of such a procedure. That the Report was bound to be reactionary in its recommendations, was a foregone conclusion, and all the best efforts of the States Subjects Delegation headed by the indefatigable Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, could not prevent the 'Chinese wall', as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru so picturesquely put it, being erected between British and Indian India.

The summary of the Butler Committee Report so far available reveals the British mind in all its crudity. The growing tendency on the part of the Paramount Power to make its hold on the Princes firmer, is visible. If the Butler recommendations were brought into force, the Political Department will be under the direct and immediate control and supervision of the Viceroy, who will exercise his functions as the delegate of the King-Emperor in sole authority, undivided and supreme, superseding the present arrangement by which the Governor-General *in Council* is the highest functionary in this Department. In the words of Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao ;

"the effect of the proposal is that India as a whole can never have a common constitution. In putting forward the proposal, the Indian Princes have done a great disservice to the country. The only way of undoing the mischief is for the Indian Princes, the people of the States and of British India, to come together in a conference and settle their differences."

In addition to this, the proposal to pack the Political Department with recruits from British Universities makes the whole situation grievously suspicious. Have the Princes bargained for this humiliation ? To quote the same high authority on constitutional matters :

"An autocratic Viceroy, uncontrolled by the Executive

Council of the Governor-General will be the arbiter of their destinies in future....The position of the Princes will, I imagine, be distinctly worse under the proposed changes."

If the Princes have any respect for the feelings of their subjects who pulsate with a new life in this democratic age, and if they fully realise the implications of the recommendations with the tightening grip of the Imperialist, the retrogressive recommendators of the Butler Committee ought to be repudiated by them.

M. V. R.

Optimism

BY SATYENDRANATH DATTA

None need be afraid at the sight of lowering clouds,
For, sure, the Sun is smiling behind those vaporous veils.
The lost smile of the eclipsed Moon
Comes back, shattering the impenetrable darkness.
By the unfailing boon of vernal gales,
The naked branches are superbly clad in flowers.
The being that is drenched in tear-torrents
Finds its Life-Lord by its side.

Translated from BENGALI by

B. G. REDDY.

The Goddess of Peace

BY VEDULA SATYANARAYANA SASTRI

What wild ecstasy pervades this vast limitless universe !
All that lives doth sing in frenzied joy ;
Alas ! for me alone gush forth the silent tears
Out of the lingering memories of sweet sorrows.

With my tear-stifled voice, how could I sing Thy glory ?
So shall I fill my heart with the nectar of Thy beauty,
Or, failing even of this, I shall blossom unto myself
And drop away like the frail flower from its stem.

But to him that is a beggar for Thy grace,
This vision of peace is joy enough.
For, with the vermillion of Thy feet
I shall paint the petals of my love-laden heart.

Translated from an unpublished TELUGU poem

A Hindu Monotheist

BY S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

Hinduism, according to Dr. Farquhar, is essentially polytheism, though Hindus to-day, as modern men, "cannot acknowledge themselves as polytheists, but must represent themselves as worshipping only the one God of the Universe." The Samkarite proper is a monist and his one impersonal Supreme cannot be an object of worship; in so far as he does offer worship, he recognises not one, but five deities, *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, *Siva*, *Surya* and *Devi*. The Vaishnavite is neither a monist nor a monotheist. Monism is not monotheism and can be called so only by a gross abuse of language. The monist "cannot by any stretch of imagination be conceived as a monotheist."¹

A detailed examination of Dr. Farquhar's views would be neither interesting nor profitable. It is, however, proposed to invite attention to one great Hindu at least who was a monist as well as a monotheist and in whose case the fusion was not brought about by modern science or philosophy or the evangelising influence of Christianity. Appayya Dikshita belonged to the sixteenth century A. D. He was of a period long prior to the theistic movements known as the Brahma Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj and so on. Modern science and modern philosophy were only then being inaugurated in Europe by the Bacons and Descartes. Christian influence of a kind there may have been in this country, and it may not be possible to prove that it counted for nothing in Appayya's system; but he himself has little difficulty in tracing all his ideas to Hindu originals whereon he exclusively relies for support.

Appayya was a devout adherent of the Samkara

¹See "*Hinduism and Christianity*" by Dr. J. N. Farquhar in "*The Hibbert Journal*" for October, 1928, particularly pp. 113-115.

School. His *Kalpataru Parimala* is a commentary on a commentary on Samkara's *Bhashya*. His *Siddhanta-lesa-samgraha* is a masterly treatise on the conclusions of non-dualism (what Dr. Farquhar, like many others, elects to call monism). He is also the author of a commentary on a theistic school of philosophy—the Siva Advaita of Srikantha. His monistic leanings are so great that he repeatedly attempts to make out Srikantha himself to be a monist. And yet Appayya is a monotheist as well ; and his monotheism, in the circumstances, cannot but be of interest.

Appayya was a devotee of Siva. This Siva is not one of the three *murtis* ordinarily recognised, but transcends them all. He occupies a position closer to the impersonal Brahman than to the three deities Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra. Brahman is free from the three *gunas* (the constituents of matter) *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* ; Siva is associated with them, as it were : the three deities are affected by the *gunas* in such fashion that Brahma is characterised by *Rajas*, Vishnu by *Sattva* and Rudra by *Tamas*. These three, in conformity with their nature, set about creating, preserving or destroying. Siva is above both the constituents and the functions ; but He is the controller of them all. He is higher than the finite self, that stands over against and struggles with matter ; He is *pradhana kshetrajna pati*, *gunesah*, lord of matter and of the finite self, controller of the constituents of matter. This Being is the object of the individual's devotion. The three *murtis* may and do function in that capacity ; and the worship of them is legitimate enough. But since they are limited, the results of their worship are also limited. Even that way, release comes about ultimately, but only gradually and by stages, while the worship of this fourth Being, Siva, leads directly to release. Release itself, until the world is finally destroyed, takes the form of the attainment of the nature of Siva ; it is not identification with Brahman, for this can come about only when there are no other souls in bondage. As long as these exist, that is as long as the world exists, the attainment of *Sivatva* alone is release.

The entire position will now be substantiated by reference to his works.

Addressing Siva in the *Siva-tattva-viveka*, he says—
 “Though beyond the *gunas*, yet in combination with *Maya*, Thou dost appear as if possessing *gunas*, taking on the form of the blue-throated, three-eyed being, accompanied by Amba as Thy Consort, going about under the names Siva, Bhava and so on, and controlling the whole Universe inclusive of Hari, Hara and Brahma” (Verse 13). In the *Ratna-Traya-Pariksha*, he says the Supreme Being undergoes a process of self-division, as it were, into *dharma* and *dharmin*, the Attribute and what possesses the Attribute. The latter is the Supreme Divinity, Siva; the Attribute again takes on a two-fold form and manifests itself as Devi and Vishnu. “The *dharmin* functions as the operative cause in respect of the five-fold activity of creation and so on, pertaining to the universe. The *dharma* taking on the form of male, holds the position of the material cause of all the worlds; and taking on a female form, becomes the divine consort of its own substrate, the prime efficient cause. The *dharma*, though thus distinguished, is said by those who know the Scriptures to belong to the constitution of Brahman, as much as the *dharmin*.” (Verse III). When the One Supra-Personal Subject undergoes a process of self-division into Substance and Attribute, it is idle to make out that the Real is Substance alone or Attribute alone. We have really three gems (*Ratna Traya*) Siva, Sakti and Vishnu. Each of them is God; none of these is a product of God in the sense in which the material world is, and individuals are supposed to be. They are three, but three in one. If this is polytheism, Trinitarian Christianity is polytheistic.

Ardent Saivite, that he is, Appayya does not make light of devotion to Vishnu. “All modifications like ether and the rest are but transformations of that Prime Person (Vishnu); all migratory beings up to Brahma are but parts of Him. Only by reaching to Him can that place be attained which belongs to the Immortal primæval blissful

Being, who is Light, who is worshipped by the sons of the Immortal, the gods among gods, the ancient ones." (*Ibid*, Verse V). "That mode of meditation which holds to Samkara and has *Saguna Brahman* for its object is the bestower of the shining abode; as for the other modes of meditation, united to the Lotus-eyed One as to Primal Sakti, they lead to gradual attainment of fruit and are means of attaining to that (first-mentioned mode of meditation)" (*Ibid*, Verse VII). Elsewhere, in the *Ananda Lahari*, combating the view that Vishnu is no better than a finite self (a *jiva*), he says: "Our tongues refuse to declare that Sri Narayana, the Adorable, is a *Jiva*, on the strength of some obscure hymns to be found in nooks and corners. . . . Our heads would burst into a hundred fragments, if we did so. Thence would rise treason to the Vedas and those who follow them, and also to the *devatas*" (Commentary on verse 35).

The position that release is the attainment of *Saguna Brahman* (*i.e.*, Siva) is set out at great length in the *Siddhanta-lesa-samgraha* and the *Siva-advaita-nirnaya*. The argument is too lengthy to allow of quotation or reproduction. The author holds that *Saguna Brahman* is the original image and that the *jivas* are the same image reflected in nescience. With the cessation of nescience in one case, that particular reflection would get merged in the original; but so long as nescience continues for others, the Lord will still be reflectable, *i.e.*, he will be an image; and until he is free from that possibility, release cannot be identity with *Nirguna Brahman*. Such ultimate release can come about only with the redemption of all and the complete destruction of nescience.

It needs little reflection to show us that a monist may be a monotheist as well, and that monotheism is consistent with the recognition of more than one aspect of the Deity. Neither in his monism nor in his monotheism is Appayya intolerant; for, in the best spirit of Hindu Philosophy, he recognises varying grades of spiritual capacity. There are those who consider moral life to be the ultimate; to these,

goodness (*Sattva*) would be the highest object of adoration; they might thus be led to the worship of Narayana, the embodiment of *Sattva*. Others may recognise the claims of the moral life but yet consider it to be an appearance, not as such and in itself real; to such, comes the vision of the *Saguna Brahman* united to *gunas* as it were, but really other than they.

Incidentally one gets an insight into the only possibility of success for syncretic movements. No idea or ideal can be discarded or condemned; they must all find appropriate places in a graded scheme of values, culminating in the highest value recognised by the syncretist. Such a scheme, for all its apparent artificiality, has a greater possibility of commanding loyalty than condemnation or even sympathetic criticism. Appayya, and before him Srikantha, were among those who realised this profound truth. And the grasp of that is of vital importance in any scheme for mutual understanding and co-operation among religions. It is a hopeful sign that the Jerusalem Conference seems to have realised this. "We would repudiate", says the Report of that Conference,¹ "any symptoms of a religious imperialism that would desire to impose beliefs and practices on others, in order to manage their souls in their supposed interests." If the authors of this Report need practical guidance, they cannot do better than turn to the syncretism of Appayya Dikshita.

¹Quoted by Dr. George Howells, in *The New Era*, Vol. I, No. IV, p. 304.

Andhra Folk-lore: A Word to Students

BY D. RAMI REDDY ¹

Dear Mr. Ramakotiswara Rao,

I have gone through almost all of the numbers of the 'Triveni' and I am very much impressed with the neat execution and the valuable articles it contains. The selection of fine frontispieces is a regular delightful feature of your esteemed 'Triveni.' The Andhra public sincerely feel grateful for the admirable part your Journal is playing in the cultural revival of India at large. I hope that you would try to maintain the same dignified standard in future, even though I am sure that it will inflict a heavy financial sacrifice for a year to come. The long-felt want of the Telugu country which required a high-class English magazine to voice its aspirations and to communicate its cultural achievements to a wider public remained unfulfilled until the 'Triveni' came into existence, and it is not too much to hope that the Telugu country would put into practice its usual generosity and see your noble venture a complete success.

Times have changed and with the times the traditional values. Any nation which cannot adapt itself to the inevitable changing conditions of life is sure to be superseded and utilised by the more adventurous nations of the world. This fundamental law of evolution whose keynote is the struggle for existence can never be overlooked at least in the present stage of the world's moral progress. A nation, like an individual, grows and ripens into old age. When the vital sap is run out, it becomes disorganised and

¹This is the full text of a letter to the Editor.

crumbles into insignificance. But the same nation, after a period of rest, is revitalised into active life by the repetition of the cyclic law which operates through external circumstances. Foreign contacts are not bad even when the prime motive is selfishness. By the contact of the aggressive civilisation of the West, our age-long lethargy was shaken to its roots, though followed by its attendant evils, and a new vista of the golden future is presented to our sight. The destructive and reconstructive forces are now awakened to their legitimate duties and a receptive atmosphere has been created all over India for the inauguration of the new era. Our Telugu country too is not slow to respond to the call of progress, even though the softer notes of the cultural Renaissance seemed to be drowned for a while in the trumpet voice of the political agitation. We behold everywhere in the Andhra country the signs of a healthy life. New standards of education which culminated in the establishment of the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala, a new school of painting which owed its genesis to the creative genius of the late Damerla Ramarow, and the modern school of poetry which had for its pioneer the famous Gurazada Appa Row who led a crusade against the sanscritised Telugu of the classics, and many other activities of importance go to show that our contribution to the present cultural upheaval of India is by no means insignificant.

One of the signs of life is growth and expansion. The growth presupposes assimilation. Any undigested material causes disease and decay, apart from the wastage it entails. As the discriminative adaptation and assimilation of whatever is conducive to our national well-being in other cultures are the essential factors of social and intellectual elevation and progress, our false sense of patriotism should not deprive us of the new possessions and advantages. Conservatism in any branch of human activity may be economical, self-preservative and useful up to a certain stage of growth as an outer shell of a seed, but if it persists in taking an undue advantage of its own good intentions, it is sure to prove detrimental.

When two nations with divergent civilisations are brought together by some historical happening, it is the weaker nation that is more influenced than the stronger. Then again, the weaker nation passes through the four stages of development, namely, imitation, adaptation, assimilation, and independent creation. We have completed the third stage and are on the threshold of the fourth. No nation in the world has escaped this ordeal and we are no exception.

Anybody who is acquainted with the march of science and invention in modern times cannot think of keeping himself aloof from the rest of the world. Time and space have been conquered by the inventive genius of the West, and the religious, social, and political differences are being minimised every day. If I am not accused of poetical idealism, I can safely predict that there will come a day when all the peoples of the world will join together as a family of nations and work in concert for the commonweal of mankind. The day may be far off in the hazy mists of the future. But, who knows—a happy dream of to-day may be a realisation of to-morrow! If religion and science are wedded together, the remote possibility of the brotherhood of man can be brought down to the plane of practical politics.

When I say that we should move abreast of the times, I do not mean that we should lose our individuality as Andhras. We had a glorious past of which we can legitimately feel proud and the responsibility of making the present worthy of the past rests with us. We can only maintain our individuality and justify our existence as a separate unit of the human race when we can independently contribute our quota of art, poetry, drama, and the sciences to the store of the world's culture. It was only for the preservation and propagation of that individuality we wanted a separate University. But, alas! it has ended in a pompous fiasco after arousing hopes which were never meant to be fulfilled.

As the Universities are the centres of refinement and

learning, and as the public spirit of the student community is yet untainted by selfish motives, I wish to suggest a few things for the consideration of our student friends. Generally, the pioneer of any new movement bears the brunt of the struggle and makes the path easier for his followers. At first he is suspected and discouraged. But afterwards a few minds of similar nature gather around him and every inch of their way is fought heroically and won. It is only such movements that startle the world one fine morning with their greatness. It was the same case with the Gaelic revival and the literary movement of modern Ireland backed up by men like G. W. Russel ('A.E.') and Yeats who is now one of the recipients of the Nobel prize. The commendability of the movement consists in its going back to the ancient folk-lore of the country and bringing to light in a new garb the most characteristic features of the Irish genius. A new school of drama was created from the vital currents of Irish social life by dramatists of a new order like Synge and others, and a new stage was invented to suit the requirements of the new type of drama. As the poet reaches the most sensitive part of his nation through the medium of the drama, the movement started by Yeats proved a potent factor in bringing about the cultural revolution of his country, from within, with lightning speed. But there was a time when the young Irish poets of the new movement could not get a publisher for their books. Dr. James H. Cousins of Adyar, who is devoting his entire life to the cultural emancipation of India, has the full experience of the Irish literary revival as one of its participants, and is accessible to all who are willing to be benefited by his advice. His critical evaluation of India's ancient heritage as well as the modern achievements is as sympathetic as it is genuine. His saintly life is a living force which is influencing the very outlook of many of the students who come into close contact with him.

What I wish to suggest to my friends is that with such a practical example of the Irish young men before us, we

can start a movement and organise the students of the colleges into small bands of literary workers who will have ample leisure in the vacations to collect the available folk-lore and publish it. It is not a work to be carried out by any single individual, even though our enthusiastic Pundit Veturi Prabhakara Sastri has been collecting the folk-lore whenever he could snatch an opportunity in his official tours. On account of the rapid modernisation of villages the folk-lore is disappearing, and even now it is not too late for an organised attempt to rescue it. I trust my student friends will respond.

The Essentials of Karnatic Music

BY HARI NAGABHUSHANAM

Karnatic music has two aspects, the transcendental and the conventional, the latter being conceived chiefly as a stepping stone to the former which is the true conception of music as delineated in the previous article. The best exponents of the Karnatic school have laid stress on these two aspects and have demonstrated them by their own example. Ramadas, Purandardas, Narayana Thirtha, Narasimhadas, Thyagaraja, Kshetraya, Dikshitar and a host of such 'Bhakti Yogins' furnish instances in themselves for my propositions.

SRI THYAGARAJA

Of all these, Sri Thyagaraja is certainly a divine incarnation come out to preach to us, consistently with Vedic authority, what music is in its essence and how it secures our eternal emancipation. Sri Shankaracharya expounded the Vedic lore especially the 'Prasthan Traya' thereof and re-instated the 'Adwaitic' system of philosophy in its former glorious, indubitable and invulnerable position. Sri Ramanujacharya interpreted the same so as to recuscitate the 'Visishtadwaitic' system of philosophy and Sri Madhwacharya construed it with a view to re-establish the 'Dwaitic' system of philosophy on a firm basis. Thus, of course, they became the founders of the three main religious sects into which the whole of the Aryan population in India is divided at present. As time passed, the true spirit of the systems became lost and superficial vestures have remained only to create and widen the barriers of dissension and strife. Sri Thyagaraja

therefore came out to restore unanimity among the followers of the three great exponents of the Vedic culture and effect a regeneration of 'Nada Brahmopasana' inculcated by the 'Shrutis' and the 'Smrithis' etc. He conceives that 'Nada Brahmopasana' is the backbone of Vedic culture, that the three great schools of philosophy above referred to are agreed upon its form and procedure, and that 'Samgeetham,' its conventional counterpart, serves as a universal religion and a common language not only for the whole of the Aryan Race in India but for the whole creation, human and superhuman.

THE RELIGION OF SRI THYAGARAJA

True to his birth as an Andhra Smartha Brahmin of the Vydeeki sect, professing Sri Shankaracharya's Advaitic doctrine of Vedantic philosophy, he lived the life of a Sanyasin (ascetic) and preached "Jnana Yoga." He declares that he has realised the identity of the 'Paramathman' (*i.e.*, the ego within with the cosmic ego throughout), that the whole of creation is nothing but a manifestation of one 'Atman' so beheld, and that through 'Nadopasana' one attains 'Atma Jnana' *i.e.* self-realisation and 'Atmanandam' *i.e.* self-blissfulness. (*Vide* his songs of 'Marugelara,' 'Vidajaladura,' 'Undede-Ramudokadu,' 'Ethavunara Nilakada Neeku,' etc.)

Again, true to his mission, he puts on the garb of an 'Upasaka' or 'Bhakta' and inculcates 'Bhakti Yoga' which is common to both Dwaitic and Advaitic Schools and proclaims that 'Nadopasana' secures 'Moksham' (or salvation) and that 'Samgeetham', its conventional counterpart, effects the same if it is permeated with 'Bhakti.' Further he denounces in very strong terms that accomplishment in music for the sake of worldly prospects or sensual appeasement is infernal and unworthy of the posterity of the Maharishis. Again he chooses the name and form of Sri Ramachandra as best representing the address and the personality of 'Parimathman,' no note of discord being struck by any school of Vedic religion as

regards His supreme divinity. Let us see why this is so.

THE DIVINITY OF SRI RAMACHANDRA

The word 'Rama' literally means 'he in whom everything is delighted,' and its origin is traceable to the Vedas as an expression denoting the supreme 'Brahman.' Bhagavan Valmiki sings His praises in his sacred work of Srimad Ramayana with the following conception of Sri Rama's personality as expressed therein :—

"Rama is a righteous man in the world. His motto is 'Satyam' and 'Dharmam', *i.e.* truth and virtue. In fact, virtue with its splendour has emerged directly from Rama."

The inner meaning thereof may be stated thus :—

"Rama is that entity styled 'Sat' in the Vedas. He can be best realised through His attributes of 'Satyam', 'Jnanam' and 'Anantham'. The cosmos has evolved from Him with the help of 'Prakriti.'

This verse therefore conceives Sri Rama as 'Paramathman' spoken of in the following texts :—

1. "Oh Somya ! this visible world (of name and form) existed as 'Sat' before creation—that 'Sat' which is one without a second and which is also called 'Brahman'."
2. "Brahman is 'Satyam', 'Jnanam' and 'Anantham' "
3. "That from which the visible creatures have sprung up."

Again, Bhagavan Valmiki further describes Sri Rama in the following terms :—

"Oh daughter of Janaka ! Rama is a person shining with lotus-like eyes ; He is beloved even of the animal creation ; He has striking beauty and overpowering personality ; He has been born with such qualities."

"Oh daughter of Janaka ! Rama is 'Pundareekaksha' *i.e.*, Sri Maha Vishnu ; He is endeared to the mind because He is the 'Atman' permeating the creation as its support ; whatever is strikingly beautiful and whatever presents an overpowering personality are only His manifestations. Such an entity is only the birthless 'Brahman' now incarnate as Rama."

Thus we see the first describes Sri Rama as the personal God, the second describes Him as the impersonal God, the only reality owing to which the whole creation is deemed to exist as it does, and the third describes how He can be best realised in the visible objects of creation.

Bhagavan Valmiki enumerates in the above two verses and many others of a similar kind the two ways of defining Brahman, namely 'Thatasthya Lakshanam' and 'Swarupa Lakshanam' spoken of in the above-quoted Vedic texts and also details the manner of realising Him, *i.e.*, the 'Upasana' to behold Him. Therefore, in his conception, Sri Rama is evidently the personal and the impersonal 'Brahman' the Vedas describe at such great length.

Bhagavan Vyasa conceives Sri Krishna in the same manner in his sacred work Srimad Bhagavata and says this at one place :—

"Barring a butcher or a self-murderer, who will not say 'it is enough recounting the virtues of Bhagavan'—a recounting which 'Muktas' *i.e.*, self-realised 'yogins' indulge in, which 'Mumukshus' *i.e.*, seekers after self-emancipation, consider as a panacea for repeated births, and which pleased the ears and the hearts of 'Vishayees' *i.e.*, sensualists."

The above description of Sri Krishna agrees closely with that of Sri Rama in the foregoing and declares that He is the supreme 'Brahman' in whom the whole creation has its rejoicing. Indeed the name and personality of Sri Ramachandra are such that they attracted even 'Muktas' like Bhagavan Vasishta and Bhagavan Viswamitra to love and adore him in self-identity to their self-absorption, that prompted compeer Avatars like Bharata, Lakshmana and Satrugna to reverence and bow down to him in all sincerity to their heart's content, that induced 'Mumukshus' like Guha, Hanumantha, and Vibhishana to worship and serve him in all meekness for their self-emancipation, and that tempted 'Vishayees' like Sugreeva and his following to revere and obey him in all earnestness for their spiritual elevation. Valmiki who had been living a most sinful life became Brahmarshi Valmiki as he

constantly thought of Rama and uninterruptedly recited His sacred name, true to the initiation of the "Sapta Maharshis." Again he has become the father of Sanskrit poetry and the author of the greatest and noblest of Sanskrit poetic works because he has written the life of Sri Rama, completely absorbed in devotion and love.

In fact, even the name of Sri Rama, not to speak of His personality, is enchanting to the highest degree even to His enemies like Ravana, and I venture to assert that there is no word in the world's literature, which is so sweet to the ear and so palatable and tractable to the tongue.

There is no wonder, therefore, that Sri Tyagaraja has selected Sri Ramachandra and His sacred name to represent the 'Paramathman,' and 'Aumkara', His address, so that the one may constitute the 'Alambana' *i.e.*, the objective, and the other the medium for the spiritual meditation of a 'Bhakti Yogin' in the course of his 'Geethopasana.' He realises that Sri Rama is acceptable to all sects and endeared to all people from every standpoint as a supreme incarnation of 'Parapara Brahman' *i.e.*, personal and impersonal God, and has hence addressed his songs principally to Him with His glorious name as the catch-word thereof.

One who studies the life of Sri Thyagaraja in the dim-coloured light of Western education and not in the effulgent search-light of Vedic culture will find that he has some though not all the moral and intellectual weaknesses man is heir to, such as wrathfulness, jealousy and self-conceit, and that he holds religious ideals which change from the low depths of polytheism, to the highest summits of pantheism. *Vide*, 'Endaro Mahanubhavulu', 'Girirajasuthathanaya', 'Marugelara', etc. Again his 'Bhakti' appears to range from what is called 'Moodha Bhakti' *i.e.*, blindfold popular devotion, the meanest conception thereof, to 'Antharanga Bhakti' *i.e.*, altruistic introspective devotion, the highest culmination thereof.

Thus it looks as if he were passing from one stage of evolution to another and becomes a perfect man as age

advances like any other human being. This conclusion follows if we view his life in the light of the Western method of criticism of great personalities like Shakespeare, Milton, Dante, Carlyle, Wordsworth, Ruskin and so on. Whatever may be the height of knowledge which the Westerner has reached in the sphere of material scientific inventions, it cannot be supposed for a moment that he has fathomed the depths of spiritual culture in any degree. Hence he is no safe guide to us in matters spiritual such as the criticism of the religious leaders. Sri Thyagaraja is one who, as already observed, comes out into the world with a particular mission from God, that of cementing differences among the followers of the three schools of Vedantic philosophy through 'Nada Brahmopasana' and as such he plays the role of an 'Upasaka' and in doing so he presents a variety of changes as taking place in him as consequences of his 'Upasana', and appears as if he had been afflicted with many of our mental infirmities and intellectual deformities. But if you let your vision penetrate deeper and deeper, you will find that he is a 'Jnana Yogin' as perfect as Sri Shankaracharya himself, and that to save the world from the agonies of life, he espouses the cause of 'Bhakti Yoga' in which aspect he is as perfect as Sri Ramanujacharya or Madhwacharya. Hence some of his songs have a double meaning, one appealing to the 'Jnana Yogins' and the other to the 'Bhakti Yogins.' *Vide* 'Dwaithamu Sukhama', 'Marugelara', 'Bhajanaseyave Manasa,' etc. Even though he is perched upon the highest peak of 'Sanyasam' or 'Nivrithi' inculcated by the Upanishads as interpreted by Sri Shankaracharya, he always puts on the insignia of 'Garhasthyam' or 'Pravriti' and moves with us in the labyrinths of changing faith and oscillating devotion. This is the way in which an Avatar like Sri Ramachandra or a 'Loka Samgraha Jnani' like Janaka would act in pursuance of the following texts :—

"You are bound to do 'Karma' at least with a view to effect 'Lokasamgraham' i.e. to elevate mankind by social service,

just because Janaka and others attained self-realisation, doing 'Karma' alone."

"Whatever a leader does, others (his followers) do that alone ; whatever ideals he acts up to, the world follows them."

Sri Shankaracharya comments on the first of the above verses as follows :—

"They (Janaka and others) attained self-realisation through 'Jnanam' alone but doing 'Karma' for the sake of 'Lokasamgraha' without being bound by it as laid down by the verse 'Guna Guneshu Varthamthi'; though 'Karma San'yasam' was achieved by them, they attained self-realisation doing 'Karma' alone; this means they did not abandon 'Karma'".

Hence Thyagaraja who is an Avatar according to me, or a 'Loga Samgraha Jnani' such as he declares himself to be in his song 'Dasarathe, Runamu Deerpa Na Tharama,' selects and observes throughout his life a course of conduct which presents him in a cloak of humanity with all its patches and decorations.

Western education has enshrouded our minds and has enslaved our hearts so much that we begin to argue that we have a right to review the lives of 'Avatars' and 'Mahapurushas' and point out their virtues and drawbacks, all the while labouring under the misapprehension that they as human beings like ourselves are amenable to our criticism. We forget that humanity ranges from the carnivorous cannibal to the most philanthropic Mahatma, that the ideals guiding the conduct of persons differ according to the degree of their cultural evolution, and that hence we are not fit to judge persons occupying a position of giddy eminence above us. Consequently we should not venture our opinion with regard to the conduct of saintly characters and it should be our sole aim to dive deeper and discover a solution to the apparently irreconcilable incongruities therein. Sri Thyagaraja being one of such Mahatmas, we should study his life with an open mind eager to receive enlightenment further and further out of his unfathomable resourcefulness. In this

connection let us bear in mind the following verse in the 'Geetha':—

"What is night's darkness to creation is daylight to a 'Samyamee', i.e., a 'Jnani', and what is daylight to a 'Jnani' is night's darkness to creation."

Again, a superficial critic such as a person who is not well-versed in Sanskrit or Telugu, or one who has not understood the spirit of languages, may say that Sri Thyagaraja's linguistic accomplishment is anything but noteworthy, that the language he used in his songs is full of ungrammatical laborious constructions and that he lacks felicity and clearness of expression. Here also he is too high for us to judge. Just as Sri Rama is God enshrined in his heart, so is Srīmad Ramayana his constant companion for his thought and expression. Just like Srīmad Ramayana his songs are such that a boy can be said to understand and that even Pandits fail to expound. Again Srīmad Ramayana contains many words which cannot be reconciled with the rules of Panini's grammar; so also Sri Thyagaraja's songs may have expressions here and there which defy the rules of our incomplete Telugu Grammar. Such words and expressions are styled 'Arsha Prayoga' and we have no right to say they are wrong. In fact we shall have to evolve a separate grammar from his works which will explain the linguistic beauties thereof, on the lines of the Vedic grammar and the Shakespearean Grammar. In one word his grammatical constructions are most musical and most original, and his style is most chaste, idiomatic, simple, homely and fertile. In every way he is a transcendental personality and as such the rules prescribed for our conduct do not bind him in any manner. (*Vide*, Sri Shankara's 'Bhashyam' for the fourth aphorism in 'Uttara Mimamsa'.)

Thus a critical study of Sri Thyagaraja's life and his works will convince everyone that he is a 'Vibbuti Avatar' of God come out into the world to re-habilitate music in its original purity of conception, to redirect it in its proper channels of spiritual communion, and to

replenish it with original composition breathing complete divinity throughout, holding himself out as one who has realised 'Jivanmukti' through 'Nadopasana.' His glory radiates all over the country and is sure to captivate the whole world one day. Many of his songs echo the foregoing observations about Sri Ramā and himself. Let us accordingly feel proud that he was born among us in South India like the three great teachers of Vedic religion, and make sincere efforts to carry out his mission by propagating his ideals through precept and example.

GEETHOPASANA : HOW TO BE CONDUCTED

We now come to the next subject; how we have to conduct our 'Geethopasana' in accordance with his ideals.

'Geethopasana' goes by the name of 'Samgeetham' in ordinary Shastraic literature as already observed. The word 'Samgeetham' literally means 'well-sung' and it is technically used as indicating a combination of 'Geetham', *i.e.*, vocal music, 'Vadyam', *i.e.*, instrumental music, and 'Nritham', *i.e.*, dance music, according to some authors; and 'Geetham' and 'Vadyam' alone according to some others. Of these 'Geetham' is set down as the vital function and the other or others as auxiliary. Again 'Geetham' is said to be one of three forms—'Ekala Geetham', 'Yamala Geetham' and 'Brindaka Geetham.' 'Ekala Geetham' means solo music, 'Yamala Geetham' denotes music by two persons, and 'Brindaka Geetham' signifies congregational music. The first of these kinds is in vogue at present, the second is very rarely seen, and the third is employed by untutored folk in their divine worship and is known by the name of 'Sevamelam', loosely pronounced as 'Shavamola' in Telugu parts. Of course, these three types of vocal music are conceived so as to serve three different purposes as I view them. 'Ekala' is one who can conduct the divine service single-handed in a manner worthy of himself. 'Yamala' is one who rises to the occasion better in combination with another, than in a single-handed performance. 'Brindaka' is one who mixes

with many, either to lead the service or to be led by them therein. Of course, these three types of vocal musicians have their significant features recommending themselves to us but the first and the last deserve special note. The one is a representative of 'Antharanga Bhaktas' and the other, of 'Bahya Bhaktas'. The middle one, *i.e.*, 'Yamala' musician may be taken to represent one kind of 'Bahya Bahkti' which consists in a 'Guru' (*i.e.*, teacher) teaching his 'sishya' (*i.e.*, disciple). It is regrettable that 'Ekala Geetham' is now represented in a majority of cases by musicians who do not bother themselves about spiritual ideals, that 'Brindaka Geetham' is relegated to congregationalists who do not trouble themselves about the technique of the art, and 'Yamala Geetham' is almost forgotten for ever. Hence it behoves us to reform and reinforce the three types of vocal music so as to elevate the present level of our Karnatic music.

'BHAVA', 'RAGA' AND 'THALA'

The first essential of vocal music or music in general is the expression of 'Bhavam', a term which cannot be adequately interpreted in English. It literally means 'that which exists', and therefore implies mental concepts popularly denoted by the term 'ideas' since they are such as live on. A mental concept is one which is generally conveyed by means of words. In fact, language is conceived as a medium to convey ideas. Language sometimes fails to do so, owing to the intensity of emotion, and the man involuntarily falls into sobs or laughter as the case may be, or is induced to sing to himself. If, in such a state of the mind, he tries to express himself in words, they come out in a dictioned metrical manner which we call poesy, all in an unconscious mood. This proves that sobs, laughter, poesy and singing owe their origin to intense feeling, 'emotion' as it is called, and are hence identical in their functions and the effects produced thereby. As between poesy and singing, the former is an expression of less intense feeling than the latter, generally speaking, and both

shape themselves automatically in certain cases and proceed with increasing effect. Both grief and joy give rise to these four ways of expression when they become too heavy to be contained and controlled. Laughter is better endured than sobs, poesy is better appreciated than laughter, and singing is more pleasing than poesy, and hence constitutes the highest and noblest expression of emotion in a most acceptable form. Involuntary poesy and automatic singing develop into poetry and music as we understand them. That is, the former are the commonplace media of the expression of feeling, and the latter the cultured forms thereof. Consequently poetry abounding in feeling cannot employ profuse phraseology but is pointed and laconic. So also music seething with emotion cannot have the cloak of words but is a succession of pleasing sounds in a well-arranged form.

‘ RAGALAPANA ’

This is the conception of ‘Ragalapana’ which is one of the unique features of the Karnatic school. ‘Thanam’ and ‘Pallavi’, other special features of our school, may be treated as particular aspects of ‘Ragalapana.’ The ‘Sthayee Bhavam’ (or central idea) in music, whatever form it may assume, song, ‘Ragalapana,’ ‘Thanam’ or anything else, should invariably be ‘Bhakti’ or devotion to God, as already observed, and it has to be interwoven by one or more of the nine ‘Rasas’ (*i.e.*, the nine types of intense emotion). Accordingly, in singing a song in which words or sentences are employed to express the ‘Rasas’, the ‘Sthayee Bhavam’ or the central thought should be constantly kept in view, the words should be distinctly and intelligibly pronounced so as to make the hearers catch and follow the ideas at once. Further, the musician should now and then be addressing God by such words as ‘Rama’ and ‘Krishna’, and his musical expatiation of the song should serve as a commentary upon the thoughts comprised therein. Again he should keep before his eyes the image

of Rama or Krishna or whomsoever he addresses, and pour out his heart to Him as he sings in sincere devotion. Secondly, if he is making 'Ragalapam' proper, in which no language is generally employed to express emotions but which apparently consists in a modulation of the musical notes making a melody, he should induce before himself a concept of God such as he best appreciates—say of Rama or Krishna or Siva—and singing the 'Ragam' in a fashion which suggests that God is 'Nada Brahman' and that He can be best realised through 'Nadopasana'. Just as a musician when he sings a song has to extol the virtues of God as they are described therein, he has to glorify, when he sings 'Ragam', God's attributes as they are symbolised in Vedic texts.

Sri Thyagaraja prescribes the rules which a musician has to observe while singing any kind of musical part—song, 'Ragam' 'Pallavi,' etc.

1. 'Who is that wise man who can lull you, Rama, by his music combining it beautifully with 'Mridangam' and 'Thalam',
2. and using extempore expressions which signify ideas contained in the Upanishads and singing them with accuracy in pronouncing 'Swarams'? 3. Is it possible for Thyagaraja to worship you by means of a song which possesses the poetic beauties of 'Yati' and 'Visrama', the stylish grace of 'Draksharasa' (*i.e.*, grape-juice) the sense-grandeur of 'Navarasas', and the spiritual culture of 'sadbhakti' and 'vyragyam' (*i.e.*, intense devotion and ascetic renunciation)."

Thus we see that Thyagaraja ordains what a musician should say, what he should think about, what he should express and how he has to sing and so on. He rules that he should use expressions which convey ideas contained in the Upanishads, while singing 'Ragam', song or anything else, clothe them in 'Bhakti' and 'Vyragyam' and deliver them with verbal ornamentation, etc. While it is so laid down by the great preceptor, our musicians disregard his command and say Ri, Ri, Ri; Ni, Ni, Ni; A, A, A; Ha, Ha, Ha, etc., and so on, which ejaculations have no sense whatever. Should we tolerate all this? I used to hear

great musicians of old sing 'Ragam' saying "Tha Da Ri Na Thom" and I was all the time thinking that it must be some expression with a great meaning, being used by those who held ancient ideals. Sometime back the real expression dawned upon me with its import to my great relief. The above expression is a shortened or rather a mutilated form of "Thath Are Anantham Aum" or "Thath Are Nantham Aum." Now the meaning of the expression is clear as daylight. "Oh seeker after truth, 'Thath' is 'Anantham' or 'Nantham' and it is 'Aum'." It means "'Brahman' is infinite and He is 'Aumkara'." We see now that this expression brings out in brief the idea contained in the 'Mandookyopanishad' already referred to, a most beautiful and appropriate conception indeed. It conforms to the ideal set up by Sri Thyagaraja in the above song. But, alas! our present-day musicians, at least the majority of them, have lost sight of this ideal and have incurred the ban of meaninglessness for our sacred music. Let us therefore try and get rid of this stigma by compliance with Shastraic ideals. Let us bear this in mind, and let our musicians use the above expression or similar ones such as 'Ne Dam' 'Anantham', 'Aum' etc., etc., so as to bring out the Upanishadic conception of the impersonal God, or say 'Rama,' 'Krishna,' 'Govinda', 'Shankara sambho,' etc., in order to address ourselves to the personal God. Again they may take up a 'Sloka' addressed to God, personal or impersonal, and comment upon its meaning, by way of explanation, by their singing the same, with such addresses to God here and there, as mentioned above.

The next question is, what should a musician say when he sings 'Thanam' or 'Ghanam', as it is sometimes called? The word 'Thanam' is either an incorrect form of 'Anantham' or a correct expression meaning 'Ekathanam' which means the same thing as 'Anantham'. Hence, as the usage goes, he should inter-weave 'Thanam' with the expression of 'Thanam' or 'Anantham'. It is regrettable that our present day musicians have altogether

given up singing 'Thanam'. The very fact that it is also called 'Ghanam' indicates it has a noble part to play.

'PALLAVI'

Now coming to 'Pallavi', it is something which is in the nature partly of a song and partly of 'Ragalapana'. The central idea is expressed by means of words and 'Sthula Thalam' is employed throughout its course. These two factors make it a song-like production. Again, the major portion of it consists in dilation of musical notes, and in this aspect, it has something in common with 'Ragalapana'. I say 'something in common'; because unlike in 'Ragalapana', the musician indulges more in singing 'Swarams' themselves, in mathematical proportions making combinations and permutations thereof, than in modulating the musical sounds according to 'Bhavam'. Hence the musician who wishes to acquit himself well in this branch of music should bear in mind the ideals of the other branches—song, and 'Ragalapana'—and effect a reconciliation as it were between them.

Now I may be questioned whether the several forms of music dealt with above have a Shastraic origin. The answer is that they have, but the names given to them may differ. The names of the several forms of music as we have them now are those of 'Geetham' 'Varnam' 'Keertana' 'Ragalapana', 'Thanams' and 'Pallavi,' etc., and the names used for them in ancient works on music seem to be 'Geetham', 'Prabandham', 'Sooladyam' 'Namavalitham', 'Churnika', 'Natakam', and 'Aipta,' etc. This is not the place where I can discuss the comparative merits of the names and forms of the several aspects of music in old and modern times and draw out the necessary forms of difference between them. Hence I have left out such a discussion here.

THE ELEMENT OF 'RAGAM' IN MUSIC

Having said so much about the first ingredient of 'Bhavam' in music, I have to take up the next essential

element of 'Ragam' and say something about it. 'Ragam' consists in a proper pronunciation and expression of musical sounds in the course of singing, and this pronunciation and expression we call 'Akaram'. This aspect of music is dealt with in 'Sabdabheda-prakaranam' of 'Sangeeta Ratnakaram' and I wish to mention a few things in this connection. A study of that chapter will convince the reader that the pronunciation and expression of sounds should be as natural as possible and should have no conventions about it. If the voice is not commendable in itself, it should be so tutored as to square up the angularities and produce sweet sounds by proper modulations. Sweetness should be the ruling principle of the articulation of sounds, and it is the result of the natural frame of the voice trained and modulated at the feet of a well-accomplished teacher so as to be rid of conventions, artificialities, and eccentricities in the manner of sound production. The musician should therefore keep himself within the bounds of his voice as regards its pitch and expedition, and ought not to over-reach himself. We see a tendency now on the part of our musicians to over-estimate their abilities in this respect and to imitate a Patnam Subrahmanya Iyer or a Maha Vydianatha Iyer of ever-memorable reminiscences, with the result that their delivery is all too artificial and unfinished. Again the musician should avoid the several 'Swara Doshams' enumerated in works on music, especially such as we term 'Graha Swara', 'Viswara', and 'Apaswara'. Further he should constantly keep himself alive to the fact that the primary aim of music is self-realisation through sound and should pronounce the musical sounds in such a manner as will take him to the goal. What this manner of pronunciation can be will have to be deduced from authorities such as the following:—

"Saying 'Aum', (the Upasaka) should concentrate himself upon 'Atman'".

The above Vedic text is explained by Anandagiri, the great and versatile commentator of Sri Shankara's works, in the following manner:—

“The moment a ‘Samadhi Nishtah’ *i.e.* one who is accomplished in self-communion says ‘Aum’ and concentrates himself upon ‘Atman,’ he merges ‘Akara’ of gross form in ‘Ukara’ of subtle form, then again ‘Ukara’ in ‘Makara’ the cause thereof, and then ‘Makara’ in ‘Prathyagathman’ *i.e.* the Ego within, who is beyond the cause and the effect. So doing, he becomes a ‘Samadhi Nishtha’ *i.e.* one who has realised ‘samadhi’ or blissfulness.”

This explains how ‘Pranavopasana’ the basis of ‘Geethopasana’ is practised by ‘Jnana Yogins’ and success therein is achieved by them. Hence it follows as a corollary that the same result is obtained through ‘Geethopasana’ if you pronounce the musical sounds in conformity with the above principle as explained in the following verse, with the mind centred upon God:—

“That sound is termed ‘Chehala’, perfect, which is neither very loud nor very feeble. Such a sound is produced in the case of males by ‘Akantha Kunthanam’ *i.e.* the modulation of free expression or production of sounds through the voice in a particular manner, and in the case of females always with no effort on their part.”

How such musical sounds can be produced in compliance with the above text so as to accord with the Vedic conception of ‘Pranavopasana’ has to be learnt effectively from a practical ‘Geethopasaka’ and no discourse thereon however long and lucid can bring home the matter so vividly. The long and short of this discussion is that a vocalist should bear in mind that all sounds and all words have their start and finish in ‘Aumkara’ and produce them in a manner suggestive of this conclusion by the requisite modulation of the voice and the necessary regulation of the mouth including the tongue and the lips, all the time concentrating his mind upon ‘Nadabrahman.’

THE ELEMENT OF ‘THALAM’

We come to ‘Thalam’ or time-keeping. It is said to constitute the third element of ‘Geetham.’ The following oft-quoted maxim may be referred to in this connection:—

“ ‘Shriti’ is the mother, and ‘laya’ the father of Music.”

The meaning of this maxim is clear. Just as a child is born of a mother and thrives in her care, music owes its existence and melody to ‘Shriti’ *i.e.*, the starting unit of sound and accurate attunement of musical sounds to the unit. Again, just as a father contributes to the child’s well-being, ‘laya’ *i.e.*, accurate proportion of time-units makes for the diction and dignity of music. The Karnatic school has recognised this principle and has given a prominent place to ‘laya’ in its arrangement. ‘Thalam’ when spoken of as an element of music means ‘laya’ and not the different ‘Thalams’ such as ‘Dhruva’ and ‘Madhya’. So also ‘Bhavam’ and ‘Ragam’ as constituting the other such elements are shown to mean word-concepts and sound-combinations. These three words have acquired an extended meaning, of course not unconnected with, but as a continuation and development of, their primary meaning, and are used in that extended sense in the several chapters in works on music dealing with ‘Bhava-Prakaranam’, ‘Raga-Prakaranam’ and ‘Thala Prakaranam’ respectively. These ‘Prakaranams’ deal with the several ‘Bhavams’ or phases of emotions, the several ‘Ragams’ or melodies arising from sound-combinations, and the several ‘Thalams’ or modes of time-keeping. They are too numerous to be discussed here and may be out of place as well. In this connection it may be stated with propriety that the three ‘Prakaranams’ are too elaborate and too accurate to stand in need of any further interference on our part. Many of our musicians have been coming into prominence even without a knowledge of the rudimentary principles, and therefore we shall do well to insist upon the bulk of our musicians at least to acquire a knowledge of the fundamentals of music instead of trying to add to the list of ‘Ragams’ and ‘Thalams’ already too innumerable even to remember their names. It may not be out of place to mention here that many of our notables will not be able to sing at least twenty ‘Ragams’ at full length with all the freedom required for the task.

‘VADYAM’

So far I have dealt with the three elements of ‘Geetham’ which is itself the first and the most vital element of ‘Samgeetham’. Next I wish to say something about ‘Vadyam’ which comes next to ‘Geetham’ to make up the idea of ‘Samgeetham.’ ‘Vadyam’ has assumed a very important place in the system of Karnatic music. It is divided into four kinds of ‘Thatha’, ‘Sushira’, ‘Anavaddha’ and ‘Ghana’ vadyams. Stringed instruments such as the ‘Veena’ and the ‘Vayuleena’ (violin) represent the first kind; bored instruments such as the ‘Venu’ (flute) and the ‘Nagaswaram’ (pipe) represent the second; skin-covered instruments such as the ‘Mridangam’ and the ‘Mardalam’ represent the third; and sounding instruments such as the ‘Chirithalam’ (cymbal) represent the fourth. The principal function of ‘Vadyam’ is conceived as accompaniment to ‘Geetham’ (*i.e.*, vocal music); but ‘Thatha’ and ‘Sushira’ Vadyams (*i.e.*, stringed and bored instruments) are considered to have two aspects—one as solos and the other as accompaniments, inasmuch as they are not only useful to help a vocalist as accompaniments but are capable of producing ‘Geetham’ *i.e.*, music composed of ‘Bhava’, ‘Raga’ and ‘Thala’ in its various phases. Of these, the ‘Veena’ is of Vedic origin and immemorial repute. It is a superb instrument of a most scientific nature, and no other instrument can vie with it in point of melody and adjustability and accuracy. It only wants in richness of sound so as to command big audiences. Some ingenious brains may work at it and make up the want by any original contrivance. The violin or ‘Vayuleena’, as I term it, is believed to be a foreign instrument but I am convinced it must owe its origin to the genius of the Aryans themselves. I venture to make such a presumptuous statement because it is more adapted to our system of music than to the Western conception of music. Perhaps it represents one of the several varieties of ‘Veena’ spoken of in our works on music, which have evidently become obsolete and whose origin and development we are not able to trace with certain-

ty. However this may be, it is an instrument which can claim equality with our venerable 'Veena' from every standpoint. If we compare and contrast both of them, they vie and outvie each other in certain respects. The deficiencies of the one are made good by the efficiencies of the other. In respect of richness and continuity of sound, the 'Vayuleena' is far superior to the 'Veena,' but in regard to distinctness and accentuation of sound, the 'Veena' excels the other though to a limited degree. The 'Vayuleena' is unmatched as an accompaniment to vocal music and the other is unparalleled as a permanent record of musical 'Shruties.' The virtues of both instruments being discussed, we have to lay down that both of them are perfect instruments, and none others can stand comparison with them, whatever be the degrees of difference between themselves. In this connection, I cannot but regret the fact that the 'Veena' has of late been falling into disuse owing to the popularity of the 'Vayuleena' and I consequently appeal to the lovers of indigenous art, especially of Vedic origin, to encourage the art of 'Veena' playing and revive its glory.

Next has to be reckoned the most sacred instrument, the 'Venu' of divine origin. Bhagavan Sri Krishna is said to have mesmerised the whole creation, animate and inanimate, human and superhuman, all alike with His strains on this instrument. His was a divine mastery and the improvised melodies must have been such as no human or superhuman genius could sound the depths of and the whole creation was therefore dumbstricken with the intoxication of the ambrosia of His transcendental music. Blessed were those beings who had the mysterious fortune to enjoy such music to their souls' eternal comfort! The great Sarabhasastry—eternal peace to his soul!—is renowned as having reclaimed the lost treasure of 'Vamsee Nadam' and established a reputation worthy of the Avatar who first exhibited its superb possibilities. It is an instrument which may rank next to 'Veena' and 'Vayuleena,' judging from the present condition of its adaptability to our music, and will have to be placed above them by reason of its connection with the divine Avatar of

Sri Krishna from which it is implied that its possibilities are far surpassing those of any other instrument.

Next comes the 'Nagaswaram' of immemorial origin and long-standing fame. But for the fact that it has to be blown with the mouth, it would have been taken up by the upper castes as well and mastered by them to a further degree of perfection. Even as it is, it has to be conceded that it lacks nothing to be styled a perfect musical instrument of almost all-round adaptability. The southern parts of the Madras Presidency have acquired a special distinction in the art and have excelled the other parts of the province, perhaps owing to the fact that there are a number of temples with extensive endowments of great antiquity, which render immense encouragement to this art.

Both 'Venu' and 'Nagaswaram' are now used only as solo instruments and not as accompaniments to vocal music, and rightly so. The volume of the sound produced by them, especially the latter, is too overwhelming and hence they are not useful as accompaniments. But there are instances to show that 'Venu' can serve the purpose of accompaniment as well.

Of the 'Anvaddha' instruments, 'Mridangam,' 'Mardalam' and 'Kanjari' have won a name for themselves as accompaniments to vocal music and instrumental music. Their chief purpose is accompaniment alone. 'Mridangam' is an essential accompaniment to vocal or instrumental solo-music. Just the same part is played by 'Mardalam' as accompaniment to 'Nagaswaram'. Strictly speaking, these instruments have no place as independent functionaries, but a practice has of late taken deep root in our province, especially in the case of 'Mridangam', to give the 'Mardangika' an independent chance to display his mastery of the art, apart from his capacity to accompany the principal musician. This practice, though of recent growth, is commendable if the artist keeps within his bounds; but I regret to remark that many of our present day 'Mardangikas' do not seem to understand that their foremost function is to accompany and not to lead the performance and misuse the trust reposed

in them by taking an unduly long time for the exhibition of their talents.

While this practice itself is thus deplorable, there has sprung up another undesirable circumstance, especially in the Tamil country, to arrange a medley of instruments besides the 'Mridangam' such as the 'Kanjari,' the 'Dolak,' the 'Ghatham' and the 'Moorsing' to accompany the leading musician. This combination is being persisted in inspite of the trenchant criticism of learned theorists and artists to the effect that it is quite opposed to the ideals of our Karnatic system of music, the chief function being not only hampered but thrown into the background by the unduly disproportionate prolongation of the secondary functions. In such combinations, the auxiliary functionaries overpower the principal artist in their attempts to outwit one another and drown him amidst the uproar of their ill-harmonised instruments. It may also be remarked here with due respect to the artists who are displaying unprecedented mastery over the instrument, that 'Kanjari' is most unsuited to play the part of an accompaniment to vocal music and instrumental music such as 'Veena' and 'Vayuleena.' Perhaps it deserves a place in a 'Nagaswaram' entertainment. Hence it behoves the true lovers of the sacred art of music to discourage such unhealthy practices.

Again the Karnatic school has, true to the spirit of our shastras, kept alive the art of 'Jantra-gathra-geetham' *i.e.*, voco-instrumental music, as I style it, which consists in oneself carrying out the functions of a vocalist and an accompanying instrumentalist at the same time. This kind of music has of late become a rare commodity in the Tamil country and I feel proud to note that Andhra Desa has got on its rolls even now many musicians who represent the art in its pristine purity. It is of course an art in itself and a musician who holds perfect sway in both the arts of vocal and instrumental music is given a higher place, by our shastras, in the scale of musicians. It is one of the several qualifications which make a 'Vaggeyakaraka,' the noblest of musicians, according to the dictum of author of 'Sangeetha

Ratnakara'. Indeed a musician of this type deserves special distinction by virtue of his rare genius to wield two different arts to perfection, and also by reason of the fact that such self-contained music is sure to be crowned with greater success than ordinary musical combinations where different individuals come together to perform different functions, sometimes with adverse interests and ill-harmonised hearts, even apart from their disparities of accomplishment in their several arts

There is a variety of 'Veena' which has gained ground in our parts as a solo-instrument. I mean the 'Maha Nalaka Veena' or 'Gotu Vadyam' as it is called. Though not a perfect instrument, owing to the fact that it cannot produce all the 'Gamakams' to perfection, it is one which can captivate us with its melody and execution. It is really an ingenious discovery of an original brain and deserves our commendation.

Last but not the least, the instruments falling under the category of 'Ghana Vadyam' such as the 'Chiri Thalam' *i.e.*, wooden or bronze cymbals, are necessary adjuncts to 'Geetham.' Sri Thyagaraja makes mention of these things in his song of "Sogasuga Mridangathalamu." Again his paintings represent him as holding such an instrument in his hand. These things go to establish that they are as essential as 'Mridangam' to complete the conception of 'Geetham.' But we do not come across the use of such instruments in our ordinary musical combinations. Different varieties thereof are used as essential accessories, in 'Sevamelam' or 'Brindaka Geetham' and not in individual performances. A study of the lives of great 'Bhaktas' like Thyagaraja and Ramadas will convince us that they hold such an instrument in the left hand, a 'Thambur' in the right hand, and wore 'Gajjallu' *i.e.*, small sounding cylindrical bells to the legs when they were engaged in 'Geethaopasana'. The importance of the last-mentioned equipment can be best realised when we deal with the subject of 'Nrittam.'

The earthen pot is another instrument which has ac-

quired much popularity with us in our musical combinations. It is a very simple instrument but a very fine one to amuse us either as a primary accompaniment in the place of 'Mridangam' or as an additional counterpart of it. Strictly speaking, it does not fall within the four kinds of instruments above stated, but it may be classed by general sufferance among 'Anavaddha' instruments. It may be exhilarating to us to note that the Karnatic school has preserved the prestige of the Aryan system of music even in the sphere of musical instruments, and that it has monopolised almost all the important instruments enumerated above and placed them on an eminence worthy of the glory of our nation in the province of music. Perhaps I shall not be mistaken if I assert that the 'Chittar,' the 'Sarangi' and a number of other instruments, most in vogue in the Northern Provinces, savour of Mussulmanic culture and conception and are not capable of being adapted to Karnatic ideals of music, but our instruments described above are facile enough to produce any kind of music based upon the principle of melody as well as that of harmony.

'NRITTAM'

Next I take up the subject of 'Nrittam' which constitutes the remaining element of 'Samgeetham' according to Sarangadeva, the author of 'Samgeetha Ratnakara.' It is one of the three essentials to make up 'Samgeetham' as shown below: "Dance, vocal music, and instrument, the three together are styled 'Samgeetham.'" Some other authorities say thus: "Some style it 'Samgeetham,' which consists of 'Geetham' and 'Vadyam.'" According to the latter view, 'Nrittam' is not necessary to make up the idea of 'Samgeetham.' Hence it becomes clear that there is a difference of opinion among the ancients themselves as to whether 'Nrittam' forms an essential ingredient of 'Samgeetham' or not. The difference will dwindle into a nominal one when we recall to our mind that all the authorities concede that 'Geetham' is of primary importance and the other or the others are in the nature of supplements. We have seen

that the highest purpose of music is to control the three agencies of action—the mouth, the body and the mind—and thereby concentrate the spirit on ‘Paramathman,’ so that the devotee secures the state of ‘Samadhi’ or blissfulness. The three agencies are said to be controlled and concentrated when they are completely engaged in the service of God to the absolute abstraction of other objects as stated in the following verse of ‘Srimad Andhra Bhagavatha’ of the blessed Potana :—

“The hands are those alone which serve ‘Kamalaksha’ *i.e.*, the lotus-eyed one ;
 The tongue is that alone which praises ‘Sri Nadha’ *i.e.*, the consort of Lakshmi ;
 The eyes are those alone which gaze upon ‘Sura Rakshaka’ *i.e.*, the Saviour of the Gods ;
 The head is that alone which falls prostrate before ‘Sesha Saayi’ *i.e.*, the recliner on the Sesha serpent ;
 The ears are those alone which hear Vishnu *i.e.*, the Omnipresent ;
 The ‘manas’ or mind is that alone which is concentrated upon ‘Madhu Vairi’ *i.e.*, the enemy of Madhu ;
 The legs are those alone which go round ‘Bhagavan’ *i.e.*, the possessor of the six great virtues ;
 The ‘Buddhi’ or Ego is that alone which meditates upon ‘Puru-shottama’ *i.e.*, the noblest of ‘Purushas’ or Egos ;
 The day is that alone which is spent in thinking of ‘Devadeva’ *i.e.*, the God of the Gods ,
 The learning is that alone which proclaims ‘Chakrahastha’ *i.e.*, the wearer of Chakra by the hand ;
 The teacher is he alone who teaches about ‘Kumbhini Dhava’ *i.e.*, the Lord of the Universe ;
 The father is he alone who says ‘oh son ! realise Hari’ *i.e.*, the purifier of all sins.”

The verse gives us in a nut-shell how divine worship and spiritual communion should be practised and perfected through the subjugation of the three agencies of action. It contains immense thought and requires voluminous commentation to elucidate it thoroughly. The epithets used to denote God are very ingeniously conceived by the author and

prescribe the sort of service required of every limb and sense-organ. The limbs and the sense-organs perform different functions for the common end of divine service and spiritual communion, but the question is in what manner they are enabled best to do the same according to the conception of the great Poet. The answer is that 'Samgeetham' consisting of the three parts of 'Nritta', 'Geetha', and 'Vadya' affords the best method of service in compliance with such an ideal. 'Geetham' composed of 'Bhava', 'Raga' and 'Thala' engages the three agencies of the mind, the mouth, and one of the hands; 'Vadya' which in this connection means 'Thambur' engages the other hand, and 'Nrittam' engages the legs and the whole of the body. Small cylindrical bells are applied to the legs to produce sweet sounds indicating the 'Prasthara' followed in the course of 'Nrittam'. Thus all the organs of the body, grosser and subtler, sensory and active, are concentrated on the service of God and spiritual communion as enjoined by the divinely-inspired Poet, so as to induce a state of absolute blissfulness called 'Samadhi.' The blending of the three parts of music which take the appellation of 'Thowrya Trikam' seems to be a conception drawn from the following phenomenal circumstances. Some persons when they go into a blissful state of mind fall into a musical reverie, so to style it. when they begin to chat and prattle, to sing and dance, all in ecstasy, not knowing what they do. Hence it follows that the same physical and physiognomical symptoms may be observed when a 'Bhakta' or a 'Geethopasaka' gets enraptured in a state of 'Samadhi.' But this kind of blissful state, being the highest and noblest, is rendered most acceptable and enjoyable as the symptoms proceed in the shape of well-ordained and well-regulated movements of the three agencies of action, which movements are termed 'Thowrya Thrikam.'

Some authors have prescribed 'Geetham' and 'Vadyam' alone as constituting 'Samgeetham' and have dispensed with 'Nrittam' as an element of it. The reason for this seems to be that blissfulness is not in every case accompanied by

automatic dancing and dallying, and hence 'Geetham' and 'Vadyam' alone are considered sufficient, firstly to set at naught the objective functions of the senses and the limbs for their entire centralisation in the subjective self, and secondly for the expression of the blissful condition in the most pleasing form.

Sri Maheswara is said to be the first personage who performed 'Nrittam' and has thereby given us the fundamentals of many of our literary sciences. Again, Sri Krishna Bhagavan is said to have displayed His divine accomplishment in this branch of the art as well and has acquired the title of 'Thandava Krishna.' Further many of our 'Bhaktas' seem to have rendered divine service with 'Nrittam' as an important accessory.

Such being the conception and history of the art, it has to be regretted that it has nowadays been relegated to the ranks of the nautch girl so that she is enabled to allure and captivate the lewd admiration of her officious paramours. Of course our 'Bhagavatars' so-called, who perform 'Harikatha' performances, are expected to have the equipment of 'Nrittam' also as one of their attractive features and do display it in some manner or another. Again we see it represented in our 'Bhajana' parties conducted by untutored folk. I doubt whether the 'Bhagavatars' or the 'Bhajana' parties display the art with any knowledge of its principles and purposes. We have a band of Brahmin 'Bhagavatars' so-called at Kuchipudi a small village near Masulipatam, who, the tradition goes, have been ordained by a great Sanyasin of old to enact a drama-like work of his describing the youthful exploits of Sri Krishna Bhagavan, from generation to generation. These Brahmins pursue the art of dramatic enactment as a profession even to this day in obedience to the command or rather the anathema of the saintly Sanyasin, and display their skill in this art of 'Nrittam' as well in their own way. It is considered that some of them are certainly great adepts in the art and have acquired it by a proper study of, and an assiduous application to, its principles. Apart from such rare instances which also may not reach

the high watermark of perfection, the art seems to have receded from the hands of its proper guardian-angels. Hence it behoves us to revive and popularise it among the upper classes of our society

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I appeal to my Hindu brethren to live up to the ideals of the Maharshis who are our boasted ancestors, in every sphere of our activities, and still better in that of the divine culture of 'Samgeetham,' and thereby ennoble ourselves in the eyes of the Almighty, 'Paramathman' for the attainment of eternal bliss through His purifying grace. What is contained in the following verse may be borne in mind with profit to ourselves, in this connection :—

"He is termed a real 'Gavaka' on earth, who has a sweet voice and a steady mind, who worships God and the Brahmins, who is a musician pre-eminent among his many peers, who knows what is 'Adi' and what is 'Graham,' who realises all the purposes of 'Ragas,' and is an adept in thoroughly pleasing the audience, who has mastered many shastras, besides knowing 'Neethi', and who is of a pure heart."

The Cottage by the Hill

BY R. L. RAU

I

I heard suddenly, in the stillness of the early morning, the song of a woman. Down there in the cottage, where sometimes the rains swept the hills and the wind blew, a pretty sad-looking woman lay on a little mean mattress ; another was singing the song that I had heard ; whilst outside the hut itself, a man was pacing to and fro, in an awful frenzy.

But the song was sweet to hear ; it had such an air of lovely pliancy and softness about it ; one remembered one's childhood whilst listening to that simple little song.

Then I heard a low cry of pain ; a cry which a woman alone could utter in her tribulation, when she saw God face to face, as it were, and brought into being, a wee little creature fresh from the very God whom she had seen in her agony and in her suffering !

And a little baby began to cry, asking for the nourishment it needed in a helpless pathetic little way.

The birds were then singing in the air ; the pink rays of the morning sun were entering that cottage.

I watched it all ; I listened to it for a moment and then went away.

II

I was then —well, there is nothing much to be told about it—an assistant in the Laboratories of P—. It was a drab existence all told. Work in the morning ; work in the afternoon ; work in the evening, with an hour's recess for lunch in between. My business was to attend to the distillation, to keep the valves steady and generally to manage the heating plant. I cannot say the work was very

congenial ; but it kept me going. And that was saying a great deal about it.

On Sundays I was just a vagabond. That was the day I had absolutely at my disposal, and to be sure I made the fullest use of it. The stars of the night were yet twinkling like little diamonds, and the sleepy cattle still in their stalls. Then I used to wander over the wills and stroll along the farmsteads, where the early roses bloomed and the tall ears of the *jwari* in the fields laughed to the music of the morning wind. Some kindly matron gave me the fresh foaming milk from her brightly polished brass *carvis* and I was content.

From there a long stretch of country right along the sleeping villages of Doraj and Sinhagad, past the sleepy hollow of the Women's University, where the girls still lay asleep dreaming, and then on to my little cottage by the *Mutha* canal. This was my usual round, and poor mortal that I was, I was happy ; with my work, with my leisure and with my comforts.

I had no one to call my own—excepting perhaps Moti, the black collie dog. He was my companion. A strange destiny had left me destitute, and by sheer work and struggle I had finished my education. They were good to me—those professors at the big college where I studied—and they had helped me to get through my educational career which was neither brilliant nor very commonplace. It was just a struggle ; I remember I used to do odd kinds of jobs to keep me going, to pay for my lights and rents. I remembered how I delivered the bundle of the *Times of India*, as it came from the Express, in the afternoon or went about the Cantonment, and lighted the street lamps. They were all odd jobs, and which college student would ever dream of doing such work ? But I never minded it all. I was born independent and liked to be independent. I do not remember any one spoke to me in a kind, really affectionate way ; but it did not matter : I read a lot—did well in my chemistry and then got on as an assistant in the Laboratory at P.—That was the pleasantest part of my life. Mr. S. was a gentleman and he treated his assistants in a fine dignified

fashion. So I learnt to make myself happy, cheerful and strong ; and grew content with my life and the world around me. Thus did the days pass away until one day, whilst out walking in the silence of that summer morning, I heard a baby cry, and that made me think—it awakened me to a new sense of Reality and I lost my balance as it were.

III

What is this mystery about these little human frailties ? Why should a passing sigh, the echo of a distant voice, or the memory of a pleasant dream work upon one's mind in so tumultuous a manner ? I cannot tell. But suddenly my heart went out to that woman who had uttered that low, moaning sound, on that still summer morning. Something of the manner of a vision was conjured up before my mind and I wanted to visit the cottage by the hill-slope again !

And so I went one day ; then for several days too ; timidly and with a great deal of nervousness. The man who had stood there the day before, was not to be seen, nor the woman who had given the song. Only a sad looking girl with a pink bundle of a baby. She smiled at me wanly and said " what may you be wanting, good sir ? Brother has gone into the city, and *muyee* went home."

So that was the brother then ! I told the girl at once my story : how I came there simply and straightly after the incident of the Sunday. Then she smiled. Oh, God of mine ! I will not forget that sad smile : it had in it such an air of a forgotten expectancy and a simple trust of a something that was no more. And then she took the baby in her arms.

" Listen, friend," she said, " I am a poor simple girl. Once upon a time I went to school like the many others around me, bright and sweet : until one day I lost all those dear souls whom I loved, and I came to my brother. He is a job-man in one of those big printing presses. We stay far away as you see ; and yet two men came from your college yonder and spoke to me of a big wonderful world, of education, of universities and of a career for really smart girls. I grew puzzled and told my brother. He is a strong, pure man and

he warned me against the college folk. He said they were rich men irresponsible as the birds, and that they treated the sisters of other men as dirt. I could not believe it all, for they were really sweet and honorable in their attentions ; and so grew a friendship between us. I came to know many things—and got interested in the world outside, I who was just a village girl. One day they took me to the University and showed me all the beautiful things there. I went there with my brother's permission—although he scowled. But he would not say a word to hurt anyone, this brother of mine.

"The sun was sinking in a great mass of crimson and gold. We had had a perfect day, wandering and making merry, until out of sheer weariness, I came near the little pretty stream, where the big stone-cross of the Orphans Church stands, and laid myself down and slept.

"When I awoke, I found some one was holding me—it was nearly dark and the faint sunset was behind the hills ; I felt a curious sensation, and the handsome young man from the college had me in his arms. Such a thing had never happened to me before ; and they were the first kisses I ever did receive ; a great desire came to me to return them and I hung passionately—hungrily replying . . .

"Suddenly the moon came up wondering ; and I rose up and for the first time became conscious of myself.

"He said softly to me, "Goodbye, my dear, don't forget me—I will come to you ere long . . ." and then he went away. There was a lump in my throat, and my heart ached for that young man.

"I waited for him the next day ; again the day after, and then for months and then lost him for ever. My brother grew sad : he did not mind the gossip—but he did want men to be fair to a woman and he knew I was ruined.

"But he never spoke a word, this great soul. Only, he said, 'Sushie, you must allow me to bring that young man to you ; he has no business to leave you at this rate.' I felt sad. I wept, for I really loved the young man from the college.

"And so the days have passed away and he has not come. My situation has cost my brother his job ; and he has sent

mayee home: poor good *mayee*! She was also so good to me! and I am alone. Dear friend, do you think my darling would come back to me? He said he lived in the college, that his parents were very rich and that his name was K—?”

IV

Oh! God of mine, what a story I listened to, and what a request! K—, alas! K . . . I had known him well. He was a really brave man—but very queer, and in a frenzy of despair he had thrown himself across the rushing train to Bombay on the prize-distribution day of the college. They said it was a case of suicide, and a lot of unmeaning words. So this was the mystery about him; but how ever could I tell this to this girl?

I do not remember what I said to her; told her something about hoping on, about faith in God and stuff of that kind, and promised to see her again.

I saw her then many a time; by and by we grew to be good friends and the baby grew up into a nice little girl with dark eyes and fair curls; and she got reconciled to her lot; and between us both, the good silent brother and myself, grew up a singular attachment and a bond which could never be explained. I gave up my lonely cottage and came to live with those good people.

V

One evening whilst the sun was sinking in the west, and it was twilight, the girl died. I cannot tell the reason; it was the case of a real heart failure: a tiresome, hopeless waiting, and then finally despair. We knew it, but what could two poor men do, when a girl pined after her lover that was dead? Only the child remained of that unfortunate wayward union of two innocent souls who had come from the ends of the earth, as it were, and met in so strange a way!

* * * *

I find this in my diary: it is dated June 25th . . . 19—. “A year has passed us by; and we are still in the little cottage by the hill-slope. Only the girl, little Prema—

she has been sent to the Girls' University yonder and we two men are alone—watching the candle burning away in its brass socket, casting queer shadows on the mud walls around."

I read the old account with tears over again. And the memory of that song comes back to me !

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Fascism for India

By GEORGE JOSEPH

One thing I am extremely anxious to make clear at the outset. It is true that I was once a politician, and the picture the public have of me is that of a politician. But I entreat you to cast it out of your mind; think of me plainly as a man of the world, a man of affairs, one who amid the distractions and anxiety of professional life desires to reflect, study and observe on the great currents of the world's doings. In one sense it is the duty of every man and woman to be political, just as it is to be good and honorable. To that extent, I am a politician, as indeed I hope all of you are, but no more. This word of warning is necessary in special measure, because the title of the article indicates aspects of current controversy. Once you are warned, however, no damage can be done.

THE MEANING OF FASCISM

Fascism is new, the word and the thing, and not all of us have managed to understand it. We do not know Italian, and such literature as we have in English about Fascism is not particularly sympathetic to the movement, nor distinguished by discernment. On account of an accident into which it is not necessary now to go, the intelligentsia in England and America had been long hostile to it, and educated India took the cue from the English Liberals. The only Indian of international significance, Rabindranath Tagore, who came into contact with Italy, gave his verdict against Mussolini. In spite of all these discouraging features, there is no doubt as to the main facts. The Fascist regime and the rule of the Duce has managed to survive over six years, and Italy is still delirious in its loyalty to Signor Mussolini. Italy which in 1922 was in anarchy and without national weight or international prestige, is today in a commanding position. There were cities and Princes of influence and renown in the days

of the Renaissance ; but if you want a precedent period of equal authority in the counsels of the world, you should go back to the days of Imperial Rome. Italy is one and complete ; her authority in Southern Europe is unquestioned ; there is a goodly Empire building up for her in Africa, and it would not be very long before a larger Empire is carved, if need be, at the point of the sword. The man and the spirit which wrought so conspicuous a change in this short space of time are worth understanding, and it should be our business to discover whether there is anything in it from which profit and guidance can come to students and publicists in India.

Fascism has been taken to mean the repudiation of the democratic method of discussion and representative government, and there is some truth in the identification. We should not be surprised at either the repudiation or the criticism. There is nothing strange in the emergence of dictatorships in the middle of national crises. Representative government broke down in England, the modern home of democratic government, during the war and Lloyd George's dictatorship was no less absolute in practice than that of Mussolini. Here in India, under the conditions of 1920-22, we had the dictatorship of Gandhiji and nothing less than the dictatorship sufficed to meet the needs of the time. We need not therefore be particularly alarmed or suspicious of Fascism, because it is a dictatorship. But in truth, the dictatorship is no vital part of Fascism. You can have Fascism without the dictatorship ; and the world's history is full of dictatorships which knew not Fascism.

The two ideas are separable ; not only are they separable, but there is no inherent integral connection between the two. There is no doubt that the particular aspect of Fascism which has caught the imagination of the world is the dictatorship, or more accurately the Dictator Mussolini. Mussolini himself has taken no trouble to hide the fact of his dictatorship ; on the other hand, he has again and again made it clear that he happens to be where he is by the force of his own will and character, and not by the suffrage of Italy. He is the Duce and it is well for Italy ; and there is an end of the matter.

It will, however, be a profound mistake to believe that the dictatorship is of the essence of Fascism. Its life-breath is a certain doctrine and practice of politics. Put in one word, it is this: the Political State can be founded and maintained only by a self-conscious order, powerful and deliberative, and it is the order of property-holders. Where that order is overthrown, there will be anarchy and the tendency to ultimate dissolution. What I shall do first is to establish this thesis.

The State is formed by an active minority in every community, a group of governmental experts supported in the long run, if it is to survive, by soldiers or professional fighters. Right back of it all, there is the public opinion of the people taken as a whole, what Rousseau called the General Will. But the General Will is a very passive thing; to vary the metaphor, it is more like a limit within which governments should function. The General Will in itself is no active agency of administration. If any State transcends the limits of that public opinion, shocks it by moral turpitude or visible inefficiency or violation of the decencies of life, the common people rise by a sudden onrush of anger and overthrow, physically if necessary, the State. There is a revolution; but if the revolutionaries fail in their turn to organise themselves as an instrument of government, if an active minority among them do not contrive to take the place of the government that is overthrown, there will be anarchy and political dissolution. As it happens, there is an illustration of this principle working itself out practically before our eyes. King Amanullah Khan, a vital and admirable spirit, started reforming and modernising his people. They were prepared to tolerate a good deal in the way of reformation; but when it came to his abolishing the purdah and sending off the girls of great families to Europe, the General Will of Afghanistan was shocked, and like every live people, Afghans proceeded to overthrow the sacrilegious individual, and Amanullah whose throne seemed embedded a year ago on rock is now a fugitive in Kandahar. But the moral of the case is something else. One government having been over-

thrown, no successor to Amanullah Khan has yet come about, because there is no individual or body of men capable of getting along with the business of government, of forming a State. For the moment, Afghanistan seems to have gone into bits, a kind of primitive anarchy. Amir Habibullah holds a kingdom which is described as covering an area seven miles round about Kabul ; somebody else has captured Jallalabad ; Amanullah and his wonderful Queen Souriya are in Kandahar ; and a fourth and a fifth. The minority that could take up the reins of government all over Afghanistan and assure for the community security and peaceful existence has not yet been found. If you think of the Germany of 1918, you will at once perceive the contrast. The Kaiser was overthrown, one State was destroyed ; there were a President and a Republic to take their place and keep up the continuity of things and orderly government in Germany. In Germany the change of Government was achieved, because there was a class of people, an order of society, which could build up and sustain the fabric of government. The difficulty in Afghanistan is that government centred in a man and his family and his dependants ; when that man was found unacceptable to his people, and his family exiled, there was found no one fit or strong enough to take his place. I do not say Afghanistan will not be constituted as a State again ; but for the moment, the way does not seem clear.

This minority, this order on which is founded the whole business of rule, has to exist, or government is impossible. The composition of the order is an extraordinarily difficult matter and experience has to be the true guide in all cases. The characteristically Indian solution was to form a caste, make it a hereditary business ; and like all the ancient solutions, it was based on commonsense. Government and defence are the concern of experts, and one of the most obvious ways of soundly training a man is by bringing him up in it. The Kshatriyas were brought up on that system, and in their way Kshatriyas were good enough and more than good enough. In Europe also, the feudal system was based on birth and caste. Between the

tenth century and the nineteenth, the order of noblemen carried on government. But for reasons into which it will be useless to go at present, the building up of rule on birth is impossible in our day and time. Birth may be repudiated; but the creation of the State from an order or class is unescapable. Democracy and votes may say which party or caucus should not form a government or which party might; but the State can be constituted only by a minority.

When Tsarism was overthrown in Russia in 1916, a new government was not constituted in a hurry. But when Lenin finally triumphed, he founded his government on the proletariat or the property-less workers. The resort to the proletariat as the instrument of his will was determined by two conditions. The Tsar had established his authority on the basis of birth and property, and the instinctive and inevitable reaction was far to the left; Lenin dared not entrust his fate and policy to a class whose authority he had overthrown and on whose loyalty he could not rely for a minute. From the inherent necessity of the situation, he could turn only to the proletariat, the dispossessed, to support him in the regime he set up. If, on the other hand, Kerensky or the minority, the so-called Mensheviks, had managed to survive as a government, the order on which they relied would have been any body in the world; but it could not have been the proletariat. The fact that Lenin was a Bolshevik should not be permitted to mask the fundamental truth that he had to rely on an order and that the order was the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which was with Marx a phrase, was erected into the most disturbing fact of our generation.

Naturally the world is full of the dispossessed; according to a familiar saying, "The poor are always with you." The example of Bolshevism caught Europe like a fever. In Hungary, Bela Kun attempted to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat but he failed. In Germany, in France, and the other settled States of Europe, Bolshevism tried to capture power without success. In India, true to our habit of overtaking the thought and activity of Europe a whole dozen years afterwards, the Communists are trying to secure power

in government and in the counsels of the nation. The Congress Working Secretary is a Socialist and for the moment, his ark of salvation is in Moscow. Bolshevism may be a good thing or a bad, a workable programme or a species of political insanity ; but it is a movement whose vitality is by no means exhausted. Fascism is a reaction against Bolshevism in Italy and it came about in the following manner.

ITS RISE IN ITALY

Italy's share in the Great War was curious and, among the victorious Allies, unique in disappointment and sense of tragedy. She originally belonged to the Triple Alliance, and if she had stood by the full measure of her obligations, Italy, instead of being on the side of the Allies, would have been with Germany. But there was a party strong enough to ensure the neutrality of the country in the earlier months of the war. Even when finally she cast in her lot with the *entente* Powers, it was by no means a United Italy which thus went into battle. When the war ended and the Versailles Conference met, her claims to Fiume were turned down in spite of the secret treaty between France, England and Italy, President Wilson refusing to be bound by it. The Italian Government thought that it would be able to enforce its demands at the Conference if it appealed to the Italian people over the heads of the Governments met together at the Conference. The expected result did not materialise and consequently the prestige of the Government received a great shock. The march of D'Annunzio to Fiume and his holding it in the name of the Italian people in spite of the Italian Government, made the position infinitely worse, and the confidence of the community in the governing classes was shaken. The agitation against the Government was re-enforced by the old neutralists, the people who were from the beginning against the intervention of Italy in the war, and they turned popular feeling into anti-national and anti-patriotic channels. In 1920, there was a malicious campaign of hatred and contempt against those who had served in the war, had been wounded and received decorations.

"In certain districts" says Professor Salvameni, "where Anarchist and Communist propaganda was most prevalent, a man found to have done his duty with honour in the war or to have returned home disabled, was regarded as a crime which had to be concealed lest punishment should follow." The most significant aspect of it all was that Government was incapable of protecting the ex-soldiers whose only crime was that they had served the State faithfully and well. But the most dramatic and famous consequence of Bolshevism in Italy was the occupation of the factories. Disputes having arisen between workmen and employers, the engineers having threatened a strike for a month in August 1919, began to deliberately produce less than the usual output. At the end of the month, the firms, alarmed at this development, declared a lock-out, and the answer of the workmen to this move was to lock themselves in. In other words, they took possession of the factories and refused to give them up to their lawful owners. This was clearly illegal; and if there was any grit or strength in the government or the law courts, they should have been ejected at once. But Signor Giodotti, however, followed a policy which seemed to contemporaries to be the climax of weakness, but which judged by after-events was subtly calculated to destroy not only Bolshevism, but also the governing order to which he belonged. He did not interfere with the workmen, but allowed them to remain in possession. Now there was only one thing for the workers to do if they intended to win. They should have gone boldly forward, and by a revolutionary act captured government as Lenin did in Russia. But for reasons into which we need not enter, they did nothing of the kind. The consequences were inevitable. The men who had locked themselves in soon found out that they had killed the goose which was laying the golden eggs. Mere technical ability to do the work inside the factory was not sufficient to keep the factory going. Raw materials had to come in, the manufactured articles had to be sent out and marketed, finance and external administration were necessary; in short, a hundred incidents in the continued life of the business which the easy stealers of other people's

property were by no means equal to. The Government was not able to deal with the intruders, but the conditions of modern life drove them out. Through this and several other happenings, the process of Bolshevisation the swinging to the left, the tendency to the dictatorship of the proletariat, was definitely checked. The nation drunken with the phrases of the war and demoralised by slackness, was shocked into sudden sobriety. It began to look about itself, saw where the source of national strength lay, and decided that Liberalism as an instrument of government had proved impotent and that Bolshevism was a dangerous delusion. It had to turn to a new order for the formation of the State, and if the order was not there, it had to be brought into existence by a deliberate, cold-blooded act of creation. Mussolini who saw the vision and represented in himself his country at its highest, stepped forward and established through Fascism that order. There is no denial of the rights of the workers. His famous conception of the Corporative State, where the propertied class and the workers are both given their due, is inconsistent with such denial. But it is equally clear that the basis of the order is the propertied class. The final word is not said about his conceptions. It is a bold constructive genius, going forward in a mood of experiment ; and it will be the rashest and most gratuitously foolish thing to prophesy how Mussolini will end. My belief is that parliaments and legislatures are not inherently inconsistent with Fascism. As long as the Duce is there, a Parliament is a mockery ; because it is the essence of all parliaments to discuss affairs and, the part of no single man being overwhelming, to improve and clarify issues by such discussion. Where however there is a man of supreme vision, parliaments will be tolerated by sensible men as the platform of his speaking, so that the whole of the world may hear. Where, however, a high average is created by contact with masters, parliaments will fulfil a useful function.

A LESSON FOR INDIA

Now having understood that Fascism is a propertied order which has taken up the burden of the Italian State, the question naturally arises what application it has to Indian conditions, whether it has a lesson for us. A preliminary consideration should be emphasised to avoid a possible fallacy. As long as the Indian Civil Service, mostly British, and the British Army are in India ruling us, it seems an idle speculation attempting to define the elements of Indian Fascism. The criticism is perfectly just. If I were convinced that the present regime will continue indefinitely, I would not have dared talk to serious men about Fascism. Nor would anybody else for that matter be justified in giving thought or effort to Bolshevism, Parliamentarianism or any other form of government. But I venture to think that the Bureaucracy is not to function indefinitely here. The declaration of August 1917 is there as the sheet-anchor of British policy. I do not say that the declaration may not be repudiated or stultified in effect, but till either of these contingencies happens, we must take it that the ending of irresponsible government and the establishment of popular government is only a matter of time and occasion. Whatever the Simon Commission may or may not do, it is getting increasingly clear that the provincial governments will be made wholly responsible to the legislatures. As long as our business is to wrest power from the bureaucracy, there is no room for parties or the definition of the place or people with whom power should rest.

I want you to assume, therefore, that provincial autonomy is coming in a short while. I want you to assume that the provincial legislatures will have more power, will be larger in size, be more varied in interest and composition. The problem now becomes important as to who is to carry on government. You will no doubt say the party that happens to possess a majority in the council. But which is the majority to be? The Fascist answer will be, "the order of property-owners."

You will be able to see the issue clearly if we approach the question from another side. There are certain classes who are now attempting to capture political power who certainly do not belong to the propertied order. Consider the Indian Labour Movement. There are mill-hands, miners, workers on the railways; the organisation is not in their own hands just now, because the men at the top like Dewan Chamanlal and Mr. Giri, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose, do not belong to the labouring classes. But that is only a matter of time. Then there are the so-called depressed classes who are essentially agricultural labourers. We hear a good deal about the implications of caste and untouchability, but at root, they are just agricultural labourers, for without them Indian agriculture will break down. They are the very linch-pin. But you will observe that the common element is that all of them, mill-hands, miners and depressed classes, do not own property. There may be individuals energetic and careful enough to own property, in land, the most characteristic Indian form; but as a class they do not own property; in other words, they constitute the proletariat in this country. Now the depressed classes count somewhere about seventy millions. They are no doubt a minority; but it is a substantial number, and if there is political organisation on the basis of an alliance between themselves and the factory labourers, the prospect of a proletariat government is by no means idle. The exact method of its coming about is of minor importance; but the vital consideration is that the emergency is there. A Cabinet supported by the Indian Bolsheviks need not themselves be labourers, any more than Lord Haldane or Lord Chelmsford, who were members of Mr. Macdonald's Cabinet, were labourers. What I fear is that the labourers will be exploited by the intelligentsia for their own purposes.

Now I do not believe it is good for the proletariat itself that it should be governed or influenced by the intelligentsia which is of the bourgeoisie. If the labourers should find their own leaders or frame their programme, the position would be different. They will have their needs and will know how to

achieve them. But the trouble today is a mixed and dangerous brew which can be to the good of nobody in the world.

As against this danger of Bolshevism, or the triumph of an exploiting group of the intelligentsia working in the name of the depressed classes and the mill-hands, there are only two alternatives. It may be the middle classes or the property-owners. But the middle classes may be dismissed without great difficulty. Essentially, the middle classes, the English-educated folk, are caught in a perpetual flux. They start as young people, *ex hypothesi* without property, but with intelligence, trained minds, and the instinct of getting on. When they succeed and get on in years, they accumulate property and by such acquisition get out of the property-less middle class in which they started. Economically their functions are no deeper laid than this and it is clearly far too exiguous to furnish the permanent element of any governing order.

Now the order of property-holders in India is essentially based on land. There are other forms of property; there are the capitalists in the big towns and industrial centres, the bankers. But they are a drop in the ocean. The only property that is of consequence now in India is land.

Land is permanently settled land or subject to periodic revision of settlements. The former belongs to the Zemindars, the landed magnates; the latter are small holders. Whether the creation of the permanently settled estates was right, or whether the recognition of farmers of revenues as owners of the areas for whose Imperial revenue they were just responsible, are historical questions of great interest but they are of no present practical consequence. What is of present interest is that the continuance of the permanent settlement is vital to the Zemindars; and it is of nearly equal importance to the smaller land-holders in the ryotwari areas that there should be no revision of settlements. I suggest that it is in the interests of permanently settled Zemindars to help put an end to revision in ryotwari lands. For whenever revision takes place, and there is always

bitterness of feelings when there is fresh assessment, the Zemindars are shown up in a baleful light. Attempts are therefore made from time to time to expropriate their interests. There is a strong feeling among the Zemindars that the recognition of their tenants as the owners of holdings amounts to an act of expropriation. The proposed tenancy legislation in Malabar savours of the same thing, one of the grounds stated by the Governor for vetoing Mr. Krishnan Nair's Bill being that there was confiscation without adequate compensation. One may go further. Under the new Constitution, it is quite on the cards that the Permanent Settlement itself may go. For, that measure was a covenant a hundred years ago between the East India Company and the Zemindars that the Company would not ask for increased revenue at any time in the future. When the Crown assumed responsibility, the covenant was observed. But once the power of legislation and government passes into the hands of popularly-elected councils and their ministers, the whole situation is altered.

If the majority is in favour of scrapping the Settlement, nothing in the world can prevent them in the long run. If the Ministry proposes such a measure, and the council and electorate are clearly back of the Ministry, I do not see how the Permanent Settlement can be saved. But there is one possibility ; the Zemindars may organize themselves as an order of Fascism and capture the seats in Council and Government ; the very condition of their success will be to tell the holders of ryotwari lands that they also will have the benefit of Permanent Settlement. If the Zemindars and the small holders of land join forces on the basis of such a programme, they can control the situation. They can carry an overwhelming number of seats in the Council. The coalition of the proletariat and one section of the intelligentsia cannot prevail against them.

Then there are the Europeans, who are in India for trade and business. They own plantations in the hills, factories and places of business in the towns. I am not sure of the amount of total European capital in the

country; but the United Planters of South India have invested £15 millions. The figures taken on the whole must be enormous, running to hundreds of millions. How are we to deal with the non-official Europeans? The record of the European when he first came to India was clean enough; he came as a trader and he did good to himself and to the governments and peoples among whom his lot was cast. We need not go into intervening history, the temptation for conquest and exploitation, and all the evil that flowed from it. Now he is here, he and his vast interests which it is the business of every honest Indian government to safeguard. The Englishman will in reality go back to the position from which he started; a businessman, not an active ruler or Providence on earth. But he cannot be quite as he was in the old Moghul days; he cannot be altogether a businessman. He happens to be a citizen also, a citizen with vast interests, himself a property-holder, a manifest Fascist. Reflection will show that his interests are the same as that of the property-owners, and there is no essential conflict between himself and the Indian in this respect. If only the European in India will be loyal to the Constitution and not try to overthrow it on the strength of his race or previous position as ruler, I do not see the slightest reason why he should not form a valuable ally of the order of Indian property-owners. For in truth, he is one of them himself. I have said that the European will go back to the position he essentially occupied in the seventeenth century; but the historical miracle and mystery will be that he and the Indian will be alike under an English King and flag, but under an Indian government.

AN INDIAN MUSSOLINI?

Whether the Indian struggle will yield up a Mussolini, I do not know. We want one badly. Gandhiji had in him the makings of one; but his mediævalism, his antipathy to machinery, the cult of the charka, his war with the spirit of modernity, all these are handicaps. For when all is said and

done, the Fascist is a modern of the moderns, a forward-looking spirit, no ascetic but a fighter. When Amanullah Khan came back from Europe and set about the career of reform which has destroyed him, I wished he would set up a Kingdom in India and set about reforming us as Mussolini did, getting rid of the priests and the mediævalists, the purohīts, the moulvis and fundamentalists, and make us work to great ends. But he has failed with his own people and Fascism has no use for failures. We must go forward without flinching and trust that the fundamental institutions of property and family and society will ultimately justify themselves and cannot be finally vanquished as long as we are in this body of flesh.

The Stage in India: Its Origin and Purpose

BY PANDIT TARANATH

Culture is the goal and centre of life. It is the organisation of the whole being which has to react to an ordered environment, called 'the world.' This culture is therefore the urge of life, being the inevitable response, whether slow or quick, to the stimuli of ordered creation. When once this is realised, pleasure is transformed into bliss, the ephemeral reveals the Eternal in it, and the human becomes the Divine. Once this is realised as the highest attainment possible, the highest bliss available, the very nature of pleasure-loving in the human creates another urge of broadcasting the same consciously or unconsciously. It is the existence of such self-realised propagandists that accounts for the evolution of the race. It is such that hasten the dawn of progress, as the West would call it. Therefore we in India concluded long ago that civilisation is the spontaneous spread of the process of self-realisation.

Thus far is the principle. It is the direct realisation of intuition and the conviction of intellect. But this cannot spread by itself unless the other party, the taught, are considered. Philosophy, to propagate, must pragmatise itself to pedagogy and the rock-bottom of pedagogy is the psychology of the taught. It is a well-known fact that the unknown can be learnt only with the aid of the known, or more technically, that knowledge is the correlation of a novel objective to an existing cognate. That cognates are the impressions caused by the stimulus of the inner being to environment is also admitted on all hands. These environments being different according to the very structure of the universe, different zones evoke different reactions creating

different impressions. Though fundamentally human nature is the same in terms of pleasure and pain, the reactions to these two differ in mode and expression. This difference varies with different zones, originally by geographical differences, secondarily by the spontaneous customs and conventions of that zone. And people living in each one of them are what they are, the sum-total of the whole past. The individuality based on such differences is what the Vedantins ages ago called *Samashti* in India or, translated into English, group-consciousness. No teaching can be perfectly or harmlessly assimilated unless it is in tune with this group-consciousness. *Samashti* is the very being of the *Vyashti*, or the individual, as made by it. Explaining it still further, teaching, to fix itself must have a natural bearing on the 'samskaras' (roughly, impressions of the taught). Physically, the feelings may be the same *on an average* of pleasure or pain. But in the case of man, these two are not only physical factors but also mental, and this mental response, to put it more simply, the way in which men are moved by circumstances, differs with *Samashtis*. Superficially they may differ even with different individuals under the same *Samashti* but not fundamentally so. So teaching, for its success, depends not only on the purity of the lesson but also on the mind of the taught and the method of imparting. This much alone is not enough, for all living beings and man too are by nature fond of pleasure, and no system of education that does not incorporate pleasantness can spread itself—no instruction without interest and attraction.

The Ancients never stopped with regarding culture as conviction. They defined it as the process of 'becoming' of the individual *through Samashti* and the custom of the people. To them it was never the pointed pinnacle of a stray temple but the broad base of society. Its place of discovery might be the solitude, but its field of play is always society. The discoveries in the cave were to guide the conduct of the community. Intellectual convictions were to be the character of the many. Aspirations were meant to

make aspirants after Truth. The mere conviction may be at best drawing-room manners which cannot be called culture. Mere manners are but acted poses or others' realisations, but not expressions of a knowing and feeling heart. And what use is ruminating others' cuds, or is it even possible? This great task of leading the beast and the bigot to a state of beatitude was no easy task. Aye, nor were the 'Rishis' of ordinary mettle to fight shy of it. With the eye fixed on Eternity and the hand of blessing on humanity, they rose equal to the task of evolving the 'vyashti' through the 'mukti' or beatitude. To this end, the 'Vedas' were written and these in their turn branched and branched, extending into a canopy over the whole head of hoary Aryavarta. That the Light of Eternity may shine in the ephemeral, the 'Samhitas,' 'Brahmanas', 'Aranyakas', 'Upanishads', 'Shrouta', 'Grihya' and 'Dharma-sutras', the 'Itihasas' and the 'Puranas' were brought into existence. At a stroke we may place our hands on the top of the whole pile of these books, but are they the products of a day, a decade or a century in the past? They were the experiences of ages; and of seers who before the majesty of knowledge discovered the littleness of their realisations, who humbly before the stupendousness of knowledge regarded even their vastness and sublimity of realisation as at best an impetus to further research, and who made the burden of their stupendous knowledge the inspiringly humble cry of 'neti' ('not this, not this'). The very expansiveness of their realisation taught them the fundamentals of the Law of Karma, of the duality of the universe, of the Eternity beneath the ephemeral, and of the One behind the many. And to teach this in all humility, this great lesson which today is called the Unity of God and the Brotherhood of man, they struggled week in and week out, and all that they wrote and said is but the garb of the fundamentals they realised within themselves. This record of their thought and work first and foremost is the 'Veda'. It is said to be the fountain of knowledge. It was preserved by the Hindus even as the young one is

preserved by its mother. To give to it preservation and the best of attention, society split itself—the foremost part to specialise in this great possession of the Hindus. As time went on, this humble spring in an unfathomed land flowed through hills and valleys, enriched itself with innumerable tributaries, fertilising the soil with its laden wealth in the regions it flowed over, gave coolness, life and growth to the very earth and beings living upon it, to dimensions that hid by their very majesty the humble source from which they sprang. The ‘Puranas,’ ‘Itihasas,’ etc., referred to already were but the ramifications of the humble but subtle and sublime ‘Vedas’. Even as the root lies buried underneath the soil but to breathe beauty and life into flower and foliage, does the ‘Veda’ lie hidden at the back of the beautiful lore of Aryan knowledge. These like the living green, facing and growing towards, the sun are the index of the power behind. Scholars have divided the original ‘Samhitas’ into two parts, ‘Vidhi’ and ‘Arthavada.’ The former consists of rules to be followed to realise the bliss of life through its fundamentals. As rules become dogma which degenerates to superstition and bigotry in the case of those who cannot instinctively see the *raison d’etre* of those, the ‘why’ of these had to be explained, for the Aryan whose daily prayer concludes with ‘Akhasat.....’ could never reconcile to lop-sided dogma or doctrinaire extremism and therefore evolved a method of explaining and demonstrating the aphorisms of self-realised people through the ‘Arthavada’ which were further divided into three parts, ‘Gunavada’, ‘Anuvada’ and ‘Bhutanartanuvada’. These are not contemporary productions of the Aryan mind. These must have covered a period of many hundred years. Their very name indicates that the latter is always the simplification of the former. Even as we see to-day, ‘made-easies’ are the signs of an over-active life or the symptoms perhaps consequently of a sub-active brain. Can we infer the conditions of the times that gave birth to these? The same ‘Arthavada’ the ‘why’ of the ‘Vidhi’ was more and more simplified as the

power of understanding grew weaker or perhaps the desire for a vaster propaganda grew stronger. Logic, science, metaphysics, philosophy, psychology mostly introspective, one and all methods of analysis and 'Vedanta' of synthesis were for the purpose of broadcasting the fundamentals and the methods of realising them. Though in the mediæval ages of Indian history, people erected their own gods, invented their own modes of worship and, alas! their own vituperations of other modes, the principle is sound. The Indian mind is still synthetic and explanatory. Men that praise their own leather have always been discarded by real India as cheap chucklers into the corner of oblivion: and the trend of analysis of problems and the synthesis of experiences, from whatever source they might be, and consequently the desire to expand in knowledge and to unify in Truth is in the very blood of the Indian. It is there even to-day as sound and unshaken as it was in the past. And this trend to meet with the need of the ages is proved by the evolution of the 'Arthavada' into the other three. 'Gunavada' elaborates upon its teachings; 'Anuvada' translates it still further with a view to make it meet all varieties of people; and 'Bhutanarthavada' is the demonstration of these through a kindergarten process of using men and objects as embodiments of particular varieties of life and showing through them how they work fair or foul as they are honoured or offended. The myriads of images in India come under this category, but dumb as they are to an unseeing mind, they are further simplified into talking images, the 'dramatis personæ' which forms the origin of Indian drama. So do we see that drama is personified kindergarten of the knowledge of the Ultimate. It was not conceived to excite but to educate, not to entice but to elevate, not only to please but to preserve and to perfect, in a word, to speak of God to man, to transmute man into God. It served the purpose of religion in one word. History tells us that it was only in the twelfth century that in Dunstable* in Bedfordshire, the first religious drama was played by Church priests and it was only after that that drama

was used by them and their votaries to propagate scriptural teachings.

This was no easy task. To spread the culture of the race based on eternal verities, in a manner at once interesting and elevating, it needed the vision of the seers, the analysis of philosophers and scientists, and the sweetness of the poets and the artists. And so, the drama is called a *Triveni Sangama* a confluence of the three rivers—vision, philosophy and symbolic art.

Drama does not mean merely something amusing but that which uses amusement to reveal verities. It has neither the flippancy of an empty joke nor the seriousness of a philosophy, for the former would mean flirting with life and the latter would mean being pessimistic and creating worries where they often really are not. The real play of the world and life in it begins in the mind, and if it can be arranged by any artist to play it there in an organised manner, it really is the first kind of play. If the verities of life can be so well embodied in words as to picture in the mind of the hearer the life of the world as it is and as it ought to be, it surely is a feat for the artist. Such feats are not dreams of mere rhetoric but were actually realised by seers like Vyasa and Valmiki, but when times changed it needed the introduction of what are called 'drisya kavya' meaning visible poetry *i.e.* drama. Some great thinkers of India even go the extent of regarding drama as the sign of degradation of imagination in the poet and the readers or hearers as well; real drama should give the vision and not a demonstration.

What should be the fundamentals of this great art then? The answer is not far to seek. If the art is meant to show life as it is and as it ought to be, it is clear that the function of the stage is to epitomise the world not only of actualities but also of the verities behind that go to govern them visibly or *invisibly*. To Hindu thought, as it is to modern science and ethics, the whole of creation is a dual throng 'dvandva.' Pleasure and pain to the Hindu mind are not independent

whole truths. They are not isolated forsooth. They are but the obverse and the reverse of the Truth yet unrealised. The feeling of each by itself means the ignorance of what the Hindu calls 'Sat.' Therefore to see the Truth embosomed, by these, which are but surface waves of that great ocean, is Knowledge which frees one from the whole throng. Knowledge to the Indian is not that which merely gives what the world calls comfort, power and pelf, but that which puts him on a pedestal wherefrom he sees the ugliness of the isolated parts of his previous experiences merged in the beauty of the whole, where the transient is seen as the Eternal by his transcendental vision. Only here is bliss the urge of life and the conclusion of all philosophy and religion. To describe its methods most efficiently and attractively is the function of teachers and the *raison d'etre* of drama. Beatitude of dual-bound being lies in the vision of the Beauty of the Whole, of which only parts are seen by the limited vision of the ignorant, and to give this vision is the motive of religion and art, the syntheses of all human faculties.

Drama therefore cannot logically be the depiction of life as it is seen and lived on the surface by mankind, for is it not already realised in life actual? The invisible other side, the undercurrent which life is oblivious to in pleasure and pain, should be suggested by drama for it to justify its existence. Then only can it expand Vision. It may be good enough to only 'hold the mirror up to nature', but it surely is better to hold the x-ray to see through and thus see the whole. Therefore drama can neither afford to be picture-painting nor didactic. The former has no lesson, the latter has no life. The one has nothing to teach and the other has no appeal, having no touch with life; drama therefore ought be the embodiment of both and should through life reveal both sides of life, the seen and the unseen, the conscious undertakings as well as the subconscious under-currents, the causes put together and the effects in oblivion. If its purpose is to help the masses to organise life to make it conducive to the Highest intelligible,

the dramatist must remember that dry ethical sermons alone cannot be appreciated by them, much less remembered. Abstract thought is not possible for the majority of mankind as it stands today, and it can think only in forms. This aspect of psychology must be foremost in the mind of the dramatist; and dramatists too can be judged by seeing how far they have fulfilled this object of drama. Every form they see moving on the stage must give them, rather be for them, a symbol of both the realities and the unseen verities of life. Every recollection of the form once seen must have for them in life and its innumerable struggles the inspiration, the guide, and the warning.

Life being what it is, neither pleasure nor pain exclusively, drama can never be a tragedy or a comedy exclusively, unless the former means the sudden pounce of the watchful Nemesis, the revelation of the snake in the sleeve snugly warming itself there to gain strength in an atmosphere where all was well under the cloak. The purpose of it all should be not to make life pessimistic or optimistic, but at least visionful if not transcendental, watchful if not visionful. Not only that, but it must help to build also by suggesting processes of doing so. How full of the purpose of drama are the words of Romeo to the Franciscan Lawrence when he says, "Hang up philosophy, unless philosophy can make a Juliet." Yet how many have Juliet as the ideal at least, if Juliets have not appeared already on the great stage of life, is left for sober minds to judge. If tragedy brings death itself as the end of love and not the warning vision of it, life which loves life itself most will help love at arm's length as the very bane of it; and what would life be without Love but dry and boring calculation, one long pain having pleasure but in the struggle to avoid pain? Can such tragedies help mankind to the heights of the Senai of Celestial Light? What use has the common world for a Christ who is only put to the Cross for his Love, only to bleed and to die, but never to resurrect? It is the Vision of Resurrection that makes the inevitable Cross

a bed of roses, and no drama can have a mission for the commonalty which has not that Vision to give. For this has a seer said that drama is the representative of all 'sastras', the deep of the harmony of emotions that inspire Vision, and the proximity of God—the 'pratinidhi' of all thinkers, the 'nidhi' of 'navarasas' and the 'sannidhi' of God.

Our Banking Messiah

*(Being a Critical Examination of Sir Daniel Hamilton's
Free Paper Standard Scheme.)*

BY PROF. B. RAMACHANDRA RAU, M.A.

‘Verily, a Daniel is come to judgment’ and has pronounced his verdict on the Indian Banking and Monetary system. Under the caption, “Man, Money and Banking”, Sir D. Hamilton discusses the urgent necessity of spreading the co-operative credit movement based on managed paper currency, without any gold backing as its ultimate support.¹ By a machinery of ‘monetising labour’ which can be constructed without entering into the question of gold backing, and carefully spreading the money, without incurring the risk of inflation, into the hands of the workers through co-operative credit societies composed of reliable and active men, he proposes to infuse credit—the life-blood of all economic activities—into the present-day weak, disjointed and decaying villages, whose economic structure is incapable of sustaining real stress. Rural reconstruction by able-bodied, selfless and patriotic local leaders, standing shoulder to shoulder and banded into co-operative units, would revivify our villages and create well-deserved opulence in place of the present-day denial to the villagers of the enjoyment of a simple and contented life.

A SYNOPSIS OF THE NEW SCHEME

As the present-day bankers tell us that gold or silver must be the basis of credit, it is impossible to find full

¹A synopsis of his thesis is necessary before any criticism can be levelled at it. It is a pity the whole of his doctrine is not available in any tabloid form, and so inference has to be made from his recent lectures on different platforms.

employment for all the reliable and willing working population of the nation and set them on the feet of productive activity. Present-day bank credit, being based purely on private shareholders' capital, is far less secure than Government currency which is backed by all the assets of the nation, whose organised administrative embodiment is the Government. Hence it is the bounden duty of the Government to create enough money and *only enough money* ('inconvertible paper money' as the gold standard advocates would put it) to accomplish the above object. This is the real implication of that pregnant statement, "that it is folly to regulate the food-supply of India by the silver output of Mexico."

Limited to the necessary quantity demanded by the workers for securing the capital equipment of the country, the Government money can organise prosperity for the poverty-stricken people of the land. Co-operative credit is the poor people's pooled or organised credit, and on the strength of their joint credit, the members borrow loans at cheap rates from the money factory for purely productive purposes. The return from the undertaking would enable them to repay the loans with interest and also to reap a net yield out of their productive operations.

The printing press is to be the Minerva's head and not a Pandora's box, from which have to spring the thousand and one money instruments, which would set out not to create evil but to find employment for all the able-bodied people in productive work. The millennium of prosperity or a 'veritable Utopia' is to be reached through this 'created money' which would serve to distribute capital into proper hands for efficient application to new production. Rice, wheat, sugar and other necessities of life, which the wider markets of the world require, can be produced and exchanged for their money, *viz.*, gold and silver, which will flow to the extent of the goods so created and sold to the outside world.

The creation of a new money system in place of the present defective one is the ideal aimed at. The private

money monopoly, which is fattening the idlers and making the workers and the isolated and individual borrowers poorer than before, has to be swept away. The private greed of the usurious money-lender is to be killed, and in place of the exploitative capitalistic money-lenders, a more sympathetic money-agency which can reach the masses swiftly and in requisite proportion has to be built up. By putting the printing press into operation, money instruments can be created which will be lent to reliable men to be used for securing better seeds, more manure and improved implements, and adopting scientific methods in the intensive cultivation of land.

At the end of a definite period, there would be plenty for these labouring masses over and above the repayment of the loan to the Government. This process Sir Daniel graphically expresses in the most rhetorical phrase *viz.*, 'monetising labour.' This at any rate is the scheme placed before Mahatma Gandhi. After the manner of the prophets of Baal, this economic Messiah is leaping upon pyres and crying out and stabbing the village "wolves and human rats possessing golden claws and silver teeth." While it is easy to charge the money-lenders in villages with having deliberately ruined the ryots, it is quite another matter to prove that, by merely creating a free-paper standard, we secure the Alladin's Lamp which provides the village homes and fields with all their wants and requirements.

In rapid succession to his articles in 'Young India', Sir Daniel Hamilton delivered a series of lectures expatiating on this central theme of *free-paper standard based on real work* which is meant for the weal of all. Venomous and bitter are his words levelled at the Mahajan. Long ago, in his "Souls of Good Quality," we find him writing most disparagingly of the Mahajan. "India needs legislation dipped in the blood of the Mahajan." He returns to this attack afresh and says that "the many sow and these few reap." Mere stinging words can neither carry conviction nor pour oil on troubled waters. It must be candidly

recognised that the Mahajans are the "diseased products of a diseased community."¹

Before paying further attention to the feasibility of his plan, certain misconceptions and loose terminology in Sir Daniel's thesis have to be corrected in the light of trained economic judgment.

LOOSE TERMINOLOGY : (i) 'MONEY POWER'

"India", says Sir Daniel, "is the greatest real money power" in the world, next to China. This is a very loose or uneconomic use of the term 'money.' 'Money' is here employed in the sense of raw materials and able-bodied men. The variety, the extent and easy availability of requisite raw material resources can be conceded, but the quality of men must be of such a character as to make the most of the opportunities afforded them. It is the happy combination of efficient man-power and adequate raw materials that can create plenty of saleable and finished goods. These being sold on the markets of the world, the demon of poverty can be chased out of the country.

Though there are certain economists who point out the inadequacy and inferiority of certain necessary raw materials produced by nature in this country, still the consensus of opinion on the part of enlightened men is decidedly inclined to the opposite view. It holds that under proper survey and adequate stock-taking, the existing resources and raw materials are enough to provide ample opportunities for her people, who have the necessary will, knowledge and capital to put them to productive uses. Scientific agriculture alone can absorb the work of an infinite number of able-bodied men, and any number of cottage industries can be started. More manufactures can be developed than is the case at present.

But there is also a consensus of opinion that, in this

¹ See my 'Present Day Banking in India' 2nd Edition 1925, Calcutta University Publication. Chapter on the "Indigenous Banker of India"—

unfortunate land, men are decidedly inferior in mental calibre, efficiency and practical working to the people of the advanced nations of the West. Canada, which is only very sparsely peopled and has fewer natural resources to her credit, is still producing a large amount of articles for export trade, as "the Canadian citizen is nearly thirty times as efficient as the Indian." Though this quantitative comparison is meaningless, still it is a patent fact that the Indian people are inefficient. It is nevertheless true that under more sympathetic and favourable conditions, the Indian people can work efficiently. Several of them have already proved to the hilt that, given equal opportunities, the Indian can prove himself the equal of the best Westerner in any walk of life—law, theology, fine arts, the sciences, organisation of industry and banking. Even in the field of sports, they are in no way inferior to the best talent of the West. Absolute reliance can be placed on such men. Provided such efficient men are trained, they can work wonders in this land of 'dreams', 'masterly inactivity' and 'metaphysics' as some of the Westerners put it.

Understood in this sense of man power and raw materials, India has real money power. India's present position, though not very bright, need not cause any serious apprehension that she would fail to make a productive use of capital when placed in proper hands. Concurrently, if more practical steps are taken to improve the manual efficiency, enhance the mental equipment and increase the economic stimulus, the Indian people will not fail to respond to the created opportunities of self-improvement that may be placed before them.

But 'money' is used by Sir Daniel in the widest non-technical sense. In 'economic language, 'money' means the unit of account or counter employed in public accountings, collective accountings and individual accountings, or a ticket for transferring or exchanging of one kind of finished labour into another, thus reducing the inconveniences of ancient barter. Monetary instruments give

purchasing power over the desirable commodities of life. Past labour entitles the holder of the monetary instruments or tickets to convert them into present or future desirable assets. In this sense, India does not possess a sufficiently simple, easily understood and cheap monetary system.

But this misfortune is not confined to India. Even the gold standard of other countries has not proved a satisfactory standard of money. The value of goods as well as of gold was moving, but only at different velocities. Though the slow speed at which the value of gold was changing led the common people to think that gold was stationary in value, still it was not only its value but the value of all other commodities also that was changing. But before this gold standard system could be consolidated as an international monetary standard, it broke down during the eventful years of 1914 to 1924. A new species of 'phantom war money' was created to perform money's work. Thus the monetary system was not perfected even during the course of so many centuries after its first invention by man.

The mission of money was never properly understood except by savants like Prof. Gustav Cassel. These clearly recognised that money was like a power which can safely be compared to "electricity, magnetism or gravity." Without the prior existence of the materials of production, mere money is of little avail. The monetary system is a pure abstraction, and it is not founded on a gold basis but on the quantity of goods produced in a society. This does not mean that money can be dispensed with in any society. But the character of banks and the financial system might change in the coming future. The banks might no longer be required to handle the rights to goods, *i.e.* money, but they might become the recorders of production and consumption going on in the society, and some tickets of the cheapest possible material might be selected as the means of payment. That such a system would ultimately be brought about, is clear to every rational man who understands the real sanction, source and function of money in our modern 'pecuniary society.'

As the conception of money was not understood properly, there was very often undue emphasis laid on the importance of money. There were others who belittled money. Neither school cared to analyse the correct perspective and concept of money. Money is only an intangible conception denoting the value of goods. Currency is the tangible unit or the ticket, or order, or token, or the counter in which it is expressed. Money really means 'general purchasing power' and has nothing to do with the precious metals of which it might be composed. All people take money because of its virtue of exchanging itself for other necessities that may be required. It is true that from the individual point of view, more money can be considered as an evidence of a man's wealth. But from the national point of view, no nation is rich or gains anything if it holds more money. Other things being equal, the economic prosperity of a nation depends on the productive efficiency of its labourers working successfully on the raw materials afforded by nature.

Currency which is the visible body of the intangible conception of money, ought not to influence the value of money. This is the supreme test of the efficiency of the currency mechanism. Any instability in the value of money leads to unpleasant consequences on business life. To be precise, "unemployment, the precarious life of the workers, the disappointment of expectation, the sudden loss of savings, the excessive windfalls to individuals, the speculator and the profiteer"¹ all proceed in a large measure from the instability in the value of the monetary standard.

Currency not only acts as a medium of exchange but sometimes as a store of value. When it is stored up for future use, it should not lose its value as a result of the action of extraneous influences. Currency is not wanted for its own sake, but only for the purpose of providing oneself with the necessary supplies of life. This is the real meaning of the statement that, "currency has no final consumer and like

¹See J.M. Keynes—"Preface to the Tract on Monetary Reform"—

the battledore and the shuttlecock passes backwards and forwards.”¹

The late war acted as a first-rate Professor of Economics and imprinted several lessons about money which should not be forgotten. Firstly, it freed money of its golden fetters. Secondly, gold reserves were put out of action and the real position that a gold reserve has to perform in the credit society was clearly illustrated. Thirdly, it proved clearly that currency need not be composed of metallic coins. Sometimes, a distinct disadvantage may be attached to such a currency composed of metallic substance, be it gold or silver. Most of these lessons were grasped by Prof. Knapp and explained lucidly by him.

The conscious and consistent guidance of currency has been first advocated by Prof. Knapp in the following language: “To the chartalist, the ordering of currency is a branch of the administration of the State.” He demands first “a conscious consistent guidance in place of piecemeal measures suggested by the heads of the Mints and the Central Banks, with good practical instinct but without any grasp of theory. The lytric administration must be delivered of this empiricism; after knowing its own aims, it must proceed to clearly conscious action entrusting the direction of it expressly *de jure* to the office which has *de facto* dealt with these matters in the past.”² During the war, there was more or less an unconscious resort to such guidance, but unfortunately it was fitful, inexperienced and often had to be interfered with in the interests of the State. If prior to the war, there was more production of goods and less of currency, with the necessary consequence that all producers denounced the monetary system, the tables were practically turned during the war. During the war, there was more of currency, and less of production of goods. A monetary system, like the recent unregulated gold standard that we had before the war, was open to both these defects. A rational monetary standard

¹ See H. Lowenfeld—“Money in Fetters”—p. 18—

² See Prof G. Knapp—“The State Theory of Money”—p. 301—

equipped with any kind of substance would no doubt possess all the necessary functions of a medium of exchange. The amount of this money must exactly correspond with the goods produced by the entrepreneurs of society. The production of this money has to be so done by the State that the unit of money itself does not change its value, causing uncertainty and confusion in the business and trading circles of society.

Though the creation of paper money is in the hands of the Government, as Sir Daniel would like it to be, paper currency is created to a very limited extent on real labour in the shape of internal commercial bills. South African gold, Mexican silver and British and Indian Government 'promises to pay' form the prop of the present-day Government paper currency. Indian banks have not succeeded in creating a highly elastic system of deposit-banking, and being forced to maintain a desirable proportion of cash (gold, or silver coins, or legal tender Government paper currency), their creation of credit currency is insignificant when compared with their Western confreres. As such, it has failed to make good the deficiencies of inelastic Government paper currency.

(ii) "PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL"

Nextly, 'productive capital' is another vague phrase introduced in the thesis of Sir D. Hamilton. 'Capital' is past labour set aside for aiding the processes of production. Understood in this sense, it denotes factories, goods, etc. the product of past labour on the part of society. Metallic money, be it gold or silver, forms only a small part of the 'capital goods' which again form a part of the wider whole, namely 'wealth.' Metallic money is only one form of capital. From the national standpoint, which is quite different from the individual standpoint, the holding of large stores of gold does not betoken the prosperity or the wealth of the nation. The real wealth of the nation lies more in its factories, railroads, forests and mines, and the industrial character of its people than in its gold hoards.

Any misconception on this point would only be an obstacle to the right understanding of the economic processes of society. Germany, after all, with its accumulated hoards of gold in its war-chest could not defeat England and her Allies during the recent war. It was the greater pooled resources and real wealth of the Allies that enabled them to achieve victory over Germany.

'Productive capital' is evidently used in the sense of both 'man-power and natural resources.' Though both of them exist in this country, the lack of monetary instruments precludes their being placed in a position of close juxtaposition. They cannot be organised into a correlated mass. The fundamental productive efficiency and capacity of the economic system of a country depends on the bounty of nature *viz*, plenty of required natural resources and land; the ingenuity of man who is willing to give them time-value, form-value and place-value; the availability of capital to secure the co-operation of other factors necessary for the proper working of the industry; and an alert, efficient organisation looking into the internal and external economies of production, always anxious to derive the utmost benefit out of a rigorous application of the economic principle of substitution and harmonious combination of the productive agents in due and proper proportion so as to derive the maximum output possible.

(iii) "FULL EMPLOYMENT CREATES PROSPERITY"

Thirdly, "full employment in growing rice, wheat, sugar, and spinning, weaving and other productive purposes, would create prosperity." Granted that scientific agricultural improvement and manufacturing efficiency increases the output of production, it does not immediately bring about the millennium of economic prosperity. Mere increase of the volume of production does not complete the economic process. Consumption of the whole output at a steadily remunerative price is essential, and without this consumption in India or outside, the increased output cannot be disposed of. Burma is reduced to sore straits as her

old customers, the Indian consumers, have taken a liking to another kind of rice. Similarly, when a quarantine is established against wheat in America, there is restriction of the market for Indian wheat there. When Chinese customers go on 'consumer's strike,' there is limited effective demand for British manufactured cotton goods. The Khadi campaign of Mahatma Gandhi will surely and vitally affect the cotton industry of Lancashire in spite of recent improvements tending to rationalise the industry under the fostering guidance and monetary help of the Bank of England. Its future is gloomy so far as the Indian market is considered. Thus consumption is the other side of the shield. The fundamental truth underlying the above economic statement is often stated tersely by the oft-quoted but little understood remark that "production is not finished till it reaches the final hands of the consumers."

The flow of money to the consumer must keep pace with the production of consumer's goods. Although production can be made to increase, consumption must keep pace with the production. Unless this takes place, economic progress is not completely assured by mere quantitative increase of production. The necessity of making savings against a rainy day in the future detracts people's ability to purchase consumer's goods. The circuit flow of money from consumers back to producers gets interrupted. This can only be checked by the increase of capital money. The consumption of a surplus is absolutely essential. Even co-operative marketing can do very little in this direction. Storing at great expense by the State would be folly, nor can it be dumped abroad at low prices as it would provoke retaliatory legislation. Bounty-fed Australian butter is subject to a countervailing tariff in Canada. To pay a bounty on agricultural produce to be exported at a loss is false economy¹. Growth of sales on an instalment plan

¹Mr. A. H. Abbati says that the economic problems chiefly arise out of consumption and a step towards their solution would be the regulation of Government purchases, so that they may vary inversely with the expenditure of private consumers. An interesting suggestion, but purely dependent on State finances to be carried out effectively.

would mitigate the hardship, but this can only be applied to manufactured products. Moreover it depends on prompt business organisation, collecting the dues systematically from the purchaser. This would however result in high distribution costs.

STANDARD OF LIVING USE OF PROFITS

Again, the Indian people should not make a population use of increased production and the profits arising out of it. The standard of living use is essential and if this is not forthcoming—

“ Science finds out ingenious ways to kill
Strong men and keep alive the weak and ill—
That these sickly progeny may breed
Too poor to tax, too numerous to feed”—¹

A high birth-rate would soon be associated with poverty, disease and low mentality, the very demons which the scheme plans to drive out of the country. The population problem of India, potential or actual, has to be borne in mind. Any encouragement beyond the optimum population would be a bar to efficient production and distribution of the material comforts of life. The quantity and quality of population must be kept stationary at this optimum point. There can be no thought of birth-control, delayed marriage and increased celibacy. All these are anathema to the religiously minded Indian people.

OTHER GRAVE OMISSIONS: (i) DIMINISHING RETURNS

Another point not emphasised by the scheme is the character of the agricultural industry and forestry. They soon reach a productive limit and any further application of fresh doses of capital and labour to land would bring in infallibly the law of diminishing returns. As soon as this

¹This is the best four-line epigram on the “Modern World” for which a prize was awarded by the *London Spectator*.

point of diminishing returns is reached, the application of further capital should cease.

(ii) FAIRER DISTRIBUTION

Still another point of grave omission is that there is no attempt to point out the necessity of fairer distribution of products than at present. If land produces more, the tenants would be further exploited by the absentee landlords for whom, of course, Sir Daniel has the most profound contempt. If organised labour is not strong enough to secure higher real wages and higher social wages, mere increase of productivity is of no use. It is not the money-lender alone that intervenes and knocks off a slice from the agriculturists' hard-earned savings. The middlemen and the parasitic landlords who do little to benefit the agriculturists obtain a portion. Distributive justice is no less essential to the success of the scheme. It is stated that the reward should go to the toiling workers. Unless the peasant-proprietorship plan is advocated, there is no means of securing the ryot as much as he produces. The State demand in the present Ryotwari areas should be reasonable, and a periodical enhancement at the time of every Resettlement in the Ryotwari areas should be checked. Protection against the State's encroachment on the ryot's portion is absolutely essential. It is on this issue that the Bardoli affair is being contested.

Another defect in our production is the poor quality of the produce. The great spread of the price between the price of the highest quality ¹ and that of the lowest quality of our produce, denotes extra profits that can be safely annexed by improving the quality of our produce. Hygeinic cleaning, rectification and careful preparation and systematic grading of the Indian produce, wheat, cotton, tea, hides, groundnuts, shellac, are essential.

Again another chief defect in our productive aspect is

¹ See the Indian Trade Commissioner's Report in London for the two years, 1926-1928—

the lack of a thorough understanding on the part of the producers as regards the requirements of the customers to be secured for their output. This is the chief characteristic, not only of agricultural production, but industrial production also. The wastes involved in overproduction in the absence of statistical estimate of requirements, need not be pointed out in detail in this thesis. The adaptation of efficient production to total national needs is essential. War-time controls in the Western countries amply demonstrated the possibility of increasing the output of physical production per man employed. A statistical bureau should estimate the people's annual requirements and the possibility of sale of it in the foreign markets. Co-ordinated and well-directed production would reduce and ultimately eliminate all the wastes of ill-directed production. The Brazilian Government restricts the coffee average to a crop which will yield a good price, and burns coffee as fuel, and arranges for artificial restriction of rubber. Bengal is attempting to do the same thing by restricting jute production so as to fetch higher prices. The League of Nations (Wheat Division) is now surveying the whole world and the probable yield of wheat fields, so as to suggest the allocation of the output on a minimum haul basis to the nearest importing area. The object is not only to check famine and starvation resulting out of under-production, but prevent excessive overproduction over a definite normal surplus as a possible safeguard against the times of lean harvests.

(iii) PROVISION FOR INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS

Another substantial difficulty of accepting this scheme of Sir Daniel is the lack of any provision for international payment. It is assumed that with abundant production which is keenly demanded by the world, the exchanges would be in our favour and bring in gold into the country. Here he appears to be a true materialistic 'money grubber'. Says Sir Daniel, "the more plentifully capital is issued for using rice, wheat and sugar, there would be the

greater inflow of gold and silver, and the firmer the foreign exchanges.' If niggardly Nature intervenes and production fails as a result of natural calamities, the exchanges would become unfavourable. The Government-issued paper-rupee would not be retained. There must be some mechanism to use this gold allowed to enter into our country during favourable seasons for liquidating this balance at that time. Keynes in his managed paper currency still retains gold for payment of international balances. His buying and selling price of gold by the Central Bank normally sets limits which can be safely compared to the par points of the gold standard. While checking excessive short-period fluctuations in exchange rates, he permits permanent long-time variations in exchange. The new buying and selling prices of gold would be set up by the Central Bank. Similarly, the Government must be permitted to operate the buying and selling of gold likewise in this country, if it were to accept Sir Daniel's managed paper currency scheme. It can depend on floating foreign loans and building up foreign credits to operate on the same to secure exchange stability. When once the exchange rates come within the par points, the Government can recede as an active operator from the foreign exchange market. Gold would still have to be retained for international payments; otherwise, international trade transactions which are so essential for an orderly economic life, would be rendered difficult and impossible. As the world is at present constituted, the gold link cannot be snapped light-heartedly.

Nextly, if more gold and silver flows in, it does not increase the economic progress of the people, as they are not currency under Sir Daniel's scheme and possess no legal tender character. It is the requisition of economic goods in return for our exports that is the indispensable thing, the *sine qua non* of our future economic progress. If over and above our wants, something remains as a net favourable balance of payments, it must be wisely invested, not in the shape of gold and silver, but to increase of capital

equipments either in this country or abroad. When gold fails to be the basis of money, and there is no provision as in Keynes' scheme on the part of the currency authority, the Mint or the Central Bank, to buy and sell gold, it can no longer act as a helpful source of capital to the individual. Even from the national point of view, the result would be the same. When more exports are sent out, the payment of the net-balance must be made in domestic currency to the Indian exporters. Under Sir Daniel's scheme, there is no provision for this. The Controller must be willing to accept and sell foreign money again, and to release and purchase internal currency at par points. The Government acting as the currency authority, which I would consider inferior to Bank management of currency, must provide domestic currency and foreign currency or exchange to suit the needs of our foreign trade. Though the exchange stability of the domestic unit may not be the all-important consideration, excessive short-term fluctuations in foreign exchange should be eliminated. As in Keynes' managed currency, elaborate provision would have to be made to check foreign exchange fluctuations.

(iv) REGULATING THE PRICE-LEVEL

The main trouble is that Sir Daniel is thinking of India as an isolated unit, and imagines that if currency can be wisely manipulated, economic progress can be realised. But the influence of the world price-level on the domestic price-level is all important. Deliberate management of domestic credit to attain a stable internal price-level is necessary. Such a conscious control alone can remove all dangers of sudden fluctuations in the world price-level, exerting their full influence on the domestic price-level. But variable foreign exchanges must have to be tolerated, if price-stability is the ideal aimed at.

Again, a persistently favourable net balance of payments always results in a rise of the domestic price-level. Look at India's gradually rising price-level during the years

1900-1914. It was not only a favourable balance that led to a rise in domestic prices, but India was borrowing abroad and prices rose in the borrowing country. Unless special measures to properly invest the net balance of payments are devised, it is impossible to attain a steady price-level in our country.

Finally, India would be alone in conducting this managed paper currency scheme not based on metallic basis. It is unwise though not impossible for a nation to adopt this scheme without international co-operation. Provided safeguards are established to check exchange rates and fluctuations, and gold is kept for international payment, there would be no complications from this side. Internal price policy need not be moving in line with international price movements. But if international co-operation is forthcoming to help a country, it can easily solve the monetary problem. The currency authority, *viz.*, the Central Bank of Issue, would create sufficient bank-note currency to enable the Banks to keep them as their reserve. On it the Banks can base the credit structure that is needed by the growth of the needs of commerce, agriculture, and industry under a stable price-level. It would enable the public to hold a proportionate quantity of hand-to-hand currency.

THE REAL PROBLEM

The problem in India, as everywhere else, is to create enough purchasing power possessing stable value to suit the needs of the community. All cases of unemployment and crises and several other economic phenomena can be traced indirectly, though not always directly, to monetary causes. The amplitude of the industrial fluctuations and the rigour of the unemployment evil can be reduced to a great extent by cautious credit policies pursued solely in the wider interests of the country. Other causes initiate the above phenomena, but the monetary weapon can tone down the evils to a large extent, if judiciously used at the right psychological moment. Limited markets are the result of either underspending by

the comparatively well-to-do richer classes, or lack of effective demand on the part of the other poorer sections of society. The total supply of finished goods under the present-day organised capitalistic mass production is bound to be greater than the demand, as there is no working against a set of previous orders as in the case of the handicraft system of industrial production. Unless effective demand is stimulated, recurrent overproduction, depression and crises, result as industry runs on in its due course. Such has been the fate of capitalistic production organised on a competitive basis. Stabilisation of business is a no less important cry than rationalisation¹ of business methods and realisation of the economies of large-scale production. Various expedients are being tried to achieve this in forward and enlightened industries of the United States of America. But credit control is one method to check abnormal fluctuations in prices and enable the rational industry to run on an even keel. As in other countries, our ultimate goal should be steadier and more stabilised business. Without it there can be no real economic progress in India. More efficient money and a more rational use of it is essential to secure the expansion, rationalisation and stabilisation of business. The five M's are needed to make any country, India in particular, an efficient and progressive country, *viz* (1) man power, (2) money, (3) maintenance or food (4) material resources, and (5) morale or intelligence, with which the first four are directed. It clearly follows then that all countries should ensure the maintenance of prosperity

¹The principle of rationalisation includes control of production in relation to demand, the elimination of price-cutting competition, the central organisation and simplification of marketing and distribution, the prevention of waste in transport and the reduction of labour costs by the fullest possible utilisation of labour-saving machinery, the closing of obsolete and inefficient works and the concentration of production in the most modern and highly mechanised plants. Unless such a policy is applied to our cotton and coal and industries as a whole, it would not be possible for India, the Lazarus amongst the nations, to be clad in the raiment of Dives. See Walter Meakins, "The New Industrial Revolution."

with a growing population and ever-improving standard of living, both of which require an expansion in the volume of production and trade. Any false restrictions on the quantity of sound money would surely retard the growth of production and of trade.

HOW FAR THE SCHEME IS VALID.

The creating of an elastic rural credit system, which is the sole object of this reform, is undoubtedly essential. It has long been overdue. Government paper distributed through co-operative credit societies is to be the elastic credit system. The joint-stock banking machinery has to be discarded, as the agriculturists possess no banking account. Safe and unfettered deposit banking as advocated by the school of the 'Banking Principle' cannot be the desired remedy, as the Indian people do not possess good and sound banks spreading a net-work of branches all over the country. Nor do the people keep a deposit account with the banks, even if the banks were to extend their branches into the interior. Sir Daniel's ideas can be better expressed in correct economic language when it is stated that it is not the 'reserve discount policy' that Sir Daniel approves, but it is his aim to create enough credit without endangering the price-level to any extent, or subjecting it to the evils of artificial inflation. This at any rate, is the prevailing conception in the monetary field. Since 1923, this credit control and price-stabilisation policy are the newer ideals firing the imagination of all monetary reformers. Though not directly admitted, the self-same ideal which has been preached in England is being pursued to a certain extent by the Federal Reserve Board of the United States of America.

Secondly, war-time experience amply demonstrates the possibility of pure paper money with no specie backing. That is the truth underlying Sir Daniel's free-paper standard. The unit of account would be the paper-rupee: one-rupee paper preferably acceptable to the co-operative credit banks, the Government and the people, and possessing

tolerably fixed purchasing power over a basket of goods in general. The weight of the unit, or the exchange value, or intrinsic value of the commodity used as the unit, are not of any real significance. The units which have to possess constant and stable value or purchasing power must be limited to actual requirements; then alone can they be true standard of value. The folly and unprofitableness of metallic money units, be they gold or silver, has long ago been exposed. Metallic money fails to act as a perfect store of value. Even paper money, if it fails to possess constant purchasing power, cannot be a store of value.

Another great essential virtue which true and efficient money should possess is the desirable quality of elasticity. Commodity money, be it gold or silver, does not possess this desirable quality, and in this respect it is paper money that can furnish this desirable feature. Apart from the fact that this virtue may be overdone or abused, wisely managed paper money alone can give the needed elasticity in all periods of time, short as well as long, or to use the economic language, seasonal, secular, cyclical and abnormal periods. But the manner of employing it must not be careless, or else, it might prove to be the most unsatisfactory and dangerous money. Hence all reformers prefer to have managed paper money, as it is the best and the most efficient type of money which society has discovered. Prof. Gustav Cassel in his book "Theoretische Sozialökonomie Winter Verlag Leipzig", says that "paper money quite unconnected with precious metals is theoretically the simplest and no doubt the most efficient (as he later on explains) monetary system. The further money is removed from the precious metals, the better will it be." Since this theoretical deduction of his has proved the true quality of money, the zeal for money reform is becoming more evident. Paper money, provided it is perfectly understood, generally accepted, easily defined, scientifically controlled and intelligently regulated, would prove a better substitute than a gold unit. But it is quite possible to manage gold as a kind of 'fiat money' and its value can be regulated by the credit of a

Central Bank and Government's co-operation with them. A government-managed currency alone can indeed, theoretically speaking, be true money and possess all the characteristics of true money. But unfortunately, past experience in currency history teaches us that this cannot with any amount of reasonable assurance be secured. Theoretically speaking, intentional artificial control can stabilise the value of government-managed paper currency by setting up limitation of the supply of paper money. However, there are two dangers. The note-issue can be easily subjected to a profit and loss philosophy. Secondly, it can be subjected to artificial expansion in days of fiscal expediency. It is on this score that the paper currency management must be entrusted to a Central Bank or a National Board of Currency Commissioners, who are not likely to derive any personal benefit by subjecting it to a profit and loss philosophy.

The next important truth in Sir Daniel's plan of monetary reconstruction is the utilisation of the co-operative credit societies in place of the capitalistic mechanisms known as the joint-stock banking institutions. Every well-wisher of this country recognises that this co-operative spirit is nothing new to this country. With proper propaganda and encouragement, there would be early improvement of the character of the co-operative credit societies. With proper co-operative spirit, the society organised by non-officials can improve the right calibre of the borrowers and bring about a productive use of borrowed money. If such reliable men are trained, as Sir Daniel Hamilton recognises, more money can be placed in their hands for productive purposes. It is these that create money, and the Central Bank or the National Board of Currency Commissioners can issue it on the basis of the interchange of the products of their work. The Central Bank possessing details of the volume of production, the level of prices, the nature of unemployment, the stock of goods, and statistics of consumption that can be gathered out of a mass of statistics, will be of incalculable value in adjusting the money or bank cash to meet the needed money's work, so that there is the

exact amount of money ; neither insufficient nor superfluous. The publicity of its transactions would reveal the amount of money and the nature of the borrowers selected to make use of that money. The interest obtained for these operations can be used for promoting the welfare of the people. The rate of interest charged upon the workers and producers must conduce to their interests. So long as the Central Bank or the N.B.C. Commissioners pay heed to the consumers also, the well-being of all sections of society can be safeguarded. Production, Finance, Labour, and Consumers will all be satisfied with this method of creating and controlling money. But it depends on disinterested financial statesmanship of a very high order in the interpretation of the above statistics and controlling bank credit in this way.

The superiority of co-operative banking organisation to joint-stock banking is not carefully explained in the thesis of Sir Daniel. The possibility of making use of money for productive purposes is assured under the control of the efficient co-operative credit society. Foreigners who have to manage the joint-stock branches cannot understand the needs and requirements of the people. The salary that has to be paid would be so heavy that real branch-bank expansion is limited only to a few banks, and unless this machinery is superseded or supplemented largely by the new co-operative credit societies, we cannot hope to reach the masses quickly. It is for this reason that co-operative banking has to be preferred to joint-stock banking, which can easily become a prey to the capitalistic ambitions of the shareholders.

The existing defects of the co-operative credit societies must be remedied. The co-operative level has to be raised : quality and not quantity should be the ideal aimed at in the expansion of co-operative credit. Defective societies established in every city and town or big village cannot be considered as a 'store of money'. The seed of co-operative credit takes a long time to grow into a flourishing plant and bear fruit. Though this seed has been planted in 1904, still the results are not encouraging. There are black sheep among the co-operative fold causing grave

anxiety to the well-wishers of the movement. On their elimination, and proper application of money for productive purposes and businesslike habits in the matter of collecting arrears, depends the success of the movement. Co-operative credit aided by other manifestations of the co-operative spirit in the different walks of life, would soon raise the village life into a higher plane of economic progress, freeing it from indebtedness, ill-health and ignorance.

NOT A NOVEL SCHEME

While attention has already been drawn to the economic truths which underlie Sir Daniel's scheme, it must be frankly admitted that similar schemes were forged by distinguished thinkers in other parts of the world long ago. Mr. Henry Ford stated this self-same revolutionary idea long ago in the *New York Times* in 1921 in a famous essay entitled "Muscle Shoals". Sylvio Gessel and Keynes startled the world of bankers by their free and outspoken criticism of the present monetary standard based on gold holdings. There are a host of lesser lights who have been voicing the same maxim in season and out of season. The puzzled public have, beyond shaking their heads, done nothing to advocate the use of the recipe for their numerous ills. Sir Daniel, then, is in excellent company with such distinguished thinkers. But while others have systematically elaborated their plans and unfolded their ideas in a strictly scientific manner, there is a total absence of such procedure in Sir Daniel's statements. While he attempts to discard the whole monetary structure and throw it overboard, he does not logically fill in the gaps by placing suitable, acceptable and fool-proof or knave-proof planks. He appears to be lacking in the 'engineering faculties' which any architect should possess before he can hope to rear a lasting edifice.

GOVERNMENT CURRENCY vs BANK CURRENCY

While placing the issue of notes in the hands of the Government, Sir Daniel insists on due limitation of the

quantity of its issue. He postulates for a thing which may or may not be secured. It is improper to level the charge that Sir Daniel is a mere 'more money' enthusiast. Money to whatever extent may be required by the people, must be created. The Government is to print such volume of paper alone. But fiscal expediency and abnormal demands for which no provision can be made, may give scope to unjust tampering with the currency issue. Unfortunately, the lack of stern morality in impecunious governments which have a fatal temptation to over-issue currency, is a real impediment in the path. Besides this, paper currencies are purely national in circulation, and the regulation of foreign exchange values would be a difficult matter. Even though rapid and arbitrary changes in the internal price-level can be remedied by varying the volume of inconvertible paper according to the dictates of an effective index number, which itself is a difficult thing to be constructed, small scale oscillations round the selected norm of the price-level would still be the prevailing feature.

Sir Daniel's scheme as well as Keynes' managed currency have all the evils attendant on the scheme of Prof. Fisher. Yet they do not possess the chief merit of the latter. Gold has to be retained perhaps as a "servant and not as a master of mankind." This really is the difference between Prof. Fisher's stabilisation scheme and the pure pre-war gold standard system. Prof. Fisher is shrewd enough to grasp that gold is a thing that cannot be dispensed with. It has won an accepted position as a regulator and governor of commercial and financial values

Even granted that the Government does not abuse the privilege of issue, it does not immediately follow that Government issue is superior to bank currency. The superiority is presumed because of the fact that the nation's assets, which are the assets behind the Government currency, must necessarily be larger than bank assets consisting of the shareholders' wealth alone. But Sir Daniel is evidently confusing backing for limitation. He appears here to consider backing as the sole creator of the necessary value of the currency note. Sir Daniel seems to have the conception of ultimate redemp-

tion in his mind. It seems impossible for him to disassociate his mind from the value of things behind or at the back of it *i.e.*, the Government note. This process of economic reasoning is faulty. It is limitation with reference to demand that creates value. It is not the land, labour, or real estate, that gives value to the Government note. Issued for progressively productive purposes, our "Monetised or capitalised labour" instruments, would bring prosperity, he argues like Mirabeau. He does not go to the extreme length of Mirabeau who declared "that land-secured notes would never become redundant any more than the humidity of the atmosphere can become excessive." Sir Daniel indeed argues for limitation. True value depends on this, rather than the things at the back of the note. But he does not recognise the inferiority of paper money to commodity money. Inconvertible paper not being redeemable into any fixed, standard uniform thing at a fixed rate, can be easily over-issued. Commodity money alone possesses this, and prompt redemption acts as a check against over-issue. If the matter of redemption is removed, the road to over-issue becomes plain and easy. Once set foot on the path of the inclined plane, the Government would soon be landed in a bottomless abyss, and financial recovery would become a hopeless affair.

It is strange why the inferiority of Government supplied currency to bank currency in the matter of elasticity, cheapness and prompt satisfying of the needs of the people, is not recognised. Safe and unfettered deposit banking furnishes the elastic currency that is needed by the people. A managed government paper currency, not based on gold and issued through the Controller of Currency, requires conduit pipes through which the flow of money should take place. If these are too many, weak, unnecessary and intervening links between the ultimate provider and the ultimate user of the credit instruments, as is at present the case, it follows clearly that the real object would be defeated. Through the co-operative credit societies or people's banks, he would secure the distribution of credit currency. Additions to stock of money

have to be made by the Controller, or currency authority, if the volume of wealth is increasing. A rapid transfer of the same from the credit manufactory is to take place, so that the benefits of such creation might reach the masses quickly. A government managed currency can thus be made cheap and elastic if the above defects are removed. A prompt satisfying of the needs may take place under wise management. It is through the co-operative banks that such provision of elastic currency is to be indirectly secured. It must also be noted that this indebtedness to Government must be declared a first lien on the assets of the co-operative banks. Banks have certain inducements which can make the people accept their notes, while a paper currency of the Government might have no such means. The co-operative banks might do the same thing. Thus the needed expansion might be brought about by them

A second reason why the Government 'flat' money may fail to be ideal money is this. The Government might be afraid to contract currency as soon as production or trade diminishes or falls off. When the Government attempts to reduce currency to attain stable prices, it soon becomes unpopular. While everybody welcomes currency inflation, no one tolerates the idea of deflation, though it is needed by the state of economic circumstances prevailing at the time.

Like Emperor Frederick the Second of Germany, Bryan of the United States of America, Sir Charles Wood, the father of the present Government paper currency system, Lord William Bentinck, the founder of the Government Bank of Madras of 1805, Robert Owen, the English Socialist, Bronterre O'Brien, the Chartist Leader, or Arthur Kitson, the English industrialist, and Major Douglas, the English currency reformer, Sir Daniel Hamilton is a staunch believer in the superiority of Government credit over private credit. Like the other famous thinkers, he is of opinion that the true function of the State is to issue currency. But the same arrangement can be obtained by making the Central Bank note a government-guaranteed note, as has been done in the United States of America. President Wilson needed an

elastic bank issue, and in order to placate the Republican Party and Bryan, the Government guarantee had to be superimposed on the original plan formulated by Mr. Glass. The Government credit for which Sir Daniel is so anxious, can be easily enrolled by this device and all the advantages of bank-issue would be retained. Under proper safeguards, such as supervision, the Government guarantee of the Central Bank note can be easily taken up without serious detriment to the Government. A Central Bank's management of paper currency with Government guarantee behind every bank note issued, would be the better ideal. If the reformers of managed paper currency were to enlist this ideal, even the illiterate masses of the country would not question the standing of the bank note. The supersession of the present G. P. currency note by the Government-guaranteed bank note would become an easy matter. All the disadvantages of Government Paper Currency would be very easily removed by a Central Bank or National Bank of Currency Commissioners, independent of political influences or pressure, creating this credit currency and spreading it through the channel of the co-operative credit societies. It is far better to have the credit of the Central Bank called into question than the credit of the Government itself, which might happen at troublesome times, if the Government were to issue notes directly.

PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS

Apart from the above instances of deviations from the accepted scientific terminology, grave omissions and imperfect planning of his whole scheme, Sir Daniel has allowed himself to be carried away by his zeal and enthusiasm in the statement of the conclusions which form an important part in the scheme of his monetary reconstruction. A few such examples have to be given lest our remark might be misunderstood. Sir Daniel repeats the oft-quoted truth that "managed paper currency is the best currency." He asks with almost naive simplicity, whether silver or paper currency is the best? Even at the risk of tiresome repetition, it must be admitted that it is not banking or

convertibility that gives value to currency. The fundamental thing is that the value of money, like other things, is determined by scarcity or by the interaction of the forces of demand and supply. Limitation is the fundamental basis of value of paper money, for its demand is only monetary demand. There is no composite demand for it as in the case of gold. Every student of economics knows that neither gold nor silver is ideal money. Managed currency alone can come up to ideal money, which possesses stable purchasing power, and is elastic enough to suit the needs of the people over short as well as long periods of time, including seasonal, secular and cyclical changes. Government currency based on labour and actual products must be created. It is an undeniable fact that, "labour is the only fund on which any groundwork of a sound system of credit must ultimately be placed." There is nothing fundamentally wrong in this statement or which will not be accepted by the orthodox economic thought. Since Adam Smith, the father of English Economic thought, stated long ago that "the annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes," it has become the object of all economists to forge a lasting, direct and desirable link between this fund, which ought on no score to be spirited away for unproductive purposes, and the credit system of the country. This is the true security or the ultimate assets on which money and credit should be based. Sir Daniel would create Government paper currency on this basis in order to make it more efficient than present-day currency and bank credit, which are based on the decreasing output or assets of the gold mines. A rational money and marketing plan is essential in this age of industrial rationalisation to organise prosperity for the hard-working producers. Thus stated, the whole scheme is economically feasible and not fallacious. But whether any country, present-day India in particular, is in a position to work this scheme, has to be decidedly proved before any hazardous schemes that are theoretically sound can be successfully carried out.

But the return to the gold standard by all the important countries of the world need hardly be mentioned. The good old gold standard has been reintroduced with slight variations here and there to suit local conditions. International attempts to stabilise the long-period tread of prices are being made on a large scale. The attempt is to manage the gold standard with the avowed object of realising economic stability in life. Without departing from the safe conservative and accepted principles of monetary economies, a pragmatic and workable control of price stabilisation is being attempted by some of the Gold Standard countries. Moderation of price swings, and their relative stability round a norm, and prompt satisfying of the business needs, are the present day aspirations of the enlightened people. Manipulation of the discount rates, open market operations and moral suasion, are to be the recognised means to be employed by the Central Bank. Such a policy is to be worked under the alert management of the Central Bank officials according to a set of indices, such as the general purpose index number, volume of credit, state of consumption, volume of production, and volume of employment, which afford the criteria for their action. The Central Bank's policy is to be reinforced by timely action on the part of the Treasury, so that this idea might be achieved under a managed gold standard system. This is the aim of modern Central Bank policies. But unfortunately this is not the ideal that our Banking Messiah wants to develop in this country. We would be alone and isolated if we were to pursue the scheme of Sir Daniel. Though his scheme can be made theoretically perfect and conceivable, it is bound to be ineffective. Until the improvements suggested in the second part of my article are carried out, even the refinement of the thesis would not be complete.

Freedom in the West

BY L.V.B. CHOWDARY, B.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law

Many, if not all, of us are agreed that we understand what is meant by 'freedom.' Some at least of us realise that freedom is relative. If it is not relative, it will either degenerate into chaos or rise to perfection. We also know that freedom is a manifold thing. It may be of thought, of speech, or of action. There is freedom of political convictions, of economic remedies, of social ideals and of self-development. Freedom in many of its aspects has, for some time past, been gradually developed in the West. Today we see in most of the Western countries, life born of and nurtured by freedom very much active and knocking against the yielding disabilities, barriers and even fates.

Political freedom in England is manifest in the working of its political institutions. England's polity is monarchy, but it is a constitutional monarchy and is worked on the basis and in the spirit of a true democracy. There are political opportunities in England for every man and now for every woman as well. Little Jim Thomas, a coal hewer of a few years ago, became one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State in the Labour Government of 1924. He is never tired of telling the world of his joy at having risen from the dust of a coal mine. The Duchess of Atholl is today a Minister in His Majesty's Government.

There is also social freedom now in England to a large extent. This social freedom is of recent origin, and has chiefly come into existence owing to democracy and what it stands for. When you go a-begging for a vote to a man of whom you may feel in your heart that he is your social inferior, and tell him that he is as good as you yourself are, and assure him of your interest in his affairs, your affection for his children, and your support for getting his things done, you cannot very well show him that he is only

your inferior. The vote-seeking has greatly levelled up things. Labour and socialism have made matters easy for the conscientious snobs to mingle with the commonalty. When Jim Thomas, the coal hewer, could dine with their Majesties in their own home as their guest, class snobbishness is bound to disappear.

There have been great efforts made in the Western world to secure to the masses some sort of economic security and to obtain freedom for them from economic domination. In England such measures as the Old Age Pensions, Unemployment and Health Insurances, and the War Widows and Orphans Pensions, have eased and are easing the economic situation there. Trade Unions all over the world are fighting for the economic betterment of the masses. There is plenty of freedom of speech and of writing in Great Britain. The blighting vapourings of Mr. A. J. Cook, the Miners' Secretary, are allowed to continue without let or hindrance. Margot Asquith, the wife of an ex-premier of Great Britain, is an illustration of the freedom of writing in that country. But in some respects, such as purely social, hygienic or sexual matters, England does not allow so much freedom either in writing or in speech as, for instance, France. There is also freedom of gatherings, and Communists can meet and discuss matters at any place they like.

Men and women partake of this freedom in the West. Formerly man only had freedom, and his freedom was of course very limited and woman had been kept in the background. But now she has come to the forefront. She had been the Queen of the Home, but she only reigned and never ruled there. She presided over social functions, but always with the permission of, or on sufferance by, the husband. She had been hopelessly dependent on her husband for sustenance. And she had no political rights. Now she rules the home, heads and conducts the social functions, is getting out of economic dependence by earning herself, and above all she has the vote now. She does partake of freedom now nearly as much as man does. She has come into her own. Some people even in the West bemoan that she is

overdoing it. They complain that she is challenging man on his own ground and that she is usurping his place, position and rights. Some fear that she is going to upset the equilibrium between man and woman. But we may be sure that all thinking men agree that these fears are unreasonable and unfounded. A nation of free men and women is a great nation. If only men are free and women are in bondage, unable to think, speak or act for themselves, the latter will be a drag on the nation's life. A nation has every right to get for its service the best out of every one of its nationals, and every national owes a duty to the nation to give it the benefit of his or her talents and abilities to the fullest extent. A woman who is not free intellectually, socially, politically or economically, cannot give her best. It is a glorious thing and it speaks volumes in its favour, that woman has found emancipation at least in the West. The future world would be better and happier for the advent of woman into its manifold activities. Man and woman in perfect unison will really make the world worth living in.

Now, the people who have grown in this free and wholesome atmosphere are bound to have a strong, healthy and successful national life. Whatever merit or greatness there is in the Western nations to-day, is to a large extent due to the many achievements they have had to their credit in the varied field of freedom.

Reviews

[We shall be glad to review books in all Indian languages and in English, French and German. Books for Review should reach the office at least SIX WEEKS in advance of the day of publication of the Journal.]

The Political Philosophies since 1905.—By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, with a foreword by Major B.D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retired)—Published by Messrs. B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. (Price Rs. 4)

This book achieves more than what can be done by such books as "What to Read" published by the Fabian Society, and "History and Historians" of Dr. Gooch and the "Chronological History" of Hassel, in that it gives in outline, in addition to a chronological catalogue of books and events, an idea of the special contents of the books mentioned and the particular interest stimulated by such books. Mr. Sarkar has tried not only to give an excellent list of books, but also to provide us with a chronological list of important events such as the Reform Acts, Poor Law Acts of England, the establishment of French and German Republics, the abolition of slavery and the organising of Internationals, besides tracing the tendencies of political philosophies since the beginning of the modern period *i.e.*, 1776. Therefore, one can unhesitatingly say that the students of our Universities, as well as others interested in social sciences, will find it an excellent guide both for reference and for advanced studies.

In Chapter II, Mr. Sarkar presents an outline of the world thought upon such problems as sovereignty, economic welfare and international relations. He takes particular care to notice every important change of financial policy adopted by different European Governments. Special mention is made in this Chapter about the thought of Ricardo, Kant, Hegel, Savigny, Mazzini, Calhoun, Bakunin, List, Proudhon, Karl Marx, Spencer and Carlyle. But it is unfortunate that Mr. Sarkar should have decided to treat such thinkers as Adam Smith, Malthus and Mill with such scant notice.

of Banavasenu (the modern North and South Kanara districts) sings with delight the song of 'the land called Kannada'. And Chikupadhyaya of Mysore in the 17th century describes in detail the glory of 'the land of Kannada'. The idea of the distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was there in the minds of the people in the past. The same idea has now ripened in the modern times."

The prefatory poem of the editor himself who is one of the great modern poets in Karnataka, which is entitled, "The lullaby of the Kannada baby" imagines how Bharatamata is inducing to sleep her darling, the Kannada Nadu lying between the Eastern and Western ghats, which has done splendid service to Mother India in the past. The great Mother promises to set up a cradle in the skies for her baby in days to come. May we add that her old, old promise has been fulfilled today by the grant of a separate provincial unit made by the Congress and approved of by the All-Parties Convention? Round this cradle, we fancy that the poets of the past and the present have assembled to utter with pride and joy "This is mine, my own Kannada Nadu." The songs of this chorus have seen the light in the anthology before us. All the songs and poems are of good literary and artistic value.

The get-up of the book is perhaps the best that could be got out of a mediocre press, but we would suggest to the publisher to illustrate the book adequately. We earnestly hope that the alluring title of the book will arrest the attention of all Kannadigas.

R. S. M.



Kodanda-Ramā

By Courtesy of V. & A. Museum, London

Sculpture at its Best

BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN

I. THE BEAUTY OF BALANCE

An unfailing theme with the south Indian sculptor has been Kodanda-Rama—Rama with the bow,—but rarely has the theme found more fitting expression than in a marvellous image disclosed about two years ago by the curious pick of a husbandman somewhere near Ramnad.¹ Rama, in Indian tradition, is the bow-man *sans pareil*, the warrior *sans reproche*, and is deservedly popular in the character of Kodanda-Rama. How well-beloved in south India is Rama as bow-man and how greatly he has appealed to the sense of *satya* that abides in the Indian, is shown by the large number of exquisite sculptures of him in that character.

Next to Nataraja, and next only to him, comes Kodanda-Rama as a creation and an achievement of south Indian sculpture. While endless Natarajas, stereotyped in form and expression, though ennobled by masterly craftsmanship, issued almost from every village studio, no Kodanda-Rama seems to have emerged which was not a high-grade product of art. Much fewer in number are the Kodanda-Ramas comparatively, but they rarely degenerate into the angular and gawky figures which sometimes served for Nataraja.

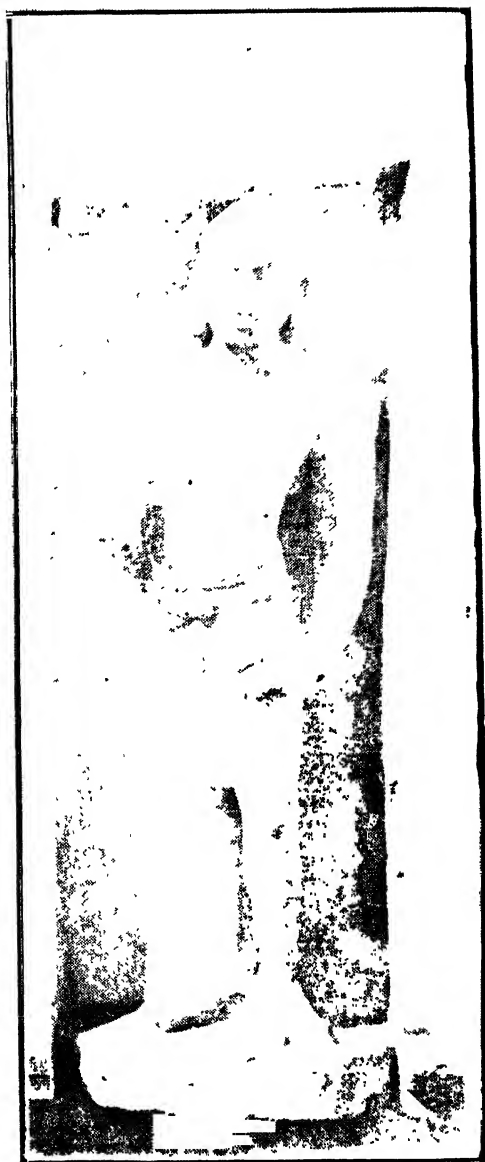
The image found near Ramnad is not the finest Kodanda-Rama we know of: but even this image, with all its faults, shows how dignity and grace could blend in equal measure and with what confidence the Indian sculptor can rely on an innate sense for balance.

¹ See the frontispiece in this issue. The image is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and to the courtesy of that institution we are indebted for permission to reproduce a photograph of the image.

Modelled as it is in the *tribhanga* pose, this image has a right leg much too curved to suit anatomy,—though it was so shaped to ensure the *tribhanga* pose,—and it has knees which betray a lamentable lack of capacity for modelling, but they are the only flaws we can detect. The vigour of composition, the firmness of the pose, the grace of the expression and the perfection of the balance would place it in the early period of Chola art (about 950 A.D.), but the awkward right leg, the knob-like knees and the ill-finished medallion in the belt bring it down to the thirteenth century or thereabouts: perhaps, this is a copy, in decadent times, of a masterpiece of the days when art was art. What would not a genuine Kodanda-Rama of those days of superb sculpture be worth now to the student of art,—when art in our country is little better than a name!

Perhaps Kodanda-Rama is an achievement more difficult even than Nataraja. Nothing in the composition of Nataraja corresponds to the bow in Kodanda-Rama, nothing which, if not properly harmonized, would destroy the unity of the composition. How often do we question ourselves whether the centre-line in the conception of Kodanda-Rama runs through the main figure or between it and the bow, but how decidedly we conclude in the end that, howsoever the balance might be ensured, it has been achieved in full measure! So cleverly is the *tribhanga* of the figure contrived and so judiciously are the arms and the hands disposed, that the unity of the composition can never be really in dispute.

The Dance of Nataraja,—the sculptural achievement *par excellence* of Saivism,—was sought to be paralleled in the Kalinga-Mardana of Vaishnava art, but no master arose who conceived that dance in terms equally noble, and the Kalinga-Mardana proved a foolish futility in iconography,—perhaps because the south Indian sculptor, with his unique appreciation of the value of balance, was not the first creator of that iconographic idea. If the Vaishnava sculptor failed to catch the essence of dynamic balance, he has attained a thorough mastery of the art of expressing



A Panel from the Nagesvara
Temple, Kumbhakonam

the beauty of static balance,—and nowhere better than in his masterpiece, Kodanda-Rama. The *tribhanga* of the figure of the warrior is reflected in the *tribhanga* of the bow: *tribhanga* answers to *tribhanga*. Herein lies the excellence of Kodanda-Rama as a sculptural expression.

II. TWO REMARKABLE PANELS

Kumbhakonam is one of the most notable cities of south India: it has had an ancient and noble history, and it has produced great men in larger numbers than almost any other place in the south. But, before long, it is bound to become known otherwise as well,—as a Mecca to lovers of Indian art.

Among the numerous temples which dot the little city is one dedicated to Nagesvara, and in a series of niches in the walls of the *garbhagriha* are carved a number of figures in very high relief which deserve very close study. The figures are about ten in number and represent men and women, almost in life-size. Each figure stands by itself and constitutes a masterpiece. Two of the figures are illustrated here.¹ It requires greater study than I have been able to devote to determine finally what each figure represents and how they came to be carved in the temple in a series.

The temple seems to be an ancient one, though not the present structure, which must be attributed to about 900 A.D.,—as shown by the inscriptions on its walls,—and the sculptures too seem to belong to the same period.

For perfection of technique, for excellence of composition, for freedom from puerile conventionalism, for sheer grace and enduring charm, it is hard to find peers to these sculptures. They are bound to take high rank as works of art.

¹ I hope to publish shortly in *Trieni* a long article on these sculptures and illustrate the article with much better reproductions of all figures.

The Coming of 'Ashadha'

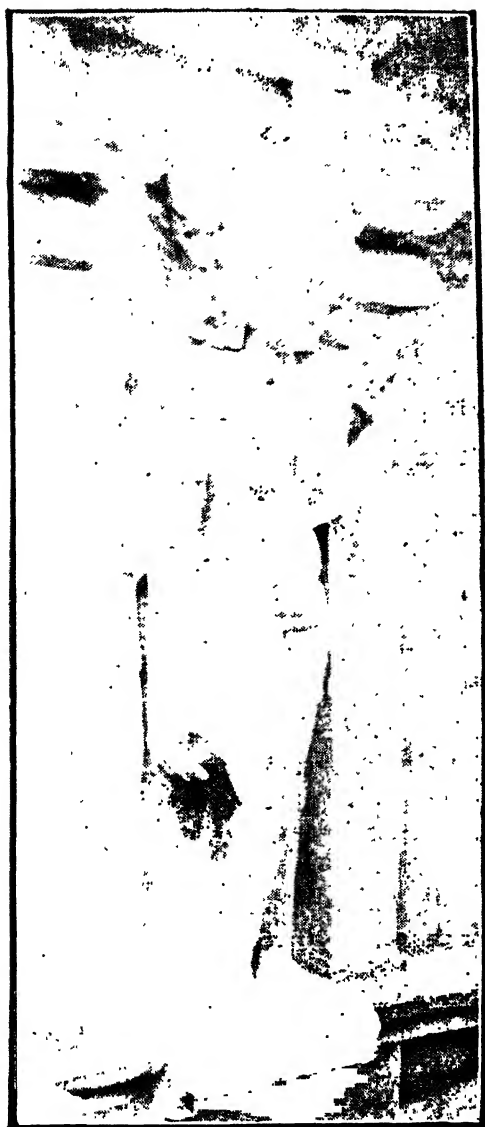
BY VISVANATHA SATYANARAYANA, M.A.¹

Through clustering clouds the Lightning-Damsel doth peep to
find,
If the *Kadimi* has blossomed quite or merely put forth leaf ;
The lovely *Mandara* blooms and chants its welcome to the
advancing bee ;
Down the crested rocks, the lotus-eyed amorous stream runs
swift
Into the arms of her Ocean-Lord ;
The shyness of the ecstatic Earth-Maiden thrills
Through meadows of emerald-green ;
Behold ! the lofty music of the stringed clouds,
The peacock's joyous dance ;
Verily, this festive grove is like unto the Dance-Academy
Of the Master of Dance !

Translated from by TELUGU by

M. VISVESVARA RAO.

¹ A beautiful description from his drama—the *Nartana Sala*.



Another Panel from the Nagesvara
Temple, Kumbhakonam

The Butler Report

BY DEWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO

[*The following authoritative statement was prepared by the Dewan Bahadur, at the Editor's special request, for publication in 'Triveni'. But in view of the Indian States Subjects' Conference at Bombay, advance copies of the article were supplied to some of the daily papers in India.—Editor, 'Triveni'.*]

The Butler Report has met with a mixed reception both in India and in England. Long before its publication, some of the Princes gave expression to their sense of disappointment at the probable results of the inquiry, and a perusal of the Report makes it quite clear that their anticipations were fully justified. The significant silence of the Indian Princes and their Dewans, who were very vocal hitherto in condemnation of the British Indian politician, is noteworthy and one may therefore safely conclude that their feeling is that they have lost all along the line. The inquiry was held *in camera* and the Committee denied itself, by a too narrow and unjustified interpretation of the terms of reference, the opportunity of hearing the views of the people of the Indian States on the important questions raised before the Committee. The Indian Press and the Indian public men never expected any fruitful results from this inquiry. The Report has also been denounced by eminent public men and the leading organs of public opinion in India as a deliberate attempt to drive a wedge between British India and Indian India, and to make the question of evolving a new Constitution for India even more difficult than it is. The only class of people who are pleased with the Report are the British official and commercial classes in India, the Anglo-Indian Press and the British Press in England, and retired Anglo-Indian Pundits like Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

THE THEORY OF PARAMOUNTCY

In regard to the affairs of Indian States, the theory of

Paramountcy of the Crown, combined with usage and political practice, had conferred on the Government of India an enormous power limited by its own discretion. In the words of Sir Sydney Low, "the Paramount Power was itself the judge of what it could do or could not do; it decided what it liked and its decisions were regarded as statement of the law which would override or cancel contractual obligations." Since the introduction of Reforms, the Princes began to examine their own position and to resent these wide powers of intervention possessed by the Paramount Power and exercised through their agents, the Political Officers. They urged that their States are sovereign units, except in so far as they have accepted derogations from their sovereignty by treaty engagements or understandings with the representatives of the Crown.

The main request of the Princes was, therefore, that the present powers of intervention established by treaty and political practice should be more clearly defined and their political relations with the Paramount Power strictly limited by the terms of agreements and treaties entered into from time to time. They contended that the Paramount Power had no powers other than those expressly provided in treaties and agreements. They complained that there has been substantial infringement of their contractual rights, to which they submitted through weakness or ignorance or a salutary respect for the Government of India, and adduced voluminous evidence to illustrate their contentions.

The Butler Committee have refused the request of the Princes for a clearer definition of their position. They have re-affirmed the existing position with an even greater emphasis than that contained in the previous pronouncements of Lord Minto and Lord Reading and other Viceroy. The States are *sui generis* but they fall outside both international and municipal Law and the Committee have held that it is impossible to define Paramountcy. They say: "We have endeavoured, as others before us have endeavoured, to find some formula which will cover the exercise of para-

mountcy, and we have failed, as others before us have failed, to do so. The reason for such a failure is not far to seek. Conditions alter rapidly in a changing world. Imperial necessity and new conditions may at any time raise unexpected situations. Paramountcy must remain paramount ; it must fulfil its obligations, defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States." The Princes, have, therefore, entirely failed to achieve their main object and nobody in the States or in British India expected any other result, though undoubtedly there are many important questions in which they have a genuine grievance. The discretion of the Paramount Power to interfere in the affairs of Indian States will continue to be as unlimited and as undefined as before and the Report of the Committee has not improved the matter in the least in the direction desired by the Princes.

STATES PEOPLE'S ATTITUDE

The attitude of the people of the Indian States in this matter is plain. They feel that in present circumstances in the States where autocracy is rampant, the only safeguard for the protection of the subject is the intervention of the Paramount Power, however unwelcome it may be. Till constitutional Government on a democratic model is introduced in the States, there is no other remedy against the autocracy of the Princes than a recourse to the Paramount Power. In the Memorandum of the Indian States Peoples' Conference to the Butler Committee, it was urged that what is needed is neither a wholesale repudiation of the Paramount Power's rights of interference as suggested by the Princes, nor an unlimited charter to its agents for interference at will, but a clear demarcation of a limited, defined, and strictly constitutional intervention. The Deputation urged also the need for a constitutional agency for investigation of cases before actual intervention and put forward proposals for the establishment of a Constitutional machinery. If the Princes

had also put forward some such scheme, it would perhaps have considered it. As it is, they attempted to get rid of all control and it is only natural if after a perusal of the Report they have a feeling that perhaps the ropes have been tightened. The present system of control through Political Officers is out of date and no machinery to take its place would be satisfactory unless the right of the people of the States in all matters is definitely recognised. Autocracy of the Princes must be controlled either from above or from below. If the powers of the Paramount Power are to be curtailed, it can only be done by the development of the democratic system in the States. The proposals of the Princes for relaxation of control would, if accepted, have still further increased their autocratic power. This is the feeling of the people of the States. As it is, the Committee have not only entirely ignored the complaints brought forward against Political Officers and the Political Department but have commended the existing system.

CHANGE TO VICEROY'S CONTROL

The change from the Governor-General-in-Council to the Viceroy as the controlling authority on behalf of the Crown in regard to matters pertaining to the States, was put forward by the Princes and the Committee have recommended the change. They assert that it will have three distinct advantages. "First, it will gratify the Princes to have more direct relations with the Crown through the Viceroy; secondly, it will relieve them of the feeling that cases affecting them may be decided by a body which has no special knowledge of them, may have interests in opposition to theirs, and may appear as a judge in its own cause; and thirdly, it will, in our opinion, lead to much happier relations between the States and British India, and so eventually make coalition easier". It is impossible to fully understand the reasons for the gratification of the Princes at this proposed change. If, as is generally believed, the Princes of India have put forward the proposals to prevent the Indian Members of the

Governor-General's Council from dealing with questions relating to the Indian States, they have done great injustice to their own cause. The control of the Political Department would become much stronger than it is now if the Viceroy is the sole authority in these matters and the change will, in all likelihood, prove to be a case of jumping from the frying pan into the fire. The Political Secretary must necessarily be the only officer on whom the Viceroy must rely, and it might be that he will uphold the doings of his political officers much more readily than otherwise. He will gain a more dominating position in all States affairs, and however painstaking the Viceroy may be, the real arbiter of affairs will be the Political Secretary. On the other hand, Indian Members of the Governor-General's Council would bring a fresh mind to bear on the affairs of the States and have a certain amount of sympathy and respect for the rulers of the Indian States.

It is more than possible that the proposal was made on grounds of sentiment in regard to official precedence but even this, I understand, has been modified in favour of the Princes a few years ago. Some of the rulers have been placed above the Members of the Viceroy's Council in this matter and the salute of 13 guns enjoyed by the Members of Council has been withdrawn. It is commonly believed that the Indian Princes would prefer a European to an Indian however eminent, just and patriotic the latter may be, to sit in judgment over them. They have an inordinate respect for any Tom, Dick, or Harry and would prefer him to an Indian of the highest social standing. It has been stated that the Indian Princes raised objections to the entertainment of Indians in the Political Department and the proposals of the Butler Committee for the recruitment of a separate Political service from the British Universities has been designed to prevent the Indian element from getting into this service. Until the Indian Princes give up this kind of snobbery and learn to respect their own countrymen, the situation is not hopeful. Perhaps an Indian Prince

cannot tolerate an Indian, even of the highest social standing and culture, as a Resident at his court. As it is, Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues were aware that the Indianisation of the British Indian Services is going on apace, and they wish to save at least the Political Department for British youths. The Princes have simply played into their hands, and Sir Harcourt Butler took advantage of their proposals which have not commended themselves even to some of the British members of the Indian Services.

The Committee believe that the change will not throw much additional work on the Viceroy. This cannot be a fact. The Viceroy's position is already very irksome on account of his many onerous duties. The line of reform in this matter is in the direction of relieving him of the political portfolio and entrusting it to a separate Member of the Viceroy's Council rather than to make him supreme. The Viceroy should not be identified with any portfolio but should be placed in a position of detachment, so that he may be the final authority in all matters. The rejection of the proposal for the appointment of a Political Member is therefore to be regretted.

THE 'TWO INDIAS'

The most mischievous part of the Report is the suggestion made in para 58 and the undue emphasis laid on what Sir Sydney Low calls 'the basic fact of Indian politics.' "There are two Indias; one is the India of the British provinces, the other the India of the protected States." Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues refer to the existence of the two Indias as if it is a new discovery that they have made, and the attempt made to keep these two parts of India as far apart as possible and to isolate the States from British India is obvious. The basic fact of the situation in India is not so much the existence of the two administrative systems, but the identity of interests between the people of British India and the people of Indian States. The people of both the Indias are already held together by immemorial ties and by a fundamental unity

of thought and culture and race and civilisation, and they have the same social and economic problems. The National movement in British India is having its repercussions in the Indian States and the people of the Indian States have a desire to take their legitimate part in an All-India polity. These are really the fundamentals of the situation, which the Committee has ignored. For some time the British Imperialists, the Tory politicians and the British official and commercial classes in India and England have been exploiting the Indian Princes with a view to retard the National movement in India, and the Butler Committee's Report has now come to their rescue. The Committee was appointed to report on the existing relations between the States and the Paramount Power, and not to suggest what should be done with the Princes in the eventuality of a new Dominion Constitution for British India. It went out of its way, without giving an opportunity to the people of British India and the States who are vitally interested in the problem, to express its strong opinion that, "in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to the Indian Legislature." I need not refer to the true constitutional position which has been so often discussed, nor to assert that the Indian Princes should have no voice in the matter. The Indian States Committee were apparently anxious not so much to improve the existing position of the Princes *vis-a-vis* the Paramount Power and the Political Department, as to prevent future developments in the Indian Constitution by the inclusion of the Indian States therein.

This opinion of the Committee accords with the wishes and sentiments of the enemies of India's freedom, who do not want India to attain the status of a self-governing Dominion. 'The Daily Mail', 'The Daily News', 'The Morning Post' and other Tory papers are delighted at the prospect of utilising the Indian States against the Nationalist

aspirations of India. Sir Michael O'Dwyer sees in the Report a fitting instrument for keeping the British Indian politician in his proper place. It is, therefore, only natural that this part of the Report should have been received with great jubilation by British interests both in this country and in England, who wish to maintain their dominant position in India. The true position is perhaps that indicated by 'The Manchester Guardian.' It says :

No lawyer can deny us the right to say to the Princes who entered into certain engagements with us because of our position as rulers of British India : " The time is coming when we must hand over the rule of British India to its inhabitants. We give you notice now, so that you may make new engagements with our successors. We will help you as far as we can to get fair terms, but your future must depend chiefly on your success in securing the good-will of your subjects."

The Indian Princes will do well to follow this advice.

Moreover, the Princes are not the only persons concerned in the matter. As has been admitted by the Maharaja of Bikaner, the word 'States' in the terms of reference includes the people of the States. The people of the States have definitely expressed their view already in this matter and they certainly would like to come into the future Government of India, and the Indian States People's Conference adopted a resolution expressing for constitutional relations with British India. If the Princes create any difficulties in the matter, they will certainly be disowned by their own people.

PARAMOUNT POWER AND THE STATES SUBJECTS

The most important portion of the Report, relating to the duty of the Paramount Power to the people of the States, has not received sufficient public attention. The paragraphs 49 and 50 contain a weighty pronouncement by the Committee in regard to popular demands by the people of the Indian States put forward in the Memorandum of the Indian States People's Conference. It was contended by the

Deputation that the Paramount Power has not discharged its duty to the people of the States in securing good Government, and if it has failed in the past, the Committee was bound to find out whether the obligations laid on the Princes for providing good Government to their people has been discharged by them, and also to suggest ways and means by which these responsibilities and obligations could be adequately fulfilled in the future. The Princes have always stood out for their autocracy and maintained that the Paramount Power had no business to suggest improvements in their internal administration as they are independent sovereigns. It was urged in the Memorandum that misrule on the part of a State which is upheld by the Paramount Power is misrule in the responsibility for which the British Government becomes in a measure involved, and it was therefore not only the right but the duty of the British Government to see that the administration of the State in such a condition is reformed and gross abuses removed. This contention has been fully upheld. The pronouncement of the Committee on this matter must therefore be regarded as a victory to the people of the Indian States. The Committee have stated in unequivocal terms that,

“The guarantee to protect a Prince against insurrection carries with it an obligation to enquire into the causes of insurrection and to demand that the Prince shall remedy legitimate grievances, and an obligation to prescribe the measures necessary to this result.”

In para 50 they declare that :

“The promise of the King-Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes carries with it a duty to protect the Prince against attempts to effminate him, and to substitute another form of Government. If these attempts were due to misgovernment on the part of the Prince, protection would only be given on the conditions set out in the preceding paragraph. If they were due, not to misgovernment, but to a widespread popular demand for change, the Paramount Power would be bound to maintain

the rights, privileges and dignity of the Princes ; but it would also be bound to suggest such measures as would satisfy this demand without eliminating the Prince."

This emphatic statement, fully recognising the duty of the Paramount Power to suggest Constitutional changes in the system of Government in consonance with public opinion for the development of a democratic system under the hereditary ruler of the State, is a step of great constitutional importance, the significance of which I trust the Princes will fully realise. They can no longer say that the Paramount Power has no right to suggest changes in the form of government and that they should continue their autocracy unimpaired. It is, however, a matter for regret that the Committee has not permitted itself to enquire whether there is at the present moment this widespread popular demand for change in the form of government in the States. Without making any inquiries whatever, they say that no such case for a change has yet arisen. If they had only acquainted themselves with the National movement in Indian India, they would not have made this assertion.

The National movement in the Indian States has been gathering strength for several years and during the last year, the Hyderabad Political Conference, the Deccan State Subjects' Conference, the Kathiawar Conference, the Mysore State Congress, the Rajaputana States Peoples' Conference, the Anjira States Peoples' Conference, the All-India States Peoples' Conference, the South Indian States Peoples' Conference, and various other Peoples' organisations in the States have spoken unequivocally on the subject, and have demanded the establishment of Responsible Government in the States and have also advocated many radical reforms including the establishment of an independent Judiciary. The Committee have commended the advice of H. E. the Viceroy for a fixed Privy purse, security of tenure in the Public Services, and an independent Judiciary. In confining themselves to these reforms, the Committee have entirely failed to take note of the strong public opinion that has been formed in regard to many

fundamental changes in the system of government in the States. Nevertheless, the recognition by the Committee of the duty of the Paramount Power to the people of the States to back up the popular demand for a change in the present system of autocratic rule is a source of gratification to them.

FINANCIAL ADJUSTMENTS

The recommendations of the Committee in regard to the financial and economic relations between British India and the States may now briefly be noticed. The Princes put forward a scheme for a States Council which was published in India and which was so severely criticised that they gave it up and have disowned it as unauthorised. They, however, presented again a similar scheme to the Committee based on a scheme of the European Association presented to the Indian Statutory Commission. This has been rightly rejected by the Committee. The States Committee's recommendations for the appointment of committees in matters of common concern to British India and the States and formal committees in cases of disagreement can never prove satisfactory and may even prove harmful. The ultimate solution can only be a regular constitutional machinery for the whole of India in which the people of the States are also assigned a definite place and an effective voice in all matters of common concern. The Committee have declared that schemes of a federal character are wholly premature and that the States have not as yet reached any real measure of agreement among themselves. This is true so far as the Princes are concerned, but federal schemes have now been under active discussion in various Conferences and Congresses from time to time. It is also clear, however, that any other method of adjustment of the relations of the States to British India will not give satisfaction. A satisfactory scheme can only be devised by the co-operation of all the parties concerned; the Princes and the people of the Indian States and the people of British India and the Government of India will have to sit together for

the purpose in a Constituent Assembly. In the meantime, it is not known whether the Princes are satisfied with the solution suggested in the Report. The representation of the people of the States and the State Governments in the Central Legislature as an interim arrangement limited to the discussion of subjects of common concern to British India and the States, is a possible solution before a federal solution is reached, though attended with many difficulties. As regards specific proposals, it is a matter for satisfaction that the Committee have recognised the claim of the States to a share in the Maritime Customs Revenue, but they have tacked on to it also a recommendation that the States should make a contribution to Imperial burdens. The Princes perhaps never contemplated such a contribution but were merely looking forward to a share of the Revenue. It is to be hoped that the enquiry by the expert body would be open and public, and all other interests will be represented thereon. As regards other matters, it is also satisfactory that the Committee have recommended a share of the profits in Savings Bank to the States when they are considerable. The recommendation of the Committee in regard to salt does not appear to be equitable but the subject needs further examination. The reason assigned, namely, that the Government of British India established a monopoly and is therefore entitled broadly to all the profits is not convincing. It is not possible to deal with all cases for adjustment and the subject may have to be thoroughly examined later on with a view to remove any soreness of feeling on the part of the Indian States that they are not properly treated by British India.

RELATIONS WITH SIMON COMMISSION

It is more than probable that no action will be taken on the Butler Report till the report of the Indian Statutory Commission is also available to Parliament. There is a considerable amount of misconception in Great Britain that Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee and Sir John Simon's

Commission will together produce proposals for fitting in the Indian States into a new Constitution for India. While in England in November last, I noticed that even such a well-informed publicist like Mr. J. A. Spender fell into this error in his contributions to 'The Daily Mail'. The States Committee did not even hear the views of the people of the States, much less of the people of British India. The Indian Statutory Commission did not invite the opinions of either the Princes or the people of the States as regards the future Constitution for the whole of India including the States. Both these bodies were working in compartments and I imagine that their labours will not eventuate in the creation of a new Constitution for the whole of India. The attitude of the Indian Princes in regard to the points raised in the Butler Report is not known, but they have to make up their minds on the various points of controversy. It is said that His Excellency, the Viceroy, who is going to England on the 24th of June next, is meeting the Indian Princes at Poona before his departure. The Indian Princes have been harping a great deal on their relations with the 'Paramount Power.' The Paramount Power means the Crown acting through the Secretary of State and the Governor-General-in-Council who are responsible to the Parliament of Great Britain.

THE PRINCES' DUTY

The Princes must now realise that the ultimate authority is not the King-Emperor acting by himself but the British Parliament. The Princes have realised that the social structure of Parliament has radically changed and they did not and do not hesitate to rub shoulders with many members of the Labour party whom they did their best to conciliate. The Princes pin their faith to the average British working man and his wife who make the Parliament of Great Britain, and hesitate to trust their own countrymen in an Indian Legislature. This attitude of the Princes is inexplicable. Will the Indian Princes take the advice of Sir Malcolm Hailey that the

future of the States depends not upon worn-out treaties and 'sanads' but upon working with the present day progressive forces in British India and in their own States? Have they learnt the lesson of the Great War that autocracy as a system of Government is doomed and that "the world has been made safe for Democracy," and adjust themselves in time to this world-wide movement for popular liberty? Should they shut their eyes to the fact that their safety lies not in isolating themselves from British India relying upon the protection of the Crown, or would they take their legitimate part in the evolution of the political destiny of India as a whole? Would the Indian Princes at this critical juncture play into the hands of the enemy? Sir Leslie Scott who played so prominent a part in the presentation of their case to the Butler Committee, has publicly stated that the Princes and the untouchables in India are in need of special protection from the Paramount Power. The Princes cannot be congratulated on the position assigned to them.

I have been assured on high authority that the statement made by Sir Leslie Scott in his now famous article in 'The Law Quarterly Review' was not authorised by the Princes, but it has not been repudiated by them as yet. Some of the Indian Princes are far-seeing and able statesmen who have taken part in the world movements of today and imbued with a genuine love for their Motherland. Will they rise equal to the occasion and influence their brethren of their order to shake off the spell of British Imperialism and work for a United India? No responsible British Indian politician has ever urged the disappearance of the Indian Princes, and it may emphatically be asserted that, consistently with the maintenance of their order, it is possible for British India and Indian India to be welded together into a common Constitution. Let there be no misgiving on this matter. The desire of Nationalist India is that the Indian Princes should become constitutional sovereigns and that personal rule as a system of Government should be modified in the States by the introduction of the Democratic principle.

Politics as a Profession

BY E. S. SUNDA, B.A., B.L.

“ Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel ” said the eminent Doctor well-known for his commonsense and his victories in wordy warfare. The time has come when the words of that esteemed gentleman might appear true. This is just the minute when a loud protest should be made against such a degeneration of politics. The disappointed schoolboy, a dismissed public servant, nobodies in various professions, runaways from home and others of a kindred nature, all take to the field of politics, and get a smattering knowledge of all subjects, from the League of Nations to the Indian village panchayat, from monarchy to socialism, from craft-guilds to trade-unionism and pose themselves as politicians. In fact their presumption is so great today that they do not possess any knowledge in any subject. The result is not far to seek ; the high level of politics is on the decrease, the moral tone is vanishing, sobriety has given place to mere enthusiasm, facts have been replaced by fiction, responsibility by indifference, and equipment by superficiality. Today the views of politicians are treated with discourtesy as those of an agitator, interested partisan, and not received with the regard that is due to a student of politics.

This is a passing phase of political life in all countries. There are upheavals everywhere, shibboleths are any number, parties multiply every second, steady politics are not available anywhere. India shares the fate with other countries. This leads to a searching of our hearts.

One thing any student of politics should concede as a common ground is that it is a game and a task which demands persons who really know and try to know fully what they are about. Off-hand amateurishness would not do but works considerable havoc. Secondly, specialisation in

some branch of politics is necessary. A novice with no aptitude and taste for any aspect of political life but with only an appetite to enjoy the amenities and glories of the Legislatures, is a menace to society and an obstacle to progress. Again every politician worth the name should have a programme chalked out in his particular branch and should be able to evolve schemes then and there. He should be a sufficient answer to the evasions of the Treasury benches and should be able to give them hard knocks when opportunity occurs. I can never believe in the existence—though it is possible in exceptional cases,—of ‘all-round’ politicians. It may be stated in praise of individuals, but the facts are always otherwise. Persons of Sir Basil Blackett’s and Gokhale’s type as financiers and financial critics, India is yet to see. Gandhiji’s mastery of Overseas problems and solutions is yet to be copied and imitated by any politician of modern times. More than all, politicians require considerable powers of expression, a capacity to debate and retort. Humanly impossible it is for anybody to master all aspects of politics; definite fields should be chosen and definite persons should study before they come out, and study as they continue in the political arena, current political problems.

All these imply division of labour in political life and a probation of study *before entry* and constant study and active division of labour in the political arena *after* entry. This involves a question of mutual understanding, nation-wide arrangement, why in fact, it implies training persons for a certain aspect in a political career. Political life is prefaced by a tuition, a probation and deliberate study leading to practical politics. It shall not be the chance of getting into the Legislature by the door of nomination or stumbling into it by the wide door of tipping or bidding the topmost in mass elections.

Again, for active political life—in the sense of being prominent in current politics—only a few are fit, but a great many are necessary to study and advise the great ones on the field with facts and figures. With great respect to our legislators, it should be said, though it is not complimentary

to them, very few care to study and much less educate their electorate on the threatening proposals for reforms either in the Assembly, Council of State or Local Legislatures. To take one instance, how many of our legislators understood the implications of the Reserve Bank Bill and how many cared to educate their electorate on the matter and obtain its verdict? There are certain reforms on which the electorate had not expressed itself at any time and the candidates are in duty bound to take note of the fact before they air their individual views.

The responsibilities of politicians are indeed great. In fact they are proportionate to the glory they enjoy and they ought to bear the burden manfully. It means considerable time, energy and study. Can all these be had honorarily? No, certainly not. The time has come when politicians ought to be able to spare all their time and energy for the country's cause and her intricate problems, and people should be glad to shoulder their expenses and maintain them out of public funds. I mean, without the least semblance of disrespect or insinuation that may attach to the expression, we should evolve a set of 'professional politicians' who are maintained by the public and whose only avocation is the study of politics—current and theoretical. They ought to be divided into two classes, students on study, students on field. Elder politicians and statesmen should be able to choose their own potential disciples and send them for study and train them. This involves a Public Purposes Fund, a School of Politics and its necessary concomitants.

Our great men, Gokhale and Lajpat Rai, have clearly anticipated the necessity for professional politicians, and have sent out into Indian politics some at least who can boast of real study, a probation, and what may be called a political training. A Joshi on Labour problems, a Kunzru or Vaze on the 'Indians Abroad' question, a Kale on Economics, a Devadhar on social reform legislation, are any day far superior to the best among other politicians who begin and study politics as and after they enter. The necessity for the starting of political schools in several

parts of the country and the training of the workers, is too great and time should not be lost any further. It is one of the essentials for the solid political reconstruction under any kind of government.

The party system of government has come to stay. It will last till it is erased: why it may continue under all types of government. Parties imply excellent spokesmen, trained debaters, and what is more, resourceful students of politics on all subjects. The party leader should be bulwarked with points on particular subjects by the particular student well-up in the line. He should be able to supply the powder for the shot. Else, the effectiveness of the party system is lost. Allocation of political responsibility within the party is now necessary. Whether it is on the side of the oppositionists or on the Treasury bench, division of study and work is imperative for working effectively any political institution.

All these lead to a statement that a political career is as serious as the life of an individual. Nay more. It sometimes involves the life of a nation. A bad statesman, an unthinking politician, and an inexperienced and ill-read legislator are the greatest curses for a nation. They always lead it to disaster.

Indian politics as it is has its particular disadvantages besides those above-stated general difficulties. My earnest appeal to all parties in Indian and Local Legislatures—even out of them, is to think of political life as a serious matter, mobilise their forces, divide their responsibilities of study and work among themselves, and be a solid phalanx with figures and facts when any question crops up. This is my appeal to the Swarajists, Independents, Justicites, Nationalists etc. Every party has its own creed. Why should it not effectively work itself out with a real political grounding and probation? Can they not avoid a meaningless display of false oratory on nothing, or a series of speeches with no substance? Cannot effective party system be worked with the man on the subject making a statement on behalf of the party, and the party like one man supporting it? Why unnecessary flamboyant

repetitions to no purpose, when all are conscious they do not add to the already full statement of the expert in the subject ?

It is really time that all our parties think seriously of ear-marking a good portion of their party fund for the running of a Political School based upon its creed and principles ; to select, maintain, and train a band of real students of politics and coach them for active political life subsequently. They should be able to have a good library of their own. If parties could agree among themselves, the training on common subjects may be done conjointly and much time and duplication of expenditure can be saved. It is sincerely hoped that institutions or ' Ashramams ' like the Servants of India Society and the Tilak School of Politics will spring up in important centres and the above suggestions adopted. It is for the Indian National Congress, the All-India Liberal Federation, the Indian Non-Brahman Congress, the Swarajist, Independent, Nationalist, and Justice parties (and other parties) to take these suggestions and consider them seriously and try to put them into practice as early as possible. If done, the time will have arrived when we can say : " Real Politics is come ; amateurish politics is dead."

The Martial Mother ¹

BY K. RAMARATNAM AIYAR, B.A.

The aged mother with full-shrunk, fleshless limbs
When told, her son, throwing all weapons down,
Had basely fled the field, quick stung with shame
And wrath exclaimed : "This is no son of mine,
This false and craven heir of warriors
All brave and true. From fear of death indeed
Thus had he run away, I will cut off
These befouled breasts of mine that gave him suck
And fed with milk. But yet my heart me tells
It cannot be." Then straight she snatched a sword
And mad with rage ran to the bloody field,
Where scouring thro' heaps of the mangled dead
Found at last and beheld with joy her son's
Dismember'd corse covered with grisly wounds,—
With joy greater than when she gave him birth—
And glad and proud she then her home regained.

¹ A free translation of an ancient Tamil Poem of Kakkai-Padiniyar-Nachchelliar, a Tamil Poetess, one among the collection of four hundred poems known as *Purranânu*. The true martial spirit of an ancient Dravidian matron of some warlike clan, here extolled and commemorated, is verily Spartan in its sublime heroism.

Studies in Rajput Painting

BY G. VENKATACHALAM

I. RAGA-RAGINI SERIES

The pioneering work of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy in making a critical study and careful classification of the large output of the mediaeval paintings of India, has been of considerable help to other students who followed him, in not only opening up a new field of research and study of an interesting phase and period of Indian art, but also in indicating its prominent features and salient points and thus removing a mass of confusion that once existed in the minds of the people with regard to it. There was a time when even the best of European connoisseurs of Indian art confused the Hindu art of Rajput painting with its later development, the Islamic art of Mughal painting, and often did not know the difference between such strikingly different styles as the Jaipur 'kalam' of the Rajasthani school and the Kangra or Basholi 'kalams' of the Pahari schools of Rajput painting. The little details of dress, ornamentation, background, grouping, facial type, colour-scheme and composition, all these were not properly studied and made use of to fix the approximate dates and schools of painting of that period. Though later students like Goetz, Gobileuw, Gangoly, Ghose, Mukandilal and others have added more valuable materials and dealt with other aspects of this art not touched by Coomaraswamy, for a long time to come the latter's book 'Rajput Painting' (in two volumes) will be the standard work on the subject. The fixing of dates, styles and schools, in the case of all ancient arts is at all times a hazardous task, and Coomaraswamy has, no doubt, with the insufficient materials at his disposal and working single-handed, committed a few errors in mixing up the

sub-schools of this painting, such as Jammu for Basholi or Basholi for Rajasthani, but considering the time and the confusion of materials, his was a remarkable achievement. It is much easier now to classify Rajput paintings into their different sub-schools and styles, as there are more researchers now in the field and more materials are available.

Dr. Coomaraswamy considered the 'Ragini' series of Rajput paintings in his collection the earliest examples of that art and fixed their date as early sixteenth century; later researches showed that the Basholi 'primitives' are of earlier date than the 'Ragamala' series, though both revealed almost the same pictorial qualities. But it was Coomaraswamy that first drew the attention of the world to the significance of this unique feature in Rajput painting, that of interpreting abstract things in terms of pictorial representations. Human passions, nature's moods, musical melodies, all these have been treated in a fascinating and an original manner in these pictures. The most well-known of them are the 'Raga-ragini' and 'Nayak-nayika' series which have received considerable attention at the hands of students, art-lovers and connoisseurs. It is often asked how far these pictorial representations of 'ragas' are true to musical art and science, and whether there is any systematized thought behind them; do they actually convey any meaning to the musicians and composers and is there any traceable relationship between the melody and its pictorial form as conceived by these old artists? I have heard learned musicians repudiate any such associations; and in fact, at the All-India Musical Conference at Lucknow in 1925, a discussion was started on this subject among a small group of friends, and I found that they considered these 'ragini' pictures as far-fetched and fantastic. A 'ragini' picture, at best, is, in the happy phrase of Percy Brown, 'visualized music'. It is not an attempt to combine the two arts of music and painting in any conscious manner, as Percy Brown thought them to be, but it is the artistic transmutation of a 'bhava,' emotion or sentiment, evoked in the composer or the hearer by a certain

melody, rendered into beautiful forms and colours, conveying the special mood or passion which that particular melody has as its inherent quality. If art is 'expression', then every mood or passion can be expressed in terms of allied arts, and if architecture can be called 'frozen music' (rightly so), a 'ragini' picture can well be called 'visualized music'. It is really difficult to trace the origin of this method of picture-making or the causes that evolved it. It is however certain, from the examples extant, that they may have originated between the 15th and 16th century and had for their inspiration the rich Sanskrit and Hindi literatures, which were of considerable poetic beauty and descriptive power. Folk-songs, devotional hymns, religious poetry and 'Bhakti' cult were in their ascendancy during that period; saints and singers wandered over the land gladdening the hearts of men; Vaishnavism and Mysticism inspired men to higher life and nobler arts, and thus it came to be that the period was rich in artistic creation. The Rajput painting is the epitome of the lyrical fervour of that culture, as the Ajantan frescoes were the epitome of the intellectual achievement of the Gupta period.

And now, what are 'ragini' pictures and what is their æsthetical significance? A 'raga' is a melody-mould or melody-type, containing a series of notes within an octave, and is the basis of melody in Indian music. 'Raginis' are feminine modes of 'ragas'. Each 'raga' has a particular sentiment, mood, passion, and is associated with particular time, season and occasion. The musical character of different 'ragas' are well-known to musicians in India, though they question the mental visualisations of them in terms of faultless lines and palpitating colours. It is conceded, for instance, that certain 'ragas' should be sung only in the morning time and certain others in the evening time; certain to be sung in the time of spring and certain others only in summer. There is, in fact, an elaborate classification on the subject, and Rajah Sir S. M. Tagore thus describes the passions to be associated with the six principal 'ragas':

“ ‘Sriraga’ is to be sung in the dewy season, and represents love. ‘Vasanta’ is the ‘raga’ of the spring, and is allied with the emotion of joy. ‘Bhairavi’ is the ‘raga’ of asceticism and reverence. ‘Panchama’ is the ‘raga’ of the calm night. ‘Megh’ is the ‘raga’ of the rainy season and is allied with the emotion of exuberant joy, such as the coming of the rainy season to so many in India. ‘Nattanarayana’ is the ‘raga’ of battle and fierce courage.”

Mr. Lakshmana Pillay, an accomplished South Indian musician, gives another interesting description of the emotions associated with the different ‘ragas’:

“ ‘Todi’ and ‘Bhairavi’ represent majesty, and impress one like the march of a stately king, decked in all his regal glory; ‘Asavari’ and ‘Punnagavarali’ are wrapped in melancholy, like one pleading the cause of a sovereign unjustly deposed from his throne and power; ‘Girvani’ and ‘Vasanta’ look serene and subdued like a sage sitting in a lonely forest or on a mountain, calmly contemplating the beauty of the universe; ‘Mohana’ and ‘Purvakalyani’ appear like a coy maiden hiding her love, as a rose does its blooming petals beneath its bower of green, but withal conscious of its beauty and attractiveness; ‘Nilambari’ and ‘Yadukulakambhoji’ come submissive and imploring, melting the soul into streams of tender devotion, like a true ‘bhakta’ full of prayers in the presence of God. Thus each ‘raga’ comes and goes with its store of smiles or tears, of passion or pathos, its noble and lofty impulses, and leaves its mark on the mind of the hearer.”

There are anecdotes told how great musicians like Tansen, Thyagaraja, Naik Gopal, Todi Sitaramayya and others produced the conditions and emotions associated with them by singing appropriate ‘ragas’ and thus wrought what appeared musical miracles. It is this inherent power in music that these pictures attempt to indicate, if not actually illustrate. Take for instance a popular ‘raga’ like ‘Todi’, which is considered as one of the brides of ‘Vasanta raga’.

It is generally represented by a young woman, clothed in a snow-white *sari* and perfumed with camphor. In her hands, she holds a 'vina' and a garland of flowers. A deer follows her, attracted by her music. In the foreground there is water and lotus, a common *motif* in all these pictures. The background is a bright sun-scorched landscape, indicating that this particular 'raga' is sung at midday. 'Asavari ragini' has a young woman seated on a carpet beneath a sandal tree at the foot of a grassy hill surmounted by a tower. Cobras are attracted by the music and crawling all round. Clouds in the sky with lightning flares. 'Ragini Gaura (mallara)' is represented by a young woman of blue complexion, standing on a grassy hill between two flowering trees, dancing and singing to the 'vina,' while peacocks are attracted by the music. Heavy clouds, rain and lightning in the sky. 'Panchama' is shown by a picture of shower in the hot weather and a band of musicians playing round. Peacocks spread out their tails and call in joy, and frogs sit round and croak. The leaf-buds of trees show new red shoots; the cattle hold up their heads refreshed. Waterfowl gather round the parched pool, and overhead a horde of white herons fly across. 'Megh raga' is a delightful little picture of Krishna dancing with a lotus-bud in his right hand and a garland of flowers round his neck, surrounded by a group of girl-musicians with different musical instruments in their hands with which they are accompanying the dance. The foreground has water, flowers and birds, and in the distance of the background hills and town. Black rolling clouds threaten to deluge the place and there is the joyous expectancy of rain everywhere. There are, of course, other different versions and representations of the same theme, but the main *motif* is mostly the same. They are not mere pictorial phantasies revealing the extraordinary imaginative perception of the old masters in giving forms and shapes to intangible things as human emotions, abstract melodies, seasonal variations and such other things, but conscious creative effort to interpret the deeper problems of life and art. It is the resultant of the

conscious realization of the underlying unity and harmony of all life, and therefore of all arts.

These melody-pictures have very striking and interesting pictorial qualities and are æsthetically very appealing. There is a vigorous archaic style about them ; the colourings are bright and pleasing. They are by no means highly refined and daintily finished pictures like Mughal portraits or Kangra miniatures. The figures are often crude ; they have nothing of the charm and fascination of the bewitching profiles of the women of Kangra artists. In technique also, they are far below the highly finished and exquisitely coloured works of Kangra masters. But in other respects they are unique, strange and vital. Their main features are summed up by Coomaraswamy as follows :

“The borders are pink with yellow bands above and below ; the horizons are high with room for a band of dark sky, passing into a strip of clouds. Sometimes, there are also represented snaky red-gold lightnings and falling rain. A common *motif* is the representation of water and lotus in the foreground. A characteristic feature is the representation of floating draperies and of coloured garments seen through coats and skirts, yellow and white. Night scenes also appear in these series. The heroines' eyes are large as lotus flowers, tresses fall in heavy plaits, breasts are firm and round, thighs are tull and smooth, hands like rosy flowers, gait dignified as any elephant, and their demeanour is demure.”

Apart from their technical and æsthetical merits, these little pictures constitute a veritable *tour de force* of mental visualization and imaginative interpretation in the art-history of the world.

The Tear-Drop

BY A. JANAKI RAM

When the heart is heavy with thoughts of Thee,

When the Evening Star bursts into splendour—only to evoke
painful memories of times that have been,

When the home-coming bird calls in Divine motherhood
to the eager nursling in her nest,

When all Creation—tired, weary, and spent, seeks for a
night's repose,

—Then, I, a homeless beggar, drop a silent, painful tear,
through which gleams the distant Star of Love.

Thy Coming

BY B. S. SRIKANTAN

Like a lone milestone on the dusty road, I sit and wait for Thee. I ask them if they met you on their way : they pass by and heed me not.....Like a maimed beggar at the temple gate, I sit and sing for Thy Coming.

The noon-day heat is past. Behind a veil of purple clouds, the sun sheds his last glory. That lone foot-fall from afar tells the last from the market..... But, I sit like a beggar at the temple gate and sing for Thy Coming.

The merry laughter of children at their play has long ceased. Perchance, they are hushed into silence over some strange fairy tale. Slowly the moon rises and sadly smiles amidst dark clouds.....Like a beggar at the temple gate, I still sit and sing for Thy Coming.

Sarvajna of Karnataka:

The People's Poet

BY V. K. GOKAK

In the realm of Kannada literature, that rich expression of the life of Karnataka and of the various grand phases of her experience through the ages, are the glorious demesnes of great poets, great philosophers. Among them stand in the forefront such 'poet-kings' as Pampa, Ponna and Ranna. They are not poets of Karnataka merely, but world poets. They can, with justice, be classed with Milton, Dante and Goethe, in the quality of their contribution to the literature of the world, and consequently, as interpreters of divine truths to man.

But it is a fact which is generally recognised that poets like Milton or Dante secure but a small number of readers. Their intensity of vision and their richness of expression cannot stir the masses and illumine the dark corners of their souls. In a word, they are not *popular*. That is exactly the case with our own poets like Pampa. The praise of these poets is universal and yet the intelligent appreciation, or even the perusal of their works, is limited to a few. Is it the fault of exalted genius that its expression is incomprehensible, or the fault of the people that they cannot understand them?

Among the popular poets who are distinguished by a certain poetic plainness of expression as contrasted with the poetic magnificence and 'aloofness' of the literary giants, but not unlike them in their realization of Truth, which all pursue, Sarvajna stands supreme. His verses are on the lips of every countryman of his, rich or poor, learned or unlearned. If Pampa and others are poets of the 'grand' style, Sarvajna is the poet of the simple, the lucid

or the current style. If the former express eternal truths in a magically beautiful language, surrounding them with a certain highly imaginative atmosphere, the latter expresses the same in verses couched in plain and terse language, which, by their very plainness and terseness, are pleasing and penetrating. But this should not be understood to apply to all his verses. His real poetry comes in when Sarvajna stands as a 'Yogi' with the vision of the Eternal before him, singing his own rich experience of the Beyond. Secondly, he brings this vision of his to bear upon the society of his time, denouncing its sophistry, its idolatry, its complicated and soul-killing system of castes and creeds. Not that idolatry, as such, is to be condemned; but when people have lost or misunderstood its purpose and have made it an end in itself, then the Sarvajnas have to rise and roll up the curtain of darkness that hinders the true vision of the people. The verses that express this phase of Sarvajna may be called verses of social satire, instruction and criticism. Then in the third category, stand his miscellaneous verses such as those on astrology, weather-lore and the like—terse and pithy expressions of almost all the sides of Karnataka culture. There are even riddles written by him and verses which prophesy the events taking place in the future, such as the one foretelling the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire. Thus Sarvajna is a typical Kannadiga, one who knew himself and his country and who understood the secret of the well-being of the society of his time, and devoted his life to the uplift of his countrymen.

The time in which Sarvajna lived is doubtful. There have been other Sarvajnas probably, who also composed verses in the 'Tripadi' metre, and confusion as to which of these is the real Sarvajna, is the result. And yet, it is fairly well-established that he lived in the sixteenth century, some years before the decline of the Vijayanagara Empire. It was the time when great preachers like Purandaradasa of Karnataka, Tukaram of Maharashtra and Vemanna of Andhra Desa lived and preached 'the

need of sincerity in life', devotion, puritanism and renunciation. All of them agreed in denouncing low indulgence, lowly conduct and a life without love for God. And the burden of Sarvajna's verses is the same. The sternness of their rebuke, the saintliness of their lives, and an almost similar undertone in their preaching, lead us to conclude that all of them lived in a time of spiritual laxity and brought about a spiritual renaissance which served greatly to lift the people from their degradation. It is definitely known that Purandaradasa, Tukaram and Vemanna lived near the close of the sixteenth century. We can also consider Sarvajna as their contemporary, as we find some of Sarvajna's verses selected by Sampadaneya Siddha Viranacharya for his book of selections from 'Vachanakaras.' This great compiler lived somewhere about 1600. There are internal evidences also. His conception of ideal kings and ministers, for instance, reminds us of the glorious time of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Sarvajna himself tells us that he was the son of Basavarasa, a Shaiva Brahmin of Masur in the District of Dharwar, by a potter's widow named Mali. Basavarasa had gone on a pilgrimage to Kashi where he had been told by the God Vishwanath (in his dream) that he would be blessed with a son endowed with many virtues. He met Mali in a village called Ambalur on his way back to his native place, fell in love and lived with her. Sarvajna was the fruit of their union.

His real name was Pushpadatta. While yet a child, he defied his father and his mother and refused to acknowledge them as his parents, telling them that they were mere agents of a Divine will in bringing about his birth; and that his real parents were Shiva and Parvati, the god and goddess of Kailasa. Naturally, the parents were incensed at this strange conduct of their son, and finding all persuasive methods of bringing him to his senses (as they thought him deranged) futile, they banished him from home. From that time up to his death, Sarvajna was an exile from home and parents. A lonely,

virtuous man, with unconventional ways of thought, and a true heart yearning after the mysteries of God, he wandered from one end of Karnataka to the other, assimilating the quintessence of its culture and singing, as he went, his verses of mystic experience and elevated preaching.

All of Sarvajna's verses are in the popular 'Tripadi' metre, a fit medium for conveying great ideas in a brief and effective manner. It is hard to believe that he himself wrote them down: he never cared to write. He wandered from place to place awakening the people with the chanting of his verses which invariably end in his name 'Sarvajna' or that of his sole Deity, the one God, the one supreme Being having its abode in him; and that was all that he cared for his verses. But the people could not throw away such wondrous gems of splendid hues, even if they had no value for their owner. They carefully stored his verses up in their memory, handing them down orally from generation to generation and some wrote them down in manuscripts of palm leaves. There were many interpolaters, as also in the case of Tukaram and Vemanna. It was comparatively easy to compose verses in the 'Tripadi' metre and they palmed off their own verses as his, rounding them off with a formal 'Sarvajna' at the end. But their verses lack the high moral tone and sincerity of Sarvajna and can easily be distinguished. Nearly two thousand verses of Sarvajna are now extant and it is believed that many more may still be found with a little exertion.

One could imagine Sarvajna rising early in the morning when the dawn still lingered like a maiden with her sandalled feet, and walking majestically towards the river flowing near the temple where he had passed his night in gentle sleep or unbroken meditation, murmuring to himself in clear ringing tones with a passionate voice—the many hymns and verses—of others and of himself—that he loved to linger over. One could, again, picture to himself Sarvajna wandering from door to door with an alms-bowl in his hand, declaring the immortal truths and

principles of Hinduism in his clear, liquid voice, and in the brief and memorable verses of his, waiting for the simple charity that would assuredly come to him. His mind could never have lain idle in the meanwhile. He would be busy noting the petty vanities and antics of his fellow creatures, their hustle and bustle, and their interest in all the petty things that surrounded them. This would cause a slight smile to pass over his lips and a pretty verse to be coined in his memory. How vain and strange, he would think, were the ways of men when Truth lay flowering in their own garden! How they cursed, shrieked and laughed and gloried in the worship of images of clay! But it was not scorn or mere indignation that stirred his whole being. It was sheer pity, the pity of Buddha and of Christ that made him bear with the follies of his fellowmen and seek to lift them out of the mire in which they were hopelessly struggling. His was the duty, he thought, to let a gleam of sunshine into the darkness of their chamber which might light their path to Heaven. Now and then he would catch a glimpse of a righteous face in the crowd and reverence it in his own heart. He would then go to his place, eat what had been given and then wander away in the afternoon to the next town or village which would, on the morrow, ring with the message that he had to impart.

His poetry is a revolt against all conventions. Its spirit is the spirit of independence and highmindedness—which is the true spirit of poetry. Its distinguishing note is its humanness. Mere scholarship has no place in it, for Sarvajna has little art in him, but abundance of poetry. He has not the pedantry of learning which shows itself in the laboriously cultivated ‘alankaras’ of other poets and their gymnastics in expression and hard twists of style. Nor can we find in him a sustained poetic endeavour which is the work of an essentially artistic temperament, rather than that of the purely human. But the simple graces of style one can here find in plenty, and can light upon rare jewels of idioms as often as one likes. Indeed, the chief feature of Sarvajna’s style is its wealth of idioms

bound together by a natural lucidity of expression. His verses are popular even to the present day as saws and wise sayings, proverbs and epigrams, and constitute the chief part of the stock of learning of the masses. Anyone cannot but be pleased by the variety, cleverness and appropriateness of Sarvajna's expression.

Nor can a lover of conventions bear with the lashes of satire and the unflinching statements of the naked truth that Sarvajna employed when exposing the moral laxities of his age. But a man—and here lies Sarvajna's glory—a man with his eyes open and with his wits about him, can well love and adore Sarvajna for the world of meaning that he conveys to him. Here is the eternal longing for the one thing that is supremely worth having—God—expressed with such rare charm. Here is described with infinite wealth of power and of truth the way to the fulfilment of those aspirations. And here is also to be found something of the joy of realisation which it has been the glory of Indian seers to sing about. The whole spirit of the 'Vedanta' is clearly and admirably epitomised. But the verses of Sarvajna are not merely a re-statement of Vedantic principles or a summary of the Holy Books. Those very principles hover about us all the time, but informed with the life-breath of poetry, for they had filled the Poet's being. This it is that distinguishes Sarvajna from lifeless moralists and sermonisers, and places him on a higher level, with the saints and great men of all times.

We shall not concern ourselves here with his verses of folk-lore, astrology and other sciences. Suffice it to say that Sarvajna has given a fitting expression to the folk-lore of Karnataka, to his knowledge of the different parts of the country and the seasons of the year,—to the code of our typical morals, manners and religious customs,—'to what oft was said but never so well expressed'. His verses concerning astrology and other sciences reveal his thorough knowledge of these and his steady application to the same, and can well be passed over when we come to consider his poetry. But this much must be said about

them : he has selected from them certain poetical situations to which he gives simple expression. We will not likewise give to his riddles and prophetic verses more than a casual attention. His riddles have much wit, beauty and fancy in them, and show us what a fine and versatile mind Sarvajna's was. Consider the following fanciful one:—
 "a monkey came out of a horse; and there came also an elephant with two horns. Both of them fought together in the sky." Who will not be amused with the light fancy of the Poet, when he comes to know that he touches here upon the changing phenomena of the clouds? Here is his prophesy about the battle of Talikota which signalised the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire :

"The corpses will be strewn for many a mile
 Around the field, and innumerable come
 The kites and crows that feed upon the dead."

But this part of Sarvajna's works claims separate treatment with similar works of other bards of our province and this is not the place to enter into detail on that subject.

Coming to Sarvajna's *poetry* which was but part of what he wrote or composed, we breathe again the calm and cool air of pure philosophy and moral purity and beauty. His most striking characteristic is his invincible faith in God, the creator, the giver and the ordainer of all things :

"Who made the rose and filled it with perfume?
 Who deposited water nectar-sweet
 In the soft heart of palm? Bow down! Bow down!
 He made all things and made the 'kokil' sing."

It is greatly to Sarvajna's credit that he saw through the foul mist of castes and creeds in an age blinded by the same :

"No sense of narrowness is to the pure;
 No difference of caste a 'yogi' knows;
 Unaided, undivided by the rows
 Of pillars, stands the high roof of the sky."

He realised fully the eternal truth :

“ Look to thy Lord who lives and moves over all ;
Nev'r in His net of faint illusions fall ;
Women all fleeting shadows, wealth a dream,
Truth doth with constant light through ages beam.”

The very life of a ‘ Brahmacharin ’ that he lived shows the full realisation of the high ideal that he had before him. Yet the universality of his outlook could not but lead him to pay his tribute to women :

“ In woman is centred the world's happiness ;
Woman is the guide to heaven.
She gives man prosperity nor makes it less.”

He could exclaim in his exalted moments when he attained the vision of Truth :

“ Truth shines at last and knowledge comes like dawn,
And darkness lifts itself from me away ;
The emblem of His high love have I won ;
The sober clouds of misery one by one
Have vanished far and I have found my way.
What more ? Salvation sure ! I journey on and on !”

These lines, summing up as they do the whole personality of Sarvajna, verify for us the truth of his religious experience by their unfaltering tone and sureness of vision. In his pure joy of living and his unbounded love of humanity, he could also find words to say :

“ The people in every town are my relations ;
The men in every quarter are my friends ;
Whom shall I leave behind ? ”

As Sarvajna himself said in a pretty verse, a ‘ Jnani ’ is known by his silence, a fool by his talk. And Sarvajna would not have men learn like parrots, but to earn pure knowledge for the realisation of truth. It is difficult indeed to distinguish from among his verses those which came out of his experience, and those where he sought inspiration in lifting up his fellowmen. The one thing is the other. For he never preached what he did not practise, nor practised what he did not preach. His whole life runs parallel to his achievements as an angel among men.

The first point which he emphasises for the benefit of all men is the necessity of a 'Guru' without whom redemption is impossible. He declares again and again that a 'Guru' himself is God, that in the service of a 'Guru' alone lies the one solution of the problem of life for man. According to Sarvajna, caste and creed are mere words to a seeker after his 'Guru'.

Secondly, Sarvajna shows us in his poetry the absurdity of customs and conventions and their worthlessness and futility in contributing to true knowledge. Pilgrimages to holy places are of no use whatsoever when man cannot see the right way to truth :

"What if man bathes in holy waters far,
The waters of the calm Godavari
The gentle Krishna—knowing not the star
That shines on him—he never can be free."

He declares again and again that there is only one God, the omniscient, the shapeless and the infinite, and no blind worship of images of clay can lead man to Him. He directs his criticism against all castes when he sees that they have dwindled down to soulless institutions, Brahmanism, Jainism and Lingayatism. This inspiring criticism was one of his chief qualities as a poet. But it is also worth nothing that he loves whole-heartedly the good features of each of them.

Thirdly, he asks us to take up the attitude of 'Vairagya' towards the pleasures of this world and towards the world itself, in order to obtain pure happiness and eternal bliss. It is noticeable here, however, that he does not ask us to relinquish our share in the activities of the world. What is required is only an understanding of the true nature of things. Hence he explains the many duties of men in their own sphere, of a king or a minister, and describes the various temptations of the world and the way to avoid them. Do not consider, he says, the life of prosperity to be the one enduring thing for you. It is as a crowd gathered at a fair and vanishing the very next moment after it is over. Is a lake or well always full to the brim?

Do not think prosperity to be always there for you. Poverty follows it at its very heels.

He gives paramount importance to the fact that every one has to bend to his destiny—man or god. There is no escaping it. Even the 'Trimurtis' are bound by it. And he goes on to give a wealth of illustrations from our fertile mythology—Krishna, the king of kings, meeting his death through an arrow from the bow of a blunt woodman; Shiva, the greatest of the gods, wandering like a lunatic, his body grey with ashes and with no other ornaments but snakes to adorn him. Moreover :

“ When Krishna guided all the Pandavas,
The Pandavas themselves being great and brave,
When he himself had borne him like a god,
Fate willed and none could Abhimanyu save.”

One reaches the crowning heights of attainment, according to Sarvajna, when in one blend together the two essentials of ' Bhakti ' and ' Jnana '. Mere ' Jnana ' is also worthy of being sought after and mere ' Bhakti ' also is the glory of its possessor ; but where the two meet and mingle, there bursts into full bloom the flower of Realisation. And yet both ' Jnana ' and ' Bhakti ' are one and the same in their essence. He also explains the technicalities of certain modes of worship and forms of meditation as a means to this end :

“ Place on the lotus-leaf of your own frame
The gem of your own soul, the brightest gem !
And meditate upon it till you live
In its own splendour as His brightest gem.”

He thus describes the purest form of meditation. He describes the vain attempts of men to seek God by laborious paths and says that the Kingdom of God is within us :

“ Truth is the tree that in your garden grows ;
Seek not in vain in far-off lands unknown,
For the few petals of a single rose,
When many a rose is in your garden blown.”

The greatest tribute of Sarvajna, perhaps, is to the 'Dani'—to him who has given away his all in charity :

“ Say not that he is of the common crew ;
He comes with endless fortune at his will
To enrich the world ! ”

He finds no difference between a God and a giver whatsoever, for a giver also gives his all to his fellowmen, while God gives life and food to the world. Charity is an attribute of God Himself. He unhesitatingly declares that a 'Dani' is a splendour among men :

“ The art of music doth mark out a man,
Chaste woman shines like to an evening star,
A giver outshines all.”

Again and again he warns men to be charitable. Death is inevitable, do not lavish your wealth on the maids that fit your fancy, for others will feed upon it ; give it away in charity. “ What you have given away is yours ; what you hug and hide as yours goes to other men. Do not think that you were charitable in vain. The glories of its rewards await you in heaven.”

A short review of Sarvajna's poetry thus involves a consideration of his philosophy as well. For, Sarvajna was essentially a philosopher as much as he was a poet, and made use of his innate poetic qualities to give expression to this side of his personality. He did not invoke his poetical faculties to call forth beautiful imagery and to give to his imagination 'a local habitation and a name'. That would not have been in consonance with his achievements as an itinerant bard, awakening the long-dormant moral and religious sense of the people by means of pithy verses, destined to carry on his work in other lands and in other generations long after he had passed away. And what work was done by him was uniquely and wonderfully done. For, he bequeathed to later generations poetry of a singularly chaste and beautiful kind, and a wealth of beautiful expressions and idioms which have become part of the everyday life of his countrymen.

Sarvajna, as the very name expresses, is an all-comprehensive personality. There was scarcely any side of Karnataka culture to which he did not give expression in his poetry. Yet it testifies to his modesty and nobleness of mind that he never plumed himself upon his knowledge. That knowledge was, as he himself has told us, gathered from various sources and learnt from various persons. An occasional word from a passing stranger, or the meaningless talk of a group of persons as he casually passed by them, would suddenly illumine many things to him and throw light upon facts and ideas that he had not known before. It did not come to him by learning from books but by earning it from all quarters. What was his, essentially, was above all God-gifted.

Sarvajna considered himself as the servant of his fellowmen from the very beginning. He studied the likes and dislikes and the good and bad tendencies of his countrymen, and devoted himself to their uplifting at any cost. It was a great sacrifice, no doubt, but Sarvajna saw the real and only glory of his life in serving the cause of others. He was an apostle of freedom in both life and literature. He himself has told us: "It is freedom alone that I love in this world." He had his own independent way of thinking and shunned any glory—even the home of his parents—when it came into conflict with his ideas and principles. He did not add to old beauties that had outgrown themselves in poetry, but created an entire newness in it. What significance and excuse is there to tread upon the same paths which many have trodden before us, which were in accord with their tastes but are in discord with our own? Sarvajna feared none. He unflinchingly expressed his opinions before anybody and everybody and mercilessly denounced the evils of contemporary society which others would fain pass over. He belonged to no religion but his own—that which acknowledged but one *Sarvajna*, though others might assign him to any caste they liked.

But the prime force and power that give this incon-

testable strength to Sarvajna's lovable personality, was his faith in God and his unwavering love and devotion for the Creator of all things. Herein lies the key-note to his wonderful personality. Herein is to be found the secret of his achievements as a poet and friend of humanity. He suffered much to help those that suffered. He himself struggled in the dark to plant there the rays of light. He bore patiently with the many ill-doings of his fellowmen, to do them good in return. But in all this, there was not a single selfish motive that could be traced to the spotless character of Sarvajnamurti. Life meant nothing else to him but the service of his fellowmen, which was the service of God. And this is what his poetry voices forth with so much truth and fervour for all time.¹

¹ I cannot leave unmentioned Mr. Uttangi's admirable edition of Sarvajna's verses to which every subsequent writer on the Poet must be greatly indebted.

Modern Democracy : Is It a Failure?

BY C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO, M.A.

I

The study of political institutions is at any time a fascinating one, because political institutions are essentially human, and enable us to appreciate the constant and interminable struggle which human nature puts forth in order to secure to itself better and still better methods of happiness and common welfare. The subject of Modern Democracy is interesting in this light, though it has too comprehensive a range to be dealt with in an exhaustive manner in the limited scope of an article like this. An endeavour will therefore be made here to indicate in a brief and concise manner the recent experiences through which Democracy has been passing, to discover the nature of the forces that oppose it, to evaluate the difficulties it has to contend against, and to show how in spite of so many discouraging and antagonistic forces, Democracy holds its ground and will in the end become triumphant. So much thought is now-a-days expended on this problem of Democracy, and so many well-known writers and thinkers like Wells, Dean Inge and others have been expressing themselves without reserve and not without a certain degree of vehemence against it, that it will be fruitful to examine some of their contentions in the light of our own experience.

II

Democracy may be defined as a form of Government in which an attempt is made to eliminate as far as possible the personal element, and to associate large masses of

human beings with the supreme work of administration, so that there may be induced in them a sense of responsibility, as a consequence of which it is intended that the ultimate end of all Government, the ensuring of the happiness and contentment of the people, may be attained. There are many advantages which are claimed for a democratic form of Government ; but if there is no other benefit which can be associated with Democracy, even if Democracy does not confer any other good and may be replete with many other ills, still this one single fact that it secures or attempts to secure the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number, that it is a Government for the people by the people themselves, will be enough, as it has been enough all along, to recommend it to the imagination of political idealists and to the approbation of people in all countries. When Democracy can, in this way, be expected to secure the happiness, the mental and the moral satisfaction of the people, there is no wonder that it possesses such an irresistible charm for organized and civilised humanity in every part of the world, and that it presents itself as the only effective safeguard against, and apposite substitute for, unjust and tyrannical oppression by an autocrat. From the beginning of the world, the ideal of Democracy, as a form of Government, has been adopted by peoples and nations claiming to be intelligent, educated and homogeneous, and every one strove for and struggled to help in its attainment. Over and over again have nations reverted to it as a safe haven of refuge from the unscrupulousness and grovelling selfishness and tyranny of an autocratic rule or an oligarchy, as the case may be, and this is the factor which strengthens one in the belief that what happened in the past may happen in the future also and that Democracy will more than maintain its stand.

III

There has been a rather persistent cry in recent times from different quarters that the glorious ideal of Demo-

cracy is an ignominious failure and that, on that account, it should be replaced by other and rather curious variations of itself. At the same time, we find in practice that it is becoming in greater and greater degree the favoured form of Government in many young and new countries, which shot out into light as a sequel of the Great War, and which before that event, were groaning under the heels of monarchical and its consequences of sacerdotal, feudal and other types of tyranny. Paradoxical as the situation certainly is, it is nevertheless the undoubted truth, as even a casual observer of contemporary political institutions can see for himself. We can, however, explain the phenomenon by saying that it is but a consequence of the times, times when everything is in the melting pot, when the world is slowly settling down to the engrossing business of all-round reconstruction after the cataclysmic calamity which enveloped almost the whole of it for five long and dreadful years. Countries and constitutions are slowly but steadily emerging out of chaos, and the ideals of Democracy to which every one of these new countries subscribes, are also passing through the stage of experiment with the result that it will be anticipating too much the course of events, if any ill-considered judgment is pronounced on their working in the new soil on which they have been planted. Though, therefore, for the time being, Democracy is apparently held up by antagonistic forces, there is every reason for entertaining the optimistic view that ultimately the victory will be with it and that all the opposing elements will bow down before it.

IV

Let us examine some of those forces which have proved inimical to the smooth development of Democracy and see if they are so insurmountable as to make the view expressed above partake of the nature of unmerited and extravagant hopefulness. Democracy is now passing through a stage of existence when it is assailed on all sides by forces of extraordinary vigour and vitality. Firstly, it

is assailed by a knot of individuals, who hold the key position in their hands, because of their control over capital and therefore of industrial power, a class of which the rubber, the oil, the iron and other 'kings', as they are called, of the United States of America, are the outstanding representatives. Secondly, it is attacked and rather forcibly attacked by the forces of Communism, that inescapable off-shoot of economic troubles, trying to reduce everything to a dead level of uniformity—a proceeding the principle of which is opposed to the natural law of inborn inequalities, having as its subtlest and most sinister advocate in the Republic of Soviet Russia. Thirdly, its foundations are surreptitiously undermined by individuals, who make their military or other positions as convenient levers to elevate themselves to the unchallenged berths of dictators, by traducing the gullible section of the people by their show of superior force or capacity to play the demagogue. Such are Mussolini in Italy, Primo De Riviera in Spain, Peludeski in Poland and, to some extent, Kemal Pasha in Turkey. Some of these military or political dictators have not scrupled to use the trust and confidence reposed in them, either voluntarily or by force by the people, as stepping stones to effect the overthrow of the democratic constitutions and to become kings, as Ahmad Zogu Beg did recently in Albania and Rezakhan Pehlavi did in Persia five or six years ago. With so many and so varied and strong forces directed against it, Democracy has indeed a very hard task before it, if it wishes to fulfil its mission and survive. They have been able to effect temporary dislodgments in the citadel of Democracy, of course, but it is not to be supposed that they will be able to persist in their course and succeed in overthrowing, as between themselves, Democracy for good and all, for human nature cannot for any length of time remain in a state of tutelage to the dictation of an individual or a group of individuals or an indiscriminating and unintelligent Proletariat. It strives and struggles for self-expression, for freeing itself from the degrading and demoralizing worship at the

shrines of particular persons or interests. The world has seen so many experiments of selfish persons trying to create and permanently to ensure for themselves a safe and supreme position as the arbiters of human destinies, failing miserably in the end, and the people, as the ultimate repositories of power and strength, asserting themselves. For a time and for a season, the people may be willing or may be forced to be willing to subordinate their will to that of an individual, as those of Italy in the present generation did in the case of Mussolini, and surrender themselves to his judgment and discretion; but such surrenders are seldom everlasting, and when the people feel their feet again on firm soil, they exhibit an inflexible determination to recover their position and resume their authority.

V

There is no purpose served, therefore, if in these circumstances one puts on a pessimistic air and says that Democracy is bound to fail, because the mass of mankind can, at no time, be expected to exercise political power by itself, but that it will allow itself on account of sheer inertia to be led by the nose by one person or by a combination of persons. It has, however, to be remembered that as in the case of all such generalizations, the statement contains only a modicum of truth and not the whole of it, for it is only very rarely that we have anywhere the existence of Democracy, pure, unqualified and undefiled. Democracy, except in such small, compact and homogeneous countries like Switzerland, has come to mean in practice only Representative Democracy. It is due to the fact that the people in other countries are either inherently incapable of undertaking and exercising democratic responsibility or there are insuperable impediments like size, population and absence of adequate sense of responsibility due to insufficient political education, for the introduction of direct Democracy. Only in the small City States of ancient times and the small country States of the

present day like Switzerland, is the practice of associating the people directly with the work of administration found to be feasible. In all other countries, Democracy has been able to express itself only through the instrumentality of representative institutions, possessing in all fully self-governing countries, the highest legislative and executive powers, the latter in the sense that the 'de facto' executive is invariably dependent upon the legislative organ for the successful and continuous discharge of its functions. So, whenever one speaks of Democracy, one has necessarily to bear in mind the fact that it is but a natural and ubiquitous experience that the 'common will' to which Rousseau attributes rule, resolves itself into the radiation of the opinions of only a few people to the community at large, only to be resigned back by the community to the few. Even in countries where the method of direct legislation by the people is in vogue, the propensity to pay obedience to the will of a superior individual or individuals is a proposition not altogether easy to dispense with. There will always be oligarchies within democracies, though there may be much to differentiate between oligarchies in which the government is carried on for the benefit of a class, and the 'democratic oligarchies' in which power is exercised for the benefit of the community by persons who are selected for their special capacity for administration and who have to fear disgrace and removal, if they attempt at misusing their power or using it for selfish ends.

VI

The problem of Democracy now is the problem of making the representative institutions thoroughly and unequivocally representative, that is to say, representative of the various sections and interests of the nation by weeding out all those influences which introduce a feeling of selfishness into the consideration of political and economic questions, as far as possible. In other words, it is to make them amenable to the political sovereign to all intents and purposes, a position to which they, at present, in many countries do not

conform and from which they tend to stray further and further away. It is one of the greatest problems awaiting solution, the problem of the failure of representative Democracy and its reconciliation with the ideal of perfect Democracy. It becomes all the more grave, because this failure is the fruitful source of all those disintegrating ills manifesting themselves in the body politic of today, the forces of Bolshevism and Fascism, and the forces of Capitalism and Monarchism, which are the subtlest and the most powerful forces that pit themselves against Democracy and all that it stands for. These forces are in part a reaction against representative institutions, which fail to satisfy the craving of the several sections of the people to find their own place in the scheme of things, in so far as they (the representative institutions) are susceptible of being influenced by elements which are selfish in their outlook and particularistic in character. Bolshevism, which can be summed up as the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", seeks to do away with all institutions, economic or political, which perpetuate class disabilities and distinctions, though in doing so, it gives rise to the worst forms of class tyranny and oppression. It is Communism of the extreme variety, a variety directly and absolutely antithetical to the extreme of autocracy, which was a predominant feature of the Czarist regime. Fascism, on the other hand, is another phase of the reaction against Democracy, aiming at the destruction of all that for which the constitutional or the representative system stands, though it tolerates the retention, for purposes of embellishment and show, the outward semblances of that system, while the real power is concentrated in the hands of a Dictator, who, if he has done much for the improvement of the condition of the people, has done still more in the direction of suppressing by ruthless measures, the rights and liberties of all those who dared to oppose his Fascisti methods. Democracy in Russia and Italy can be said to be practically defunct, if at all it had any trial, though it is not too much to hope that, after the first spell of their respective Dictatorships, they will be able to evolve a pure and chasten-

ed form of Democracy. As Bryce, the eminent writer on Democracy says, "These two (Fascism and Bolshevism) are strange and unexpected evolutions of Democracy." He continues, "Democracy overthrows the despotism of the one man or the few, who ruled by force, in order to transfer power to the people, who are to rule by reason and the sense of common interest in one another's welfare; and after two or three generations, there arises from the bosom of Democracy an effort to overthrow it in turn by violence, because it has failed to confer the expected benefits. The wheel has gone round and the physical force which was needed to establish democracy is now employed to destroy it." The wheel has completed or is completing its round, and when it does so, Democracy will again resurrect itself.

VII

The third force that Democracy has to contend against is Capitalism. On the one hand, Capitalism perpetuates the distinction between classes; on the other it denies equal opportunities to all to enjoy economic independence, and keeps down a section, necessarily a large section, under economic subjection. There is no wonder, therefore, in those classes who have to bear the brunt of this economic tyranny revolting against it and trying to overthrow the system which makes it possible to exist and continue. Of course, one cannot be unaware of the fact that the working classes in many countries are fast coming into their own, that the movement among them for combination and joint action has gone on apace, and that the introduction of adult suffrage has resulted in their attaining to a considerable voice in the determination of political and administrative questions. But all these developments notwithstanding, the influence which capitalists and money-power wields is still very great and makes the grant of adult franchise a mere shibboleth without much significance. There are many methods by which the influence of money-power is felt in a Democracy; and by far the worst method, according to Lord Bryce, by which it poisons the life-blood of Democracy is that of corruption;

and he enumerates four categories of people, having much to do with the Government of a country, which are liable to be victimised by corruption *viz.*, the electors, the members of the legislatures, the officials and the judges. The classification covers practically the whole range of the administrative hierarchy, which tantamounts to saying that all the vital sinews on which Democracy can depend for success are susceptible to the blandishments, which can be readily requisitioned for use by money-power. Money again is the mainstay of the political parties, which have developed in all countries as the necessary addendums to representative institutions; and the man who handles a long purse and contributes a fine sum to the party exchequer, will be in a position to dictate terms to the party and secure, when that party attains to the reins of Government, advantages to himself and the interests he represents, advantages which may be subversive of the fundamental principle of equality in a Democracy. It is this menace of money-power that is making a mockery of democratic institutions in the U.S.A. and, to a certain extent, in England; in the former of which the 'Diplomacy of the Dollar' is the prevailing rule and 'Big Business' the controlling power in political matters.

The fourth and a minor danger which Democracy in the post-war era has to apprehend, as it has been actually apprehending in Europe, is from the dispossessed monarchs of countries like Hungary, Austria and Germany; and as it has already been pointed out, this danger has had its practical manifestation in the case of Ahmad Jogu Beg of Albania. But monarchy has little or no attraction for, and less likely to be welcomed by, the people of Europe, who have learnt too much of the ways of monarchs like Wilhelm II, and who have lost all love for all mediæval and monarchical institutions like clericalism, the feudal noble and the pampered landlord.

VIII

Representative institutions have, therefore, rather failed to come up to the expectations formed of them and

have roused the forces of opposition against them, but up to now, it is only Representative Democracy that has had a trial. But it could not be said on this basis that any other system of Government will be a greater success in the present temper of the nations, for the simple reason that no other system has so far been suggested as a substitute for it, nor is it easy to devise one of that nature. Some sort of representation is an indispensable necessity, for we cannot have a whole nation always on its nerves ready to take either an intelligent or a sustained interest in political matters, however educated and intelligent and advanced its people may be. Representative institutions have therefore come to stay, and the problem now is to see that their working attunes itself to the realities of the political situation in the different countries; in short, that there is a better understanding between them and the political sovereign and more frequent recourse to the methods for sounding the opinions of the people. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in many of the newly established democracies like Germany and Czechko-Slovakia and Poland, provision has been made in the constitutional laws for an appeal to the people by means of the Referendum and the Initiative in matters of conflict and doubt.

IX

There is a certain danger of Democracy proving unsuccessful, when it is introduced into countries where some of the essential prerequisites of its existence are absent. It is both a condition and a cause of democratic advancement that people who aspire to practise Democracy, should be capable of taking a keen and continued interest in the work of politics; and politicians, of exercising the virtues of judgment, tact, discrimination and caution and of standing uprightly and without fear or favour to protect and safeguard their own rights and liberties from internal usurpation and external encroachment. Incorruptible and educated, politically conscious and judicious, the citizen of a

democratic country can do honour not only to himself, but also to his State. It is, therefore, to the advantage and exaltation of a country, that its Government should undertake the promotion and dissemination of knowledge and the inculcation into its citizens of sound notions of human values and correct appreciation of men and matters. The recent introduction of democratic institutions in Eastern countries, like China and Persia, is interesting in the light of these observations, because it is still a matter for speculation how far the democratic and republican machinery established in China, especially, is going to work, in view of the deficiency of those countries in this one direction of political education. India also is fairly on its way to the securing of a democratic constitution, though her British rulers fight shy of conceding her fitness for the realization of the advantages of such a constitution, because there are religious, social and other differences. But the people are sick of the trusteeship voluntarily assumed by the British people, and are demanding the mastery of their own home—a demand which can be withheld only on pain of producing very unpleasant repercussions. Lord Bryce declares it as his opinion that one of the conditions of success of a Democracy is that the demand for democratic institutions should proceed from the masses of the people, because it is they who have ultimately to be guardians and watch-dogs of popular liberties. This condition is more than fulfilled in the case of India, in view of the tremendous upheaval of popular opinion in favour of political liberty, observable in recent years. There can, in this connection, be no wiser or more wholesome advice which can be commended to the understanding of those people, who want to keep whole nations under continued subjection or who favour the use of the 'mailed fist' in dealing with subject nations, than the profoundly wise maxim of a well-known writer on Democracy who says, "There are moments when it is safer to go forward with conferring responsibility than to stand still; wiser to confer democratic institutions, even if they are liable to be misused, than to foment rebellion by withholding them."

X

It is a common fallacy into which one is apt to fall that merely by the extension of the vote to all and sundry, the millennium would dawn, and that Democracy would be established straightway. The conferment of the franchise on all the sections of the people, even the carrying out of that process to its logical extremity of universality, cannot be said to be the only fundamental point of a democratic institution, although, it is, of course, a necessary corollary of Democracy, full-blown and unqualified. Just as there can be a real semblance of Democracy even with a restricted franchise, so also there can be universal adult suffrage without the substance of effective democratic control. A nation might provide for the exercise of the vote by all adult persons, but yet render itself easily liable to the domination of a ruling-class clique, for the very sound reason that the latter is well able to manage the populace by its superior command over the resources necessary for maintaining its own position against all other sections. This dominance of a ruling class even where there is universal suffrage is an interesting phenomenon in present day democratic countries and suggests many interesting problems in the study of human psychology in its relation to political affairs. For example, in England with the recent extension of the vote to women without any conditions, a huge problem has set in, which has put every one in doubt as to in what direction and on what considerations the newly enfranchised 'flapper' will exercise her discretion. But universal franchise by itself can produce very beneficial consequences, since it induces in every citizen a sense of responsibility and civic duty, provides for him a valuable educative ground in politics and helps to prune down to a very considerable extent the sense of inequalities and consequent dissatisfaction among the people, which is such a virgin field for revolution breeding. If in countries like England and France, Communism with its incidental evils has not secured a firm lodgment, it is because the labouring and the economically backward classes are

enabled to get substantial privileges to themselves by means of parliamentary action through the instrumentality of labour representatives, whom they could send in by their voting strength. This fact of the situation provides a good argument against the contention that representative institutions have altogether defeated themselves by their incapacity to secure any good to the people in a Democracy.

XI

One of the tests by which Democracy can be judged is by discovering what safeguards are provided by it for the protection of the interests of the minority. A discontented and sulky minority is a greater danger to the successful working of Democracy than the provision of some safeguards for the untrammelled expression of minority opinion. The minority may be a social minority, a religious minority or a racial or economic minority; but the stifling of its voice will turn out to be as politically dangerous as it is morally indefensible, because nothing is so very certain as to enable us to take it for granted that a majority is always right and a minority is always wrong. In fact, if the truth has got to be told, it has to be recognised that a majority may oftentimes be a manufactured and a manipulated majority and that, at other times, it is difficult to differentiate it from the 'herd instinct,' which invariably will be in the wrong; and the herd instinct, with its proneness to come round to the correct point of view in course of time, as the issues that cause the cleavage get clarified, will adopt the opinion of the at-present-small-number of discriminating and thinking individuals with perhaps as much vehemence and warmth as that with which it is espousing the cause of the majority now. The suppression of minority opinion is evident as much within the ranks of political parties, which are another inevitable concomitant of democratic advancement, as it is in the wider field of the nation. The agency through which minority opinion is effectively crushed in the ranks of a political party is the 'Party caucus', which sees to it that no individualist or particularist tendencies are allowed

to develop in the members belonging to its group, while the suppression of minority opinion amongst the people at large leads to the shunting out of the way several small sections, whose opinions on individual questions are opposed to the generally prevailing orthodox opinion on them. Thus, there are, for example, in England some conscientious objectors to vaccination laws and there are in America some conscientious opponents of Negrophobia and such other groups, whose voice is not so much as heard in the legislatures of the respective countries, though for all one knows, their opinions are quite excellent. The predominant characteristic, therefore, of party government, which has come into being as the unavoidable consequence of the growth of political parties, is the 'Rule of the majority'; and any member of the party, who dares to differ from the leaders of the party or from the decisions of the majority, will do so only at the risk of being brought under the heavy weight of the steam-roller of party machinery and crushed at once. It is this grinding power which the machinery of party possesses, that is responsible for the revolt of the minorities that is noticeable in many countries, especially in the newly formed Republics of Central Europe, where the problem is the reconciliation of incoherent racial minorities which have been amalgamated against their will into loose national entities, and for the measures that it is being found necessary to take in them to devise some method of proportional representation, whereby these minorities can be brought together in more friendly co-operation with one another and contribute to the progress of the nations of which they form a part.

But after all that has been said in criticism of political parties, the fact remains that Democracy necessitates the organisation and existence of such parties in some form or other, as it necessitates the existence of some sort of representative institutions. It is, however, an instructive feature of post-war democratic development that there has been a remarkable growth of a bewildering number of political

groups in the various countries, which find their repercussions and reverberations in the legislatures of their respective homes of origin. These political groups have introduced an element of instability into the political equilibrium of countries like Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, France, Australia and New Zealand, leading firstly to kaleidoscopic changes in the complexion of Governments and secondly to the resort to the comparatively new device of unscrupulous 'log-rolling', resulting in unholy alliances and combinations of a transient character between mutually antithetical interests. This cluster of political parties encourages the tendency of carrying honest but too often minor political differences to ridiculous extremities, and emphasises the deficiencies and weaknesses of the various forces more than their similarities and points of contact. As many of these groups have their origin in economic grounds, it is not too much to hope they will gradually go out of being when the economic balance is more properly adjusted by the removal of economic inequalities.

It is the criminal neglect on the part of the ruling classes satisfactorily to solve the problem of the minorities and to adjust the equilibrium between the classes and the masses, that has given rise to the revolutionary creed of Bolshevism, the reactionary ascendancy of Fascism, and the unparalleled electrification of the working classes, all of which, as has already been pointed out, threaten to indulge in what may be called 'submarine attacks' on the democratic principle. As a recent writer on Politics puts it, "The deepest problem facing Democracy today is the handling of a permanent and powerful minority. Oppression and the methods of the despot will not do. It is a problem for those in Europe professing Liberal Democracy as a bulwark against autocracy. Individuals and groups have to be protected against the encroachment of State and monopoly, against the rule of the classes and the masses. Neither Fascism nor Socialist Democracy can solve the problem. Post-war history is offering Liberal Democracy this unique opportunity of healing the nations."

XII

Coming round now to the original question whether Democracy in modern times has failed in its purpose, we can, in the light of what has been said above, give an unhesitating answer that it has not. If we interpret Democracy in the terms of its present outward expression, *viz.*, representative institutions; if we consider that Democracy has bred within its bosom certain evils, which may appear ineradicable, but which are not more formidable nor less tractable than the evils and defects to which all other human institutions are subject—then, we may have to accept it when it is declared that Democracy is a failure. But when side by side with this, we take into account the fact that Democracy, with its defects, is becoming more and more the ideal form of Government to which all liberal-minded men turn, as the final and fitting consummation in political organization; that it is actually the form of Government to which many countries both in Europe and also in Asia have reverted since the Great War; that, in fact, it is the only form of Government which can claim to its credit the elimination of personal and class rule and the training of the masses by practical experience to participate in political affairs; and lastly that, it alone, among other forms of government, has been best able to prevent external aggression and preserve internal tranquillity; it must be readily admitted that the future holds a bright prospect for Democracy. Some of the defects ascribed to it, such as that it does not properly encourage talent and adequately recognise the experts and that it leads, in the ultimate analysis, to the glorification of the 'boss' and the deification of the Party; some of the drawbacks noticeable in it, such as that the cry for liberty and equality has not been followed by the promotion of true ideas of fraternity; are not, if they are to be accounted, any alarming defects at all, very insignificant in comparison with the advantages which it confers, the benefits it secures, the potentialities it possesses, the sense of individual worth it infuses and the great political training it affords.

Monarchy or oligarchy may secure for a country good rule and benevolent rule; but it is common experience that tons of good rule are not equal to an ounce of self-rule, which Democracy brings in its train. To some of the greatest nation-builders of the world like Mazzini in Italy, Jefferson in America and Gandhi in our own generation in our own country, Democracy is a matter of religious training, capable of affecting the life and morals of a people; and though Democracy has not been capable of effecting so profound a transformation, still what it has achieved is certainly creditable.

XIII

The conclusion that we are driven to from the above analysis of the working of Democracy is that it will be the future mode of Government in the world and that it will ingratiate itself in a greater and greater degree into the affections of nations and of peoples, in spite of the fact that it may be subjected at times and for a brief period, as it is being subjected now-a-days, to temporary eclipses; for humanity is a permanent entity, while those forces that might range themselves against it and try to keep it under the rule of thumb, are and will be only passing manifestations which come and go. The classes which hold the reins of power in their hands in the various countries will find the ground cut from under their feet, if they attempt to stem the tide of Democracy and stifle the aspirations of the populace. With the growing consciousness of the people, with the growth of their knowledge and experience, and with the realization of their rights and responsibilities by the masses, there is nothing, no force which can think of succeeding in effectively checking the onrush of the democratic flood. Representative institutions, through which Democracy has till now expressed itself, may not have been quite successful, and they may not have been able to confer the benefits which Mill and Bagehot claimed for them in the latter half of the 19th century; but even they have not been entirely unproductive, since it is through them only that Democracy over large areas can be made feasible,

though they might possess less utility now than in those days ; for we see even in the apparently anti-democratic forms and countries 'enjoying' the benevolent rule of Dictators, the element of popular voting, representative forms, party government and all other accompaniments of democratic government have not been absolutely abandoned. Soviet Russia in its constitution issued in May 1918 referred to the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" as having been created "in view of the present transition period" only ; and while excluding from the franchise certain propertied classes, conferred the right to vote on the masses of men and women. While laughing long and heartily at the whole democratic and liberal processes of government, the Fascisti in all their recent constitutional forms including that adopted in May 1928, do not plan to eliminate popular voting completely and to vest absolute authority in Mussolini and his heirs and assigns. The same is the case with Spain and with Turkey and in the very recent case of Yugo-Slavia, where a liberal constitution was suspended by the King, who has assumed the Director's role, on account of violent conflicts between political parties, but where it is at the same time confidently foretold that the usurpation of Governmental functions by the King would be only of a temporary character. Democracy has thus attained some notable conquests ; but it is of no use, however, trying to belittle the forces that range themselves against it, forces which have tremendous staying power and which can buttress up when necessity arises, all the instincts of self-interest and egotism, till at last the monopolistic power acquired by them is broken up by revolutionary outbreaks. It is when the appropriate conditions for the successful functioning of Democracy are not present or when the conditions which are inimical to it are present, that the failure of democratic institutions becomes apparent and it is then that a democratic country falls a prey to internal disturbances and external encroachments. There is some amount of truth in Rousseau's wail that, "Man is born free but is everywhere in chains" ; and Democracy, which aims at emancipa-

ting him from his chains, is at present passing through a travail from which it is to be confidently hoped that it will issue out triumphant and glorious; in the meanwhile, it is not beneficial to indulge in gloomy prognostications of failure and disappointment. As Bryce said, "the right way of judging Democracy is to try it by a concrete standard, setting it side by side with other Governments"; and what has been attempted above is the estimation of its achievements in the light of such a standard. The conclusion therefrom is—and it is the only legitimate conclusion that could be drawn from it—that it has, "in some countries destroyed and in others materially diminished many of the cruelties and terrors, injustices and oppressions that had darkened the souls of men for many generations", and that with the proper settlement of certain important deficiencies like those relating to the problem of minorities and the problem of the working classes, which are the victims of the present capitalistic organization of society, it will prove by far the best and the most beneficent form of Government. When humanity comes to recognise the merits of Democracy, as it is very clearly coming to recognize now-a-days; when it develops the necessary sense of realizing the ideals which Democracy stands for; then there will be every reason for supposing that the world will become one single unit and that the dreams of political idealists like Wells of a 'World-State' will come within the bounds of possible realization. Meanwhile, it is well to bear in mind that if Democracy is allowed to be flouted with impunity, nothing will remain; that if the light of Democracy is allowed to be put out by the gale of scepticism and doubt, and darkness intervenes, the darkness will be a very immense one indeed.

Omar Khayyam

BY C. NARAYANASWAMY

Literature is a mirror of national life, and national life the resultant of various influences, partly under and partly beyond the control of man—influences of climate, of physical conditions, of political freedom or political subordination. In the East, poetry formed a vehicle for the expression of sublime thoughts, mystical, philosophical and spiritual, veiled in the garb of the customs, habits and manners of the people of the period. The East is stranger to sea-poetry, such as is found in Heine or Swinburne or Theodore Watts-Dunton. In Eastern poetry, you will rarely find sublime hymns on liberty and freedom such as we can trace in Milton or Collins or Shelley or Victor Hugo. That buoyant hope and invincible optimism—the peculiar characteristics of the poetry of Browning and Tennyson, is almost absent in the works of the poets of the East. In the East, it is not the worship of the political struggle for freedom that inspires the Muse, but it is the longing for ‘the Beloved’, who is veiled within a thousand veils in the *sanctum sanctorum* of our hearts. It is the struggle to rip open the thick membranes of materialism and draw out the true inner self in its real perspective. All the powers of the poets of the East, their arts, their genius, are concentrated on that subject and that subject alone. The Oriental, by his mental constitution, is mystical, melancholy, imaginative, whilst his compeer in the West is practical.

The periodical epidemics, the periodical invasions with their attendant massacres, the fitful and ever-changing temper of their Kings and Emperors, have caused the poets of the East, especially those of the Middle East, to introduce the note of resignation, melancholy and quietism, in their hymns and ‘Rubaiyats’. Due to the whims and lascivious

passions of his sovereigns, the daily sights of exaltation or debasement of his fellow-creatures at their hands without a moment's notice, and the cutting off of bright, young promising lives for satisfying the mere freaks of frantic kings, the poet of the Mid-East laments over the feebleness of human effort, the impotence of human will. These made him regard life as a game of chance and put on a garb of dominant deep pathos in all his poetical works. The note of weariness and disgust with life, the note of utter hollowness of worldly ambitions and wordly dreams of prosperity one finds in the Muse of the Mid-East, are entirely due to the conditions prevailing during the period when the eminent mystic poets of Islam lived. It is the idea of utter forlornness, ennui, weariness and the fruitless attempt to fight against Destiny which had flung them to dust, that impelled the poets of the Mid-East to resort to the joys that are fleeting and ephemeral. No wonder, poets born and bred up in such atmosphere, pass in a single moment from anxiety to exultation and back again from exultation to still deeper depression.

To understand Omar Khayyam, the subject of our study, one must therefore have a correct perspective of the period in which he lived and the Sufi atmosphere then pervading the region wherein he saw the light of day. For want of this clear perception, a great deal of misconception exists in the Western world as well as in India. European savants, forgetting the setting in which the drama of his life was played, have done considerable injustice to his thoughts expressed and woven by him in the garb of the surroundings in which he found himself. His verse is expressed in the language of his country and in conformity with the taste which then prevailed amongst his people. He plied the trade of astrological calculations—for he is known as 'Persian Poet-Astronomer'. All this conduced to the formation of an impression which he least deserved.

Verses like :

“ A book of verse underneath the bough,
A loaf of bread, a jug of wine, and thou¹
Beside me singing in the wilderness,
Were paradise enow.”

And again :

“ Ah, my Beloved, fill the cup that clears
Today of past regrets and future fears—
To-morrow?—Why, to-morrow I may be
Myself with yesterday's
Seven thousand years.”

and many more, undoubtedly give a tinge of sensual ideas specially to lay minds and to those who are out to find fault with everything Asiatic and Islamic. But to a serious student of comparative science and philosophy, there arises on the disturbed ocean of Omar's 'Rubaiyat' a bright speck which leads one to believe that there is for certain, some hidden truth for all ages, some answer to the universal quest of the soul of man. Again, to understand Omar, one must have a good deal of information about Sufism, without which it is not possible to understand and follow Omar in the winding maze of the 'Beloved' and the 'wine' of his 'Rubaiyat.' For example, sings he :

“ Lo! some we loved, the loveliest and the best
That Time and Fate of all their vintage prest,
Have drunk their cup a round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to rest.”

A superficial observer will no doubt attribute expressions occurring in the above Quatrain such as 'loved', 'loveliest', 'cup' and 'wine' to the lascivious tendencies of the Poet, although he may have been singularly free from such lustful thought.

In every age, in every country whenever great Teachers appeared, they placed before the world teachings in two different ways : one for the masses in allegories, and the other

¹ The nightingale.

for the select few, who took life seriously and who chose to follow the Teacher under all circumstances sacrificing all things most dear to them. Such teachings, in Islam, were called '*Ilm-e-Makhfi*', i. e., hidden knowledge, and the Prophet taught them to his chosen disciples; they in turn, handed down the torch of knowledge to those whom they considered fit to hold and hand it on. The Prophet preferred to wear a '*suf*', or a woollen garment, which in course of time came to be adopted by some of the companions; hence the term '*Sufi*.' In the *Qur'an*, 'Sufis' are termed as 'Mukurrabins' (friends of God), 'Sabirins' (patient men), 'Abrars' (virtuous). Ibn Khaldun, one of the greatest Islamic historians of the time says: "This (Sufism) is one of the religious sciences which were born in Islam. The way of the Sufis was regarded by the then Moslems and their illustrious men as the way of Truth and Salvation. To be assiduous in piety, to give up all else for God's sake, to turn away from worldly gauds and vanities, to remove pleasure, wealth and power, which are the general objects of human ambition, to abandon society and to lead in seclusion a life devoted solely to the service of God—these were the fundamental principles of Sufism." Their philosophy is that in the beginning was God just as He now is—without addition, etc. But for the purpose of understanding His ways, the '*Salik*,' i. e., the seeker after Truth, is prepared to consider a course of development of the manifestation of the attributes. The Prophet said: "Do not contemplate on His essence, but contemplate on His attributes." The Sufi feels intensely that he is the microcosm of a macrocosm. He is thus the highest point of God's creation. Consequently he feels considerably the separation of himself from the Divinity. No wonder, then, that a Sufi looks upon the Divinity as his 'Beloved', a 'Friend', a 'Darling', and in the ecstasy of his meditation and dancing, he compares the spiritual potion and the ecstatic condition caused thereby to 'wine' and worldly intoxication. Moulana Rum sings:

"What is Sufism? 'Tis to find joy in the heart
Whensoever distress and care assail it."

The main theme of a Sufi is, as the same mystic sings :

“Dissolve the body in Thy sight.

Go into sight, go into sight, and go into sight.”

The subject of our study lived during the period of Sanjar, 1092-1157. This period was as remarkable and as brilliant as any which preceded or followed it; the number of Persian writers, both in prose and verse, vastly increased, and works on important subjects continued to be produced on a considerable scale in Arabic. Omar, who lived and passed away during the first quarter of the 12th century, belonged to a galaxy of Sufi pearls that adorned the court of Kohrasan chiefs. Born in 1121 at Naishapur, a town in Kohrasan district, of a family known for its astrological pre-possessions, he naturally imbibed not only the teachings of such eminent poet-philosophers as Attar and Nizam’ul Mulk, but also perfected himself in his family lore. His father took particular care of his education in his early days. Under the careful guidance of Imam Mowaffak, his teacher, Omar made considerable progress in the study of astronomy. His fame in that science soon rose to such a height as to draw the attention of Malik Shah, the then chief of Naishapur. He was one of the eight men appointed by Malik Shah for the purpose of reforming the Calendar. The result of his labors was the Jalali era, which according to Gibbon, “is a computation of time that surpasses the Julian and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style.” In Persia, Omar is more known for his astrological works than for his Sufi disquisitions. But strangely enough, outside Kohrasan, he came to be recognised as pre-eminently great in his poetical works, of which his ‘Rubaiyat’ attained an immortal fame.

Although his name was Omar, he appended to it a poetical name ‘Khayyam’ signifying ‘tent-maker’ due to his having followed the trade of a tent-maker before affluence affected him. In the following lines he alludes to his profession :

“Khayyam, who stitched the tents of science

Has fallen in grief’s furnace and been suddenly burned :

The shears of fate have cut the tent-ropes of his life ;
And the Broker of Hope has sold him for nothing."

He was not only eminent in astronomy but was famous for his versatility in the sciences. Nizamu'd Din Razi in his book "Observatory of God's Servants" considers Omar as "an unhappy philosopher, atheist and materialist" adducing in proof certain of his verses, one of which is that quoted above.

In his country, as a mathematician and free-thinker, he made himself famous. It was his Algebra that found its way to Europe through Greece. Fitz-Gerald and Whinefield contributed considerably to make the name of Omar a household word in Europe and America, and there sprang up 'Omar Khayyam Clubs' where members began the study of his poetical works. He is better known for his 'Rubaiyat' or Quatrains. It is in these that the interest of his admiring readers centres. The literature of Omar Khayyam contains some of the best and some of the worst literary works ever produced.

The 'rubai' or quatrain is usually of two 'bayats' or four hemistichs and hence called 'du-bayti'. Like an epigram, it is complete by itself and is written like 'ghazal' with a particular metre. In the Persian literature a tendency could be observed, previous to Omar, of indulging in expressing inspired ideas in an epigrammatic form. Omar in his 'Rubaiyat' perfected this form of versification. It is curious that in Southern India successful attempts should have been made in compressing a complete and independent idea in two lines, as one may perceive in the Tamil 'Kural'.

Omar was considerably in advance of his age. He was a bold free-thinker and was singularly free from the mercenary flattery and professional panegyric to which his age was addicted owing to penury and uncertainty of life. Few poets of his time had the rare courage to overstep the beaten groove of thought and versification, and he seems to have led the party that rebelled against orthodoxy. He was foremost among the group of free-thinkers who satirized the narrowness of dogma and taught the futility of piety and

virtue based on hypocrisy, and urged on his readers to follow him, in the following strain :

“ Oh, come with old Khayyam, and leave the wise
To talk ; one thing is certain, that life flies ;
One thing is certain, and the rest is lies ;
The flower that once has blown for ever dies.”

And again :

“ Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and saint, and heard great argument
About it and about, but evermore
Came out by the same door as in I went.”

It must be noted that Omar lived at a time when Sufism degenerated and, from its high philosophical and mystical pedestal, was brought down to a materialistic level by its votaries, just as pure ‘yoga’ dwindled into a street and scout ‘tamasha’ by the so-called ‘jogis’ and others in India. His duty, at the period he lived, was to re-purify and to bring to high estimation and standard the followers of that cult. And the method used to accomplish that end apparently created many enemies in and around Persia. Besides, certain views held by him were entirely opposed to those of orthodoxy. From an anecdote in his life, some jump to the conclusion that he was a believer in the doctrine of metempsychosis. For the repairs of an old college in Naishapur, donkeys were used for bringing bricks. One day, while Omar was strolling in the company of some students, one of the donkeys refused to enter the college compound. No amount of persuasion would avail. At last Omar smilingly went up to the donkey and extemporised the following verse :

“ O lost and now returned ‘ yet more astray ’,
Thy name from men’s remembrance passed away,
Thy nails have now combined to form thy hoofs,
Thy tail’s a beard turned round the other way.”

Strangely enough, the erratic donkey entered the premises no sooner Omar finished his quatrain. Those near about asked him with wonder the reason of this. Replied he, “ the

spirit which has now attached itself to the body of this ass inhabited the body of a lecturer in this college ; therefore it would not come in until now, when, perceiving that its colleagues had recognised it, it was obliged to step inside."

It is said that a poet, expressing pain as well as pleasure, becomes at one with all who feel pain. Conscious then of his brotherhood with man as well as with plant life and nature, strength and passion flow into his poetry. Men feel themselves expressed, sympathised with, and empowered by the noble representation of their trouble, and send back to the poet their gratitude and sympathy, till he, conscious of their affection, is himself uplifted and inspired. This is amply evidenced in the case of Omar. Gifted with the knowledge of astrology and astronomy, possessed of an ample stock of intuition, his power of seership evolved into definite shape. On one occasion, in the winter of 1114-15, Sultan Muhammad, the Seljuq, expressed his desire, through his prime-minister, to Omar that he should select a favourable time for the Sultan to go hunting, such that the days should not be wet or snowy. Omar having selected such a time, he himself went to superintend the Sultan's departure at the auspicious moment. No sooner did the king start on his joyous sport, than the sky became overcast with ominous clouds ; strong wind commenced to blow, and snow and mist supervened. His courtiers, then present, started a critical and contemptuous laughter, and the king was inclined to turn back. Nothing daunted, Omar intervened and said : " Have no anxiety, for this very hour the clouds will clear away, and during these five days there will be not a drop of moisture." So the Sultan rode on and the forecast of Omar turned out true in its entirety.

On another occasion, Khwaja Nizami of Samarquand, who was Omar's pupil, writes : " I often used to hold conversation with my teacher Omar Khayyam, in a garden ; and one day he said to me, ' My tomb shall be in a spot where the north wind may scatter roses over it.' I wondered at the words he spoke, but I knew that his were no idle words. Years afterwards, when I chanced to revisit Naishapur, I

went to his final resting place, and lo ! it was just outside a garden, and trees laden with fruits stretched their boughs over the garden wall, and dropped their flowers upon his tomb, so that the stone was hidden under them." Omar himself expresses this very beautifully in verse :

" Ah, with the grape my fading life provide,
And wash my body whence the life has died,
And in a winding-sheet of vineleaf wrapt,
So bury me by some sweet garden side."

The poetic power acquired through love and sympathy and inspiration, and fed by human love, increases vastly. A fuller emotion, a wider thought, a knowledge of life deepened by imagination into something by far truer than any intellectual philosophy of life can give, fills his verse with the unsought for, revealing phrases which seem to express, with strange simplicity, the primary thoughts of Being and put on the complexion of a Divine source. Such is the case with Khayyam. The whole subject of his 'Rubaiyat' is one vast sea, on which the ephemeral pleasures and joys of this mundane world are made to float with a distinctness and in clear-cut forms, in which the Poet excels most. The evolution of life and the changing character of the happiness of the day form a conspicuous theme of his 'Rubaiyat'. Quatrains like the following, although expressed in the language and habits of the period, conceal under the common garb sentiments eternal in their nature and which all humanity, apart from the barriers of race and religion, share :

" And this I know ; whether the one True Light
Kindle to love, or wrath consume me quite,
One glimpse of it within the tavern caught
Better than in the temple lost outright."

And another,

" Indeed the idols I have loved so long
Have done my credit in men's eye wrong,
Have drowned my honor in a shallow cup,
And sold my reputation for a song."

Language improves, religion changes, the conception of the Deity varies from age to age; but amidst endless changes, innovations and alterations in social life and customs, there is human nature ever the same. The themes which once delighted the 'II-Khanies,' the Sultans and ministers and the knowing masses of the eleventh century, even today have not ceased to enchant, to captivate, to inspire, to uplift us from "their dead selves to higher things." The poetry of pleasure, the poetry of pathos, surely cannot fail to strike a responsive chord in the human heart. The secret of that richness, freshness and sweetness which a true poet possesses, is supremely visible in Omar's 'Rubaiyat.' Omar is conspicuous for his scathing scorn of those who are hypocrites, and observers of external pomp. Although his 'Rubaiyat' teems with 'wine' and 'goblets', 'Beloved' and 'intoxication,' still there lingers underneath all these, a stream in its nature mystical, elysian and occult. Free-thinker and independent as he was in his thoughts, he never yielded to panegyrics, to which his age was addicted.

Modern Bengali Drama

BY DR. P. GUHA-THAKURTA, M.A., Ph.D.

Looking over the record of the modern Bengali drama and comparing it with that of the drama of other countries, the first thing that attracts one's notice is its comparative youth. The modern type of drama virtually began in Bengal in the early part of the nineteenth century, that is to say, on the advent of the British rule. Yet, in spite of its being perhaps the youngest drama in the world, it seems spiritually among the most mature. Indeed, it already shows signs of being a little over-ripe in certain respects before it has had sufficient time fully to develop a regular stage-craft and dramatic technique. This seems to be due to the fact that the Bengali drama has had an enormous amount of valuable literary traditions and material to fall back upon and to draw from, without at the same time being wholly competent to handle the modern European methods of production in a suitable manner. The incongruity is further explained when one remembers that while the Bengali playwrights were using the old native sources, it was absolutely impossible for them to do more than adapt European dramatic principles to Indian subjects.

THE BEGINNINGS

The modern Bengali drama began under very auspicious circumstances, and as it should be generally known, was profoundly affected by social and political events, not only in its own country but in other parts of the world. It is difficult to separate the history of the Bengali stage from the history of social and political changes in Bengal in the nineteenth century, but in spite of very strong foreign influences and tendencies, the Bengali drama has emerged stronger and more solid

from the struggle. In the course of the last hundred and fifty years, it has not only spread far and wide but has become a genuinely national institution, emancipated from servility whether to foreign or Sanskritic traditions. The value of the Bengali drama would not in any sense be diminished, had everything that was written in the form of drama before 1800 completely perished. There is a certain feeling abroad that modern Indian literature is far less worthy of study than the older and more ancient. It may be admitted that the history of Bengali literature presents a record of rather broken and often incoherent activities and that its development is irregular, but so far as the Bengali drama is concerned, it is quite evident, that it is intensely modern, in the sense that it is in close touch with the life and thought and feeling of today. By virtue of this modernity alone, it reveals that unity which binds Bengal to the outer world and makes Giris Chandra Ghose, Dvijendra Lal Roy, and Rabindra Nath Tagore critics and thinkers of the present generation. Whether we take the early work of Ram Narayan Tarkaratna and Madhu Sudan Dutt or the later work of Dvijendra Lal and Rabindra Nath, it possesses that universal subjectivity—that most persistent attempt to deal with the human mind rather than the external world. Taking it as a whole, the modern Bengali drama seems to be dominated by a more or less æsthetic and speculative attitude of mind rather than by an interest in external facts or even psychological subtleties; and this is natural enough, since Bengali life itself has been dominated for many generations by emotional reflection rather than by objective activity. This subjective approach to reality has left indelible marks on the entire body of the modern Bengali drama. We can make this point quite clear by an illustration. A considerable portion of the modern European drama deals with much that is rather trivial, petty and inconsequential, and its stage is crowded with characters whose names we forget, whose faces fade away in the endless changing panorama of human life, whose actions, if they accomplish anything at all, matter

very little for the rest of the human race, and who make traps for themselves out of their own little weaknesses of character and mistakes of reckless passions. Now, this type of drama is so far entirely unknown in Bengal. It will be argued that Bengal does not present so many intricate problems of sex and morality as modern Europe. It is quite true that Bengali life could not, under the present circumstances, encourage or foster the drawing-room drama of Mr. Noel Coward or the sex-plays of M. Eugene Brieux. But if human nature in its essence is the same all over the world and if it is to be looked at from a broader point of view and interpreted by artists with real imagination, drama should be a matter of greatness and beauty rather than triviality and ugliness. It does not follow that unpleasant realities should be entirely omitted; indeed they cannot be, so long as human nature remains as it is; but they must be harmonised and brought into a synthesis of real beauty and grandeur. In a word, the drama should be the revelation of the human spirit struggling with the forces of the world. The Greeks had a tragedy which portrayed the human spirit at odds with Destiny itself, and, as Seneca has said: "A strong man matched with fortune is a sight for the gods to see". In the same manner, Bengali drama, following its spiritual traditions and speculative bent of mind, has more or less drawn on the larger rather than the smaller issues of life but with this difference, that the minor, insignificant details of life, instead of being harmonised with the larger and bigger ones, have been allowed to be altogether submerged in the glorified pictures of ideal beauty, ideal truth and ideal happiness. Even the most ultra-modern of Bengali dramatists like Dvijendra Lal and Rabindra Nath, have drawn from the heroic legends and romantic tales of history and mythology the situation and characters of their plays and overlooked the stories that ordinary everyday life might have furnished. And even when they have touched contemporary life, it is with such a depth of idealism and emotion that its subjective elements have completely overshadowed the objective realities. It is not so much the

material of the Bengali plays as the tone and temper of the dramatists that makes the Bengali drama so subjective and naturally so one-sided. Bengali playwrights have evaded realities in pursuit of ideals, and until they come to face the facts of life squarely and present them in strict accordance with the highest moral and spiritual standards of art, their work will remain as useless as the ultra-realistic drama of modern Europe. The highest form of drama is that which brings into play beauty of form, nobility of purpose and dignity of mental outlook. These qualities cannot be awakened in human beings either by painting an ideal world of perfection or by giving a picture of merely sordid and ugly realities. The Bengali playwrights of the future need not only to keep their reflective imagination within reasonable bounds of control and precision, but need also to gain more experience and fresh stimulus to thought and action from life as it is. The plays they will then produce will not only be true and real but will make a permanent appeal to humanity and will touch the emotions as well as inspire the soul.

ART AND LIFE

The modern Bengali stage is still trying to get into touch with art and with life. It has not as yet fully succeeded in escaping from the contempt and indifference in which it has been held since its very beginning by social and religious reformers on the one hand and by orthodox critics on the other. Bengal has not yet developed any regular stage-technique to guide its dramatic productions, whereas in Europe and America, in spite of the apparent confusion of various schools and various conflicting ideas, stage-craft may be said to have reached a definite point of achievement, and competent men in different lines of stage-production are daily emerging with new ideas and trying new experiments. The West has already developed a very successful type of stage-craft which aims at finding a true and just proportion between stage and auditorium and a synthesis between the play and its setting. This involves

a study of the contemporary methods of planning and constructing theatres, of lighting and colour-schemes and all the modern facilities for theatrical illusion. These methods have been consistently sought by well-known *regisseurs* of European drama, however much they may differ in matters of detail. Max Reinhardt gives first importance to the right kind of architectural designs suitable for a drama or an opera ; Gordon Craig wants to bring the mechanical machinery of the stage into strict harmony with lighting, colour-effects and *dramatis personæ* ; and Adolphe Appia secures the success of a production by concentrating entirely upon lighting methods. Bengal has not yet its plastic and architectural stage ; public criticism of false perspective has not been sufficient to bring it about. On a modern Bengali stage, which still employs painted canvas, the conflict between the dead setting and the living actor is inevitable. The dramatic illusion of a Bengali play is too apparent. Against two-dimensional painting on the backdrops and wings, we have three-dimensional actors. This painted pretence will have to disappear completely before the Bengali stage can achieve any real success in modern productions. The painting of imaginary landscapes, roads, buildings and trees, has to give way to the visual realism of architectural and plastic designs. Painting conveys flatness, no depth. Mountains, a sea-coast or any distant object, may occasionally have to be painted but not the available things of everyday life, which can very well be built up on the stage. In a modern play we not only want an illusion of reality but an illusion of actuality. The importance of this actual visual illusion lies in its ability to catch the eye of an audience ; and the work of the designer or architect will be successful only so far as it can give the impression of the right kind of background which easily sets the imagination of the spectators working and rouses a kind of collective spirit, which alone is its *raison d'être*. So architectural design will have to be adopted by Bengali stage-practitioners if they desire the ends of beauty and illusion and not mere trickery and false pretence. It is true that in Europe the architectural setting

for the stage has not arrived at any point of real perfection, but the false pretence of the old type of stage-setting has been abandoned forever. It is rather unfortunate that in the modern commercial theatre of the West, the director and actor have been so much overshadowed by the electrician and architect. Against this the Bengali producers must be on their guard. They should never try to secure the success of a play merely by those artificial means, which modern scientific machinery can so easily supply. A certain amount of anarchy was bound to happen in the European methods of stage-architecture; machinery took hold of the mind of a commercial producer in a rather destructive manner. Signor Marinetti, an Italian futurist, has even insisted that because the machine represents the spirit of the modern age, a drama ought to represent the life and movement of men as machines, in which actors will be shown enclosed in cylinders and funnels. The Russian Proletariat theatre is being encouraged by Meirhold and Foregger to develop on similar lines. Of course, these are rather extreme cases of the employment of machinery for stage representations. Man is not a marionette and so an actor cannot possibly become an organised piece of mechanism like a machine. A theatre cannot be made into a real source of entertainment or inspiration by being converted into a scheme of geometric figures, spirals and angles, oblongs and squares, with blotches of paint here and there. The fact is that Cubism, Vorticism and all forms of futurist art have led to a certain confusion in the standard of values, for the reason they have gone beyond the limits imposed by the realistic, plastic stage. All futurist experiments have followed in the main the principle of expressing emotions or ideas through merely unintelligible pictorial art, without the slightest regard for the actual reality of the objects painted. The deeply reflective attitude of a futurist painter or architect has led him to represent objects that are not real but are the perversions of his eccentric imagination. The futurist tendencies of European painting and stage-archi-

ecture have already exercised a considerable influence upon Bengali art and incidentally on Bengali stage-representations. The scenery which is usually designed by Messrs. Nanda Lal Basu and Asit Kumar Halder for Rabindra Nath's plays is essentially of an impressionistic type. It looks like a bit of painted canvas of hazy and subdued colour and a weird assemblage of unintelligible angles and lines, made to suggest if anything at all something quaint, shadowy and unsubstantial. If we look at Mr. Gaganendra Nath Tagore's sketches prepared for one of Rabindra Nath's latest plays, *Rakta Karabi*, we notice that they do not convey any directness or clarity of expression but a vague kind of emotional intimacy through subtle suggestions of lines and light and shade. The air of Bengal is thick today with such catch-words as 'symbolic', 'rhythmic', 'dynamic' and so on. The modern Bengali impressionist artists are vainly trying to find in these formulæ some new medium of art-expression and are only distorting their art by crude and imitative methods. Of course, they represent that small section of Bengali artists of the school of Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore who are collaborating with Rabindra Nath Tagore in his dramatic productions. The vagueness of their methods is in a sense encouraged by the vagueness inherent in the plays of Rabindra Nath. So to Rabindra Nath's theatre which concerns itself with thoughts alone, the painting of a symbolistic type has been added, visualising, as it were, the atmosphere of the play. But the true function of a realistic plastic stage is not merely to produce an emotional atmosphere but to produce understanding and sympathy by means of a visual illusion of actuality. It has to give the impression of objects in terms of both inner and outer actuality—an actuality of form instead of an actuality of idea. The most significant thing achieved by these Bengali impressionistic painters is, however, the breakdown of false realism in form and content and false perspective in painting. But until the electrician and architect, decorative artist and mechanic, combine with the producer, playwright and actor, there will not come in Bengal any

perfected type of plastic stage—such a type as will allow of the successful and creditable production of modern plays. Light is the heart of the modern stage-picture today and is perhaps second only to the actor himself in importance. A modern actor cannot afford to dispense with the aid of the lighting-effects if he is satisfactorily to represent different situations at different periods of time. The most constructive of all European *regisseurs* in matters of lighting is Adolphe Appia and it is to him the modern Bengali stage must look for practical suggestions and ideas. The Russians have brought great painters like Leon Bakst and Roerich into their theatre, and Bengal must accordingly draw its inspiration from the artists of the younger generation. As regards the architectural and mechanical problems of the theatre, no one in Europe is a greater authority than Max Reinhardt. It would be well for Bengali stage-architects to study him and try to understand his methods which have proved so successful in Europe and America. If the Bengali stage is to develop on modern lines and to obtain a more general recognition, it will have to keep in touch with the modern developments in European stage-craft and incorporate some of its new ideas and experiments into its own main lines of development. Tagore's contempt for external action and machinery will never help towards the achievement of a real stage-technique in Bengal.

A CONFUSED SPECTACLE

The Bengali theatre of today presents an interesting but rather a confused spectacle. There has certainly been what we may regard as post-war reformation but there is a lack of a consistent policy and firm imagination. A theatre guild has recently been formed under the name of 'Arts Theatre Limited' which owns the old 'Star Theatre' and claims as its greatest success of the season a very long run (three hundred performances) of a mythological play called 'Karnarjun'. Rabindra Nath Tagore recently gave them permission to stage 'Chira Kumar Sabha' (Bachelor's Club) a

dramatised version of an old work called 'Prajapatir Nirbandha'. Encouraged by the royalties he received as a result of this venture, he is contemplating allowing the company to produce a few other plays, both new and old. Of course, for Rabindra Nath to come in such close touch with the professional stage is undoubtedly a good augury for the future. But if the truth is to be told, the main efforts of the 'Arts Theatre Limited' have so far been directed to crush a new rising Bengali actor and producer, Mr. Sisir Kumar Bhaduri. Sisir Kumar was a professor of a Calcutta College and had already gained distinction as an amateur in many private performances. When he became a professional, one expected big things of him—an expectation which he has so far more than amply justified. Sisir Kumar is fighting single-handed against this theatre monopoly and it seems something of a tragedy that he should be the only man on the Bengali stage today who possesses zeal, ability and imagination. He has education, experience and strength of character. He has all the qualities that make a good actor—personality, technique and temperament. He is a thorough student of modern European stage-craft and judging from his very recent productions, notably that of Ksirod Prasad Vidyabinod's 'Alamgir' at the 'Alfred Theatre' and of 'Pundarik' and 'Sita' at the 'Natya Mandir', he has shown distinct originality in the art of production. He attends to accuracy of detail and perfection of technique. He keeps his eye on the setting against which his men and women are to stand and he knows how to handle his material so as to produce a harmony between the play and its atmosphere. He does not employ the stock-in-trade of the older stage-practitioners, and he is developing a new style which may become the approved style of the new age. Great actor as he is, he insists on simplicity and naturalness. He shuns declamation and vociferation; he does not shout and gesticulate like 'Dani Babu,' of the older school but speaks his words with wonderful clarity and precision, with his eyes as well as his lips. He has taught his men and women to say

momentous things in the most simple, natural and off-hand manner. Under his influence, his actors and actresses have broken away from traditional behaviour and artificial mentality. In fact he is trying to permeate his actors and actresses with the simplicity and naturalness of his own style, so that quite a new type of actor and actress is rising in Bengal today. It still remains to be seen how far he will be successful in his new method of production.

THE PROBLEM OF ACTRESSES

One great obstacle to the improvement of the Bengali theatre is the objection of the Hindu community to actresses' parts being taken by women of good social standing. But ideas are changing and it is quite likely that the social ban will be lifted some day and that actresses will be recruited from all sections of society. When that happens, the Bengali theatre will have more dignity and moral prestige and its taste and tone and atmosphere will be vastly improved. In Rabindra Nath's plays, boys and girls act together without constraint in public performances, and this kind of thing is not condemned as morally bad as it might have been fifty years ago. Another and still greater drawback of the professional stage is its conservatism in matters of dress and costume. The managers only too often spend money recklessly on merely ostentatious and gaudy dresses which are absolutely unsuited for the time and circumstances of the play. It was not very long ago when Giris Chandra's 'Praphulla' was staged at the 'Star Theatre,' the dress of a jail-prisoner in the play was funny to the point of being ludicrous. Then there is that absurd combination of English blouse, Benarasi 'sari' and Hindustani slippers for the dress of a 'Queen.' Soldiers, porters, courtiers and citizens are most indifferently dressed. Rajput, Pathan or Mogul dresses are invented without the slightest regard to even the historical information available about them. In Pauranic plays, of course, there is no possibility of knowing what the legendary heroes and heroines used to wear,

but the producers ought to exercise their own imagination instead of dressing up their men and women in the most fantastic costumes of the present day.

THE PROFESSIONALS

But by far the greatest obstacle to the development of the Bengali drama is the narrowness and ignorance of the professional actors and actresses. They are so stiff and so self-conscious and so tied down to the crude technicalities of their life that they can never step out of their theatrical roles. If they could only get in touch with real life and find themselves in a world quite different from their own, the Bengali stage would be richer in experience and outlook. But the professional theatre in Bengal is dominated by one great superstition, that an actor has his appropriate type of part and must never be cast for another of a different sort. He may change his tailor, but never his mask or method, as he moves from one play to another. And even a play will be found for him that will just suit his part. In fact, this largely explains why the majority of the Calcutta theatres today are dominated mostly by the plays of the old masters. It can scarcely be otherwise so long as the theatres are in the hands of a small group of veteran professionals of the old school. The managers do not show the slightest regard for public sentiment and continue to stage only such plays as will allow their permanent stars to make good in their respective roles. All that is wanted to remedy this state of affairs is that playgoers should show more independence and courage of conviction. If they support new ventures, new amateur companies, new authors and new experiments, the traditional monotony of the professional stage will be broken. We must have reverence for big things and big artists, but we must not allow tradition to become a fetish. We must beware of too much reverence for Girish Chandra or Dvijendra Lal. Their works must be treated as things to be experimented with, and must not be continually produced in the traditional manner of the old school. There

is no knowing when a single good play may be written, but good play will not follow good play unless three factors co-exist: people who can write good plays, people who will produce good plays, people who will go to see good plays. With the death of Girish Chandra and Dwijendra Lal, the first great epoch of the Bengali theatre came to an end. Their plays cannot possibly hold the modern stage for an indefinite period of time. So it would be the height of indiscretion on the part of a modern producer to feed his audiences night after night with one or other of the old masterpieces. The younger generation will have to furnish plays of its own time, to be acted by men and women of its own time, before the people of its own time. It should be the ambition of the theatre-technician to provide in his stage an artistic medium which shall not only give greater freedom of production to old masterpieces but clear the way for new dramatic works and enterprises. The stage must become the centre of sound, the centre of light, the centre of colour and the centre of the affection and enthusiasm of the audience. In this alone lies the hope of a good future for the Bengali drama. That hope can only be fulfilled in a durable and permanent alliance between actors and playwrights on the one hand, and producers and stage-practitioners on the other. The scientific and artistic possibilities of the Bengali theatre under these conditions will be unlimited.

Kalaprapurna

Venkataraya Sastry

BY G. V. SUBBARAMAYYA, M.A.

The life-career of Kalaprapurna Vedam Venkataraya Sastry Garu¹ covering over seventy years has been so rich in varied experiences, and his genius is so many-sided, that it is impossible to deal adequately with either the one or the other within the brief space of an article. What I propose to do, therefore, is simply to bring out the most striking features of the genius and the personal character of the Kalaprapurna.

A LITERARY HERCULES

What impresses us most with regard to his genius is its stupendous, almost superhuman dimension. He is truly a literary Hercules, perhaps the last of the giants' race. This is seen not only in the mass of his output, but in the very nature of his undertakings. The editing of more than two dozens of leading classics in Telugu and Sanskrit with the most exhaustive notes and commentaries, the translation of some seven first-rate Sanskrit dramas and of 'Katha Saritsagaram,' and the composition of three original plays and some ten other Telugu works, are for sheer mass sufficient to impress one with the magnitude of the Kalaprapurna's genius. But our wonder must be considerably enhanced when we learn that the above include many a work which singly might have been the

¹ It is quite laudable that the 'Triveni' should invite contributions giving accounts of the great living authors who have achieved classic fame in Telugu Literature; and I particularly thank the Editor for giving me this opportunity of paying my humble tribute to one, to whom for the most part, I owe what little culture I possess in Telugu and Sanskrit.

life-achievement of an individual,—nay of a whole academy—and might be enough to ensure its author's immortality. Such are, for instance, his commentary on 'Megha Sandesam,' the editions of 'Naishadham' and 'Amuktamalyada,' the 'Prasanna Raghava Vimarsha' and at least one of his original dramas, the 'Prataparudriyam'. His genius is cut out for great achievements; and his 'giant-nerve' does not feel satisfied unless in grappling with the mightiest issues. The editing of the toughest classic such as 'Amuktamalyada,' the writing of a ten-act play 'more epic than drama,' or the valiant fighting single-armed against a whole army of pundit-opponents, alone affords proper exercise for his high talents. The rest is for him a mere child's play. We have it on his own authority that he wrote many translations and even original works of lighter vein by way of recreation and relief in the intervals of serious pre-occupation with a principal concern. A bubble of a lyric, a sentimental short-story, a sketchy farce, a rambling causerie are not in his way. Only a Colosseum would his art like to construct or reconstruct; only an Ilium would his shafts care to demolish.

DEPTH OF LEARNING

Another striking feature of his genius is the depth and soundness of his learning, and what go with it, an exquisitely refined taste and the keenest critical sensibility. He began by mastering Sanskrit, both grammar and literature, and thus equipped, he took up Telugu and cultivated it as widely and intensively as the former. His splendid success as an author and critic may be accounted for chiefly by two factors. One is his right procedure in first acquiring a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and classics, which is a necessary pre-requisite and sure foundation of all other knowledge. The other factor is his acquisition of a sound education in English. He confessed to me many a time that for his skill and refinement as a teacher, author and critic, he owed not a little to his



Kalaprapurna Venkataraya Sastri

English learning. He is by no means a blind admirer of old methods and models. Nothing is dearer to his heart than to assimilate whatever is good and beautiful in Western culture. Only he insists upon a foundational knowledge in whatever subject you may have chosen. He would himself never agree to play the dilettante, nor would he allow others to do so. The well-known definition of genius as "an infinite capacity for taking pains" is fully borne out in his case. He was thus best fitted to give the right lead in criticism or creative art, by upholding good taste, propriety and sound critical canons in everything, and by opening up new, fruitful avenues in literature. At a time when the decadent 'Prabandhic' school banished all higher imagination, originality, naturalness and truth from Telugu Literature, our Kalaprapurna entered the field and rendered yeoman service by setting up the right standards. In prose, poetry and drama, he has, by his example and precept, fought ruthlessly against servile imitation, sensuality, low taste, and the stereotyped, artificial diction set up as the fashion by the 'Prabandhic' cult. Like so many other innovators, he has had to incur great unpopularity, but he has braved it quite heroically and is now rewarded with the satisfaction of knowing that his ideals of art and his critical opinions have been fully vindicated by time. He has moreover an amazing power of penetrative insight into the poet's heart ('Kavi hridayam'), which has stood him in very good stead, in revising old, unsatisfactory texts of ancient authors, and commenting upon them. I am not exaggerating when I state that but for his labours in this direction, many invaluable Telugu works, which he has practically recreated for us, would have perished unregarded or unknown. Though literature as his chosen subject has been the main field of his devoted labours, his marvellous industry, sympathetic imagination and penetrative insight have borne equally beneficial results in other fields as well, into which circumstances compelled him to stray. The controversies concerning the Social Reform movement

forced him to explore the 'Smrities' and the 'Dharma Sastras,' so that we have from his pen, the most authoritative exposition of the Shastraic view-point. The commentary upon the 'Amuktamalyada' a work mainly devoted to the extolling of the Visishtadvaitic philosophy, necessitated a deep study of the Vedas, the 'Brahma Sutras' and the 'Upanishads' with their different 'Bhashyas'; and thanks to his labours, we are furnished with the most lucid interpretation of the different systems of Hindu philosophy, with an amazing wealth of quotation and reference inaccessible even to the professional philosopher. These and other commentaries he undertook have familiarised him, and through him the readers, with the most ancient authorities on Indian Politics, Economics, Ethics, Astrology etc.

ORIGINALITY AND INDIVIDUALITY

Another remarkable feature of our Kalaprapurna's genius is his extreme originality and individuality which are the obverse and reverse of the same thing. His individuality is best illustrated in his style both in prose and verse, which quite fulfils the oft-quoted definition that "style is the man." Succinctness, precision, transparent lucidity, avoidance of superfluous ornament, and the consequent strength and beauty are the chief merits of his style. It is like a highly polished mirror for the complex hues of thought. It is like the pole-star whose identity you never mistake. He is not content in his plays with merely dramatising the materials handed to him by legend or tradition, and in his comments and criticisms with merely standing by the classical rules. In the one case, he invariably develops the plot in his own way, and either creates new characters, or elaborates or strikingly modifies the old ones. In the other, he seeks to apply the classical rules to modern conditions of art, and attempts a *rapprochement* between the Western conceptions and ours. Either way, we unmistakably see his originality and individuality at work. In his 'Prataparudriyam,' his 'Yugandhar' and

the washerman are brilliant elaborations of faint figures furnished to him by crude tradition, while 'Chekumuki Sastry' and 'Vidyanadha Kavi' are his own. Besides, the conception and execution of that marvel of a plot which might do credit even to Ben Jonson, are also his own. His advocacy of 'gramyam' (the spoken dialect) for low characters in drama, shows his skill in interpreting old rules and conventions, so as to find in them a true aid for the solution of modern problems. He has not only kept himself abreast of the current of literary culture, but fed it with his own tributaries. In every field in which his genius has ranged, it has not only pushed to the utmost bounds of knowledge, but advanced the bounds themselves perceptibly. Of him indeed, it may be truly said that "he touches nothing but he adorns it."

HIS GIFT OF HUMOUR

As another striking feature of the Kalaprapurna's genius, I would mention his gift of humour. If his learned lectures are able to attract vast crowds and keep them spell-bound, if his dramas containing profound art and psychology are such a phenomenal success, if his subtle expositions of points of purely academic interest are so widely read and richly relished, if, in short, the weight of his erudition does not press him down but sits upon him lightly and gracefully like a flower, it is not a little due to his humour. While it adds poignancy to his satire, it imparts an agreeable flavour to all that he says; it acts as the motley beside the tragic hero; it not only relieves the strain of following up an abstruse discussion, but heightens our interest in the same. It no doubt makes his attacks as in 'Prasanna Raghava Vimarsha' all the deadlier in their effect upon the victim, like poisoned arrows. But how much less attractive would his 'Prataparudriyam' become, in the eye of the common people at any rate, without the humour of the washerman and the sepoys? Who could muster patience and bear the strain of breaking into the impregnable fastnesses of that formidable 'Amukta-

malyada,' or of treading upon the thorns and briers of Shastraic controversy, but for the beckoning flashes of the critic's wit and humour with which they are interspersed? Who would agree to swallow the bitter pills of grammar and formal rhetoric but for their coating of his sugared humour? To sum up, his humour gives his speeches and writings their peculiar quality ; it forms the main source of their irresistible charm ; and thus, it serves to bridge the gulf between the unapproachable learning of the Kalaprapurna, and the common sense of the laity.

Before concluding this part of my article, I must confess that however long I may draw the list of our Kalaprapurna's qualities, something still remains unsaid and inexpressible, and that genius being a divine gift, baffles all attempts at exhaustive analysis. I shall therefore content myself with saying that the Kalaprapurna's genius comprises the above qualities and that 'enlivening spark' which fills the gap, and fuses them all into one, and which goes by the equally mystic name of 'Personality.'

AS A TEACHER

Coming to the personal traits of the Kalaprapurna, I think I will not be wrong in mentioning first his excellence as a teacher. Not only did he adorn the teaching profession for more than a quarter of a century, but he realised his highest joy, nay, he discovered his very soul, in teaching. He had in him the making of the best teacher. He possessed the gifts of lucid and arresting presentation, unfailing memory, unbounded resourcefulness, irrepressible humour, and the capacity of unrelenting discipline. A great genius as he was, he never spared any pains to be of use to his students. He had and has a genuine affection for youth, perhaps natural to a poet, and even now, though retired, semi-blind, decrepit, and fallen on evil times, he cannot pass a day without surrounding himself with boys and 'old boys' and leading them gently into the ever-fresh Elysium of Letters. His striking

success as a teacher may be measured by the deep, abiding love, bordering on adoration, which his old and present pupils without exception cherish for him. Along with a great English poet, our Kalaprapurna would declare : " I wish to be regarded as a teacher or as nothing."

Another feature which goes with his skill in teaching and in great measure accounts for it, is his passion for study. As no one can rule who cannot obey, no one can be a great teacher, who is not at the same time an earnest student. Not only does the Kalaprapurna never weary of poring over his favourite classics, but he welcomes with avidity the latest offerings to the Muse. When recently I expressed incredulous surprise at his regret that owing to his failing eye-sight he could no more read 'Sakuntala,' he emphatically asserted, " Yes, I mean sincerely, my real study of that work is just beginning." He has however no liking for aimless, idle reading for its own sake. The same book he may read again and again, but each time with a definite purpose. A couple of years ago, he was reading the Telugu 'Bharatam' I do not know after how many times,—and he informed me that he was studying it from the view-point of grammar. Like Browning's 'Grammarians,' he would not mind devoting a whole life to laying, by incessant study, the foundation of future knowledge ; his faith in the continuity of the Soul's progress is as lofty as that Grammarians's.

AS CONVERSATIONALIST

Having so long fed upon the ambrosia of our Kalaprapurna's conversation, I cannot here omit to eulogise his greatness as a talker. His company and talk put me in mind of the immortal meetings of the Literary Society, presided over by another Doctor of Letters, very like our Kalaprapurna in many respects. Only a Boswell is wanting to give a faithful picture of this mighty scholar, unbending, mirthful and reminiscent. A literary dictator like Dr. Johnson, he too is revered and listened to with rapt attention ; his ever-new jests bear repetition for all time ; his anecdotes are numberless ; his manner of narrating them makes the scene

live before you again; and you witness too, a 'terrible buffetting' of social reform and literary imposture. But behind them all, is a like gift of laughter, of heartiness and geniality, arising from a simple, believing heart. Of him also, it may be said that "he has nothing of the bear but his skin." From a distance, he may be dreaded as the 'king of the beasts'; but at close quarters, he is loved as a 'friend, philosopher and guide.'

At this point, I wish to clearly state that his opposition to the old order of social reformers ought not to be understood to mean that he was an orthodox bigot and obscurantist. He told me many times that he felt called upon to measure swords with the social reformers, not because he was opposed to all reform, but as he found them tearing the scriptural passages out of their context, torturing them to yield a meaning suited to their purpose, and in many cases, guilty of literary dishonesty. He was concerned with pointing out that the passages in question could never yield the meaning wanted by the reformers; if in this particular, he found himself in agreement with the blind Sanatanists, it was only an accident. On the other hand, he is at one with all those who frankly maintain that the old Smrities will not do under the changed conditions of modern life, and that the *illuminati* of today must put their heads together to so modify them as to bring our nation into line with the advanced communities of the world. He went further and told me that if such a 'Parishad' could be formed, he would gladly contribute his mite to make it a success. Only he cannot approve of the philosophy of every individual doing what he likes. He is afraid that liberty in that case would degenerate into license, and that society would be disintegrated in no time.

LOVE FOR TELUGU

In conclusion, I should like to mention one aspect of our Kalaprapurna's character, that is not often fully comprehended. If only he wished, he could have done much of his work in Sanskrit and gained an all-India

fame, if not world-renown. If he is little known outside the Andhra Province, it is because he has chosen the medium of the Telugu language, and has published even his Sanskrit works in the Telugu script. This sacrifice on his part has been as deliberate as it is heroic. I need not say how much to this circumstance we owe the dissemination of culture among our Andhra brethren of whom only a very small percentage knows Sanskrit and the *nagari* script. His personal loss has thus been the country's gain; and in thus sacrificing his personal preferment, he has shown himself a genuine lover of the Andhras, a true patriot.

FALLEN ON EVIL DAYS

I wish to end with a prayer and an appeal. Like Tennyson's 'Ulysses,' our Kalaprapurna has already 'become a name.' His life-task has been accomplished. A high pedestal has been already reserved for him in the Temple of Immortality. Though he is "not now that strength which in old days moved earth and heaven," there is still in him that 'grey spirit,'

"Yearning in desire,
To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought."

May the Almighty therefore spare him for us for many years more, to serve as a living fountain-head of inspiration and enlightenment to the rising generation, if not to deck the Goddess Saraswati with some more brilliant ornaments of his making! May this evening of his life be attended by all happiness and serene tranquillity!

It must be pretty well-known, that like the great English poet Spenser, and our own Sreenadha, the Kalaprapurna in his old age is forsaken by the Goddess Lakshmi, never too kind to him before, and is subject to the attentions of her Elder Sister¹. This is the price he is now paying for the robust independence that has throughout distinguished

¹ The Goddess of Evil Fortune.

his life. All true lovers of culture, and the Andhras in particular, have therefore a sacred duty to discharge. There have been too many cases of the dear and the great being encumbered with post-mortem honours and costly memorials but being cruelly neglected while alive. May we escape from this charge in the present instance at least, by contributing with a free hand to place our Kalaprapurna above want, and thus making him feel that his services and sacrifices have been duly appreciated!

India's True Heritage

BY DEWAN BAHADUR K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA AIYAR

Every race has a life-spring of its own, which shapes its character and texture, and on the preservation of which depends its continued existence and individuality. An instance of this leaps to the mind. It used to be the fashion not so very long ago to refer to the Turkish Empire as the 'sick man of Europe,' and to predict his early expiry which was eagerly looked forward to by greedy neighbours. With the shedding, through trial and suffering, of the elements of weakness and corruption, the sick man has revived miraculously, and is being borne on the wings of new ideals and aspirations to higher and healthier levels of national existence.

It may not be quite so appropriate to speak of Mother India as a sick person, though some foreigners seem to take delight in bringing together all sorts of evil details, real or imaginary, concerning her condition. Her constitution, built up and sustained by deep reserves of inner vitality, has been too strong to be seriously undermined by a continuous succession of adversities and sufferings such as would have destroyed the existence of any other civilization. She has been for centuries bound in fetters forged by a variety of causes which have helped and re-inforced one another. For one thing, her people have progressively declined in physical energy, partly owing to climatic conditions and unhealthy customs and modes of life, and partly to economic conditions, increasing poverty and the stress of living. Even more serious is the spiritual poverty consequent on the relaxation and weakening of the ancient ideals of duty and mutual helpfulness, and the absence of fresh ones tending towards unity and the true civic spirit amidst modern conditions, to counterbalance the operation of selfish and material motives.

This has been aggravated by excessive mental inertia, the product of ignorance and superstition on the part of the masses, and the obsession even of the intelligent classes by custom and tradition without reference to their utility and reasonableness, and blind unthinking obedience to external authority,—an inertia sufficiently indicated by the general inaccessibility to new ideas and a marked lack of enterprise. No wonder that these and other factors have always attracted and facilitated foreign invasions, culminating in the establishment of the rule of the strongest European power within the last hundred and fifty years.

One result of the British connection was that India became indoctrinated with Western ideas and methods. This, of course, was not without its advantage specially in that English education introduced new and valuable cultural elements, and gave impetus and a widened outlook to the Indian mind. But, at the same time, it led to an almost complete neglect of the inherited culture and learning of the land, of its language, literature and religion ; the minds of the educated, filled with borrowed ideas, lost the power of originality and became grossly imitative ; and the soul of India, which could alone hold the people together, became starved. It is a true saying that we can never be strong through others' souls, great though they may be, and that, while life may be roused from without, action must proceed from one's own vital self. Western civilization was useful in so far as it helped to rouse India from its crust of inertia to new life ; it became harmful when it attempted to supplant the civilization and to suppress the soul of India.

As a matter of fact, a marked reaction set in towards the end of the last century, and has been gathering force with the passing of the years. It has been noticed that young Indians educated in Western ideas imbibe a spirit of political freedom from the study of European and especially English history and the stirring accounts of how other peoples have achieved their political emancipation. The Indian imagination has been stirred by the example of

Japan with her triumphant westernization and her sudden rise to the first rank among the great powers of the world. In recent years, the events of and following the Great War have given a strong stimulus to the natural desire of all peoples for self-government. Simultaneously with these tendencies, there has also been a reaction against the Western bias as such and in the direction of a renaissance of ancient Indian thought. India, according to a recent English writer, turned back wistfully to the glories and learning of Her past, and soon the conviction spread that, in Her own resources of philosophy as well as of social and religious institutions, India could find all she needed for her regeneration. And he adds that the question arose whether the right ideal was a reversion to an imagined golden age, or to press forward to a modern State, with the help of science, or organization, and representative government. This, however, does not give a quite accurate idea of the forces at work : it was not simply a question of giving up foreign things and borrowed ideas, and going back to the indigenous things and the ideas of olden time ; it was not even merely a revolt of 300 millions against the dominance of a few score thousand foreigners ; it was also a spiritual revolt and upheaval, a deep searching of hearts and minds. It began to be borne in more and more upon the thoughtful and the earnest that India must be on Her guard to preserve Her individual uniqueness, unless She was content to be assimilated to others and thus to lose Her own Soul. And where could She gain the strength, the inspiration, to save Herself, except from Her own cultural inheritance ? No individual and no race can continue truly to live except by being himself, by being itself, and not as a mere reflection of others. India must therefore, in order to live, be faithful to Herself.

This, however, cannot mean that She should obstinately cling to everything that is old ; that is the very course that has crushed the Soul of India under a mass of dead tradition ; and it is nearly as bad as to cast aside everything which has come down from the past and to imitate slavishly

the ways and ideas of the West. We have to discard without compunction the dead, injurious, valueless part of our heritage ; and while retaining all that is good and useful, all that is essential and permanent, make the same once again a living inspiration, and not a fetish to be blindly worshipped and followed. And, undoubtedly, we should at the same time welcome with eagerness new ideas, new truths, new sources of inspiration, whencesoever they may come ; we should not simply swallow, but assimilate them, and make of them an integral portion of our life and culture.

This takes us on to the question, what then is our true heritage, the vital, essential and permanent part of our inheritance from the past? The answer, as given by a living Teacher of today, is emphatic. It is none other than that genius for liberation which is at the root of the Indian nature, that profound detachment and sense of Reality which is still strong and living beneath the mass of accretions, and which has, in fact, kept the Soul of India from perishing in spite of darkness and oppression.

I should like to develop this point in some little detail. Those who have really made a study of India's wonderful religious and metaphysical system, have been the first to recognize her unique genius for grasping and expounding the realities behind the phenomenal world and the innermost meanings of life. India has ever been famed for her deep introspection and Indian thought for its wonderful quality of touching the root of things. Indian religion, as expounded in the Vedas and Upanishads and that crest-gem of philosophic literature, the Bhagavad-Gita, is a religion of eternity. Resting on principles which harmonize the World and God in one, it balances the claims of the life of the world and of the spirit in a manner which no other religion has done so fully and logically.

Now what are these basic principles? Essentially they are few and simple ; and like the seed which has in it the potentialities of the mighty tree, they contain within a nutshell all that is necessary to develop and sustain a whole philosophy of life.

Thus they declare—not as speculation but as positive knowledge to be reached by all seers of the Wisdom,—that there is One Supreme Being, the Source of All. Hinduism teaches as a fact the unity of all things in the One Absolute Self, which is the only ultimate Reality. The material universe and all things and beings therein are expressions of this Eternal Spirit in time and space ; they are finite forms or manifestations of the One Infinite Being.

Next, the inner Self of Man, though one in essence with the Supreme, has involved itself for necessary purposes of growth in matter ; and thereby has become limited in nature and bound by personal interests and fleeting attractions. It thinks itself separate from its Divine Source, and separate from all other forms of life derived from the same Source. It puts itself forth into all manner of experiences in the search for happiness, but does not find anywhere real satisfying permanent happiness as distinguished from fleeting pleasures, until it learns to overcome selfishness and to merge the personal interests of the separate self in the common interests of the whole. It is when it conquers selfish desire and identifies itself with the Self of All, that it enters into the eternal Bliss which is its birthright, because it is of the very nature of the Supreme. The end of existence for man is therefore Self-Realisation, which is the same thing as liberation from the world of forms, from the bondage of matter, and conscious re-incorporation with the Divinity from which man has come.

The purpose behind the Divine manifestation, of which man's experiences are only a fragmentary part, may be stated as continuous evolution towards perfection, a process carried on in accordance with laws which are themselves the organised expression of the Divine Nature in time, space and matter. These laws, which embody the spirit of Divine Justice, and which directly subserve the evolutionary scheme, work themselves out in countless ways. The most important forms, so far as human progress is concerned, are those associated with Karma and Reincarnation. When a man realises that he is not a perishable personality of a few years,

but an immortal fragment of the Divine Self, with an eternity of time and opportunity before him within which to achieve perfection, he sees that no other teaching than this can account so fully and satisfactorily for life's apparent inequalities, for the otherwise baffling mysteries of sorrow, suffering and frustration of effort. Far from being the plaything of blind forces or of a capricious deity, man is in truth the master of his own destiny ; for just as he has fashioned the conditions and environments of his present incarnation by the thoughts and aspirations, the actions and emotions, of the past, so may he now, by conscious effort, change them for the better by the same means.

Morality is that aspect of the Divine Law which concerns human conduct. Shortly stated, that which promotes individual and general progress, which develops the sense of unity, and conduces to liberation from the bonds of matter and the attainment of lasting happiness as distinguished from evanescent pleasures, is moral ; on the other hand, that is un-moral which retards progress, fosters selfishness and separatism, and leads to sorrow and suffering. The ultimate sanction of morality is thus the happiness which follows from harmony with the world-order, and the suffering which follows on opposition to it.

Universal brotherhood again, is a fact in nature, based on the identity of all separate lives with the One Life ; and the realisation of it in intellect and in conduct is both an essential part of morality and a sure help to the realisation of one's own unity with the Self of All and hence to liberation. The principle of brotherhood, if earnestly accepted and logically carried out, will also prove to be the most helpful and efficient basis of social and national life, the most powerful solvent of international difficulties. The sincere recognition of the fact that the interests of all humanity are bound up with one another will, indeed, completely change the aspect of life all over the world, and materially help to establish the reign of peace and happiness on earth.

There is, I may say, much confusion of thought among people with regard to the duty of renunciation. What the

great Teachers of the world have enjoined is not the renunciation of action as such, but that of the desire for the fruit of action, which is a very different thing. Desire for fruit binds the doer to the world of results where alone the fruit can be obtained, and is thus a hindrance to liberation. But when man realises the Supreme Consciousness in all things, and regards himself as a channel, or instrument, of that Consciousness, the desire for personal benefit is utterly burnt out. We should not, therefore, flee the world of action, nor ignore the supreme value of life both as the expression, however finite, of the Infinite Source from which it comes, and as affording the opportunity (the only one available to us) through which we may reach the goal. We may make the world itself the seat of liberation, and may in ourselves harmonize the Ultimate Reality and Its appearance. To feel for and help one's fellow-men, to serve one's country and race to the best of one's power, this is indeed real worship of God, perfect devotion to the Eternal Self in whom all of us live and move and have our being.

True progress and emancipation is thus seen to depend on inner freedom ; not merely material and political freedom, though that too is important, but freedom of the soul to pursue its chosen, its appointed, end. It implies a free and independent spirit which looks to itself to do its own work, and does it with courage, vigour and adherence to the great ideals of the race. As has been well said, a complete and free manhood is itself a part of true morality, and those who are politically and culturally dependent, by that very fact, show themselves devoid of it. It is this inner freedom for which we in India should strive, and attaining which we shall as a matter of course win political autonomy and all other external freedom, for it will mean complete '*Svarajya*' both at the source and in the onward current of the national life. And the way to attain such inner freedom is to rescue India's true heritage from the mass of accretions under which it lies buried, to give the deeper Soul of India freedom to express itself in all departments of national life.

Expansion of the Gupta Empire

BY PROF. V. RANGACHARYA

About the year 335 A.D. the founder of the Gupta Empire, Chandra-Gupta I, died, leaving a small territory extending along the Ganges from the borders of modern Bihar to the confines of Oudh. During the next hundred years, this small area was the nucleus of an empire which extended over the major portion of Hindustan and which rendered everlasting service to Hindu culture and civilization. During these 100 years, three great sovereigns—Samudragupta, Chandragupta Vikramaditya I, and Kumaragupta—wielded the destinies of the empire and, we may add, of Hinduism. At the end of this period, about the beginning of the latter part of the 5th century, the magnificent empire over which these sovereigns ruled began to decline for various reasons; and though the dynasty continued to hold power for nearly two centuries after it, the greatness of the empire had become a mere memory. In the present article and the next, the progress of the empire is rapidly traced.

SAMUDRAGUPTA (*Circa 335-80*).

The immediate successor of Chandra-Gupta I was his son Samudragupta. From the expression '*tatparigrahitah*' found in almost every inscription referring to Samudragupta, and from the express statement that his father was specially delighted at his achievements as a prince, we have reasons to believe that Samudragupta was not the eldest son, but selected from among several brothers by his father for the crown, in recognition of his valour and distinction. It has also been suggested that the expression '*Samudragupta*' was a later imperial title assumed by the new monarch and that his earlier name was 'Kacha'. A number of coins bear-

ing the name 'Kacha' and exactly resembling the 'Archer' type of coins in legends, designs and scripts, issued by Samudragupta, are believed to indicate this identity. Very probably, as Alan suggests, Kacha adopted the imperial title of 'Samudragupta' after his conquests, the ending *Gupta* having been adopted in imitation of his father's name. In this case, what had been originally a mere accidental or clan designation, became a proud imperial one.

It may be pointed out here that it has been suggested by Dr. Hoernle that a Maharajadhiraja Sri Dharmaditya who figures in an inscription at Faridpur¹ in East Bengal was also Samudragupta, the title being analogous to '*Vikramaditya*' wielded by his successor. The arguments in favour of this view are: (1) the appropriateness of the title when applied to Samudragupta who is always described as a great '*dharmika*' and master of the '*sastra-tattvartha*', and (2) the use of the epithet '*apratirathah*'; but it is now agreed that the identification cannot stand. Mr. Alan points out that the seal of the Faridpur inscription—the '*abhisheka*' of Lakshmi, indicates a later dynasty and date. He further infers, from the analogy of later reigns, that the epithet '*parakramaditya*' would be more suitable to Samudragupta than '*dharmaditya*.' Above all, Dr. Hoernle himself² later on preferred to attribute the inscription to Yasodharman. We may therefore conclude that Samudragupta was quite distinct from *Dharmaditya*. With regard to the duration of Samudragupta's reign, we have already seen that Chandra-Gupta I was on the throne till perhaps about 335. Samudragupta, we know, was on the throne for a considerable period. The terminal dates assigned to him vary from 375 to 385. Vincent Smith has argued that Chandra-Gupta's marriage with the Lichchhavi princess took place

¹ See *Ind. Antq.*, Vol. XXI, pp 43-44. Dr. Hoernle gives the example of *ya* and *sha* to show the early date of the inscription, which resembles Gupta records in its beginning. It records a gift of land to Somasvamin of the Lauhitya-gotra and Vajasaneya-Sakha by a Vasudevasvamin for erecting apparently a *dharmasala*.

² J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 136.

probably about 308 A.D., in which case we may suppose that Samudragupta was less than 27 years of age when he came to the throne. However it might be, there is no doubt that Samudragupta had a long reign of nearly fifty years, during which period he made himself the greatest emperor of the period. We may attribute the end of his reign to between 380 and 385.

SAMUDRAGUPTA'S INSCRIPTIONS

The history of Samudragupta's reign has been entirely constructed from inscriptions and coins. One of the greatest figures in Indian history owes his name thus to modern research in entirety. Of the inscriptions, two only are available, directly concerning him.¹ The first of these is a posthumous record and inscribed on a pillar at Allahabad, which was discovered in 1834. The column is 35 feet in height and as old as the 3rd century B.C.; for it also contains an edict of Asoka. It is now a conspicuous monument in the Allahabad fort. From the fact that the Asokan edict is addressed to the rulers at Kausambi, it has been suggested by Cunningham that the pillar was originally at Kausambi and later on removed to Allahabad, just as the Asokan columns at Merut and Sewalik hills were removed in Mahomedan times to Delhi. If this were the case, the removal must have taken place after the 7th century; for Hiouen-Tsang, who was for such a long time at Allahabad, does not mention the column there. It is possible, however, to argue that it might have been omitted by him. The Gupta inscription is in the North Indian alphabet of the 4th century A.D., and of course in Sanskrit. It is not dated; but it describes Samudragupta, whom it panegyrises, as already dead. It was evidently, therefore, issued by his son and successor Chandra-Gupta II. The inscription is one of the most unique and valuable records in Indian history; for it gives a detailed list of the countries and peoples conquered by the emperor. The list

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos I and II A.

is neither chronological nor geographical ; but there is some scheme in the arrangement which, as will be shown presently, is very instructive in regard to the character and constitution of the Gupta Empire. The record, moreover, is a *kavya* by itself and, as pointed out by Buhler¹, is one of the earliest examples of the style in which Kalidasa was a past master. The author of the *prasasti* was Harisena, who was by no means a mean poet.

The other inscription of Samudragupta is that of Eran, ancient Arikina, a village in Sagar District, Central Provinces. This record, which is unfortunately fragmentary, belonged to a local Varaha temple. It is in the Southern style of alphabet,—the box-headed style, as it is generally called. It also is in Sanskrit. The portion naming the monarch is spoiled, but from the terms of eulogy, we can easily identify him with Samudragupta. The record refers to Arikina as the city of his delight, and apparently commemorates the erection of the Varaha temple. As has been already said, Samudragupta's name is not available ; but the record is exactly like Harisena's Allahabad *prasasti*. It has been suggested that the lavish distribution of gold referred to in it indicates the performance of the Asvamedha sacrifice and the engraving of the inscription at the end of the reign. In lines 12, 13 and 17, we have references to Samudragupta's conquest of all kings of the earth and his provision, by his own valour, of a dowry for his queen.

Mention should be made here of a spurious inscription of Samudragupta which was discovered at Gaya in 1883. This inscription² is now regarded as a forgery of about the 8th century A.D., though the seal (which contains the figure of a 'garuda' with outstretched wings and a legend in five lines read as 'Samudraguptah') is a genuine one. This record was issued from the royal camp at the city of Ayodhya.

It purports to be dated in the year 9 (328-329 A.D.),

¹ In a Vienna Journal, 1890.

² Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions.*, No. 60.

on the tenth solar day of an unspecified fortnight in the month of 'Vaisakha', that is, in April-May. It gives a brief recital of the genealogy of the dynasty and records the grant to a Brahman (Gopasvamin of the 'Bharadhvaja-Gotra' and 'Bahvricha-Sakha') of the 'agrahara' of 'Revatika' in the 'Gaya-Vishaya'. The deed is said to have been written by the order of Dyuta Gopasvamin, the *Akshapataladhikrita*, the officer in charge of legal documents.

It has been already pointed out that the Faridpur inscription of Dharmaditya cannot be attributed to Samudragupta.

SAMUDRAGUPTA'S COINS.

Next to inscriptions, coins form the chief materials for the construction of the reign of Samudragupta. Thanks to his great conquests, Samudragupta was able to issue a varied and plentiful currency in gold. There can be no doubt that Samudragupta acquired enormous riches and spoils in the course of his victorious career. There are at least eight types of gold coins (he issued no silver coins) struck by him. The earliest of them, which has been usually styled the 'standard' type, shows the immediate transition from, and imitation of, the Kushana type of coinage. We find in the obverse of this 'standard' type the figure of a standing king as in the Kushan coins. In the presence of the nimbate over the king's head, the close-fitting cap, the coat and trousers, the ear-rings and necklace, the possession of a standard (bound with fillet) by the left hand, the dropping of incense on an altar with the right hand,—in all these we find the Kushan coins imitated. The only change is that, in place of the trident, there appears a 'Garudadhvaja', which is quite natural in a monarch who was a devotee of Vishnu. There is also the figure of a 'garuda' with crescent above it. The reverse of the Gupta coin also reproduces the Kushana symbol of Lakshmi seated on a throne, with a nimbate over her head and with a loose robe, necklace and armlets. There is a fillet in her

outstretched right hand; and a cornucopia¹ in her left hand. Her feet rest on a lotus, and the whole is surrounded by a border of dots. The Gupta coin is superior in workmanship to the Kushana coin. The 'dhvaja' type of coins has got, besides the above figures, legends both on the obverse and reverse. The obverse contains the expressions *Samudragupta* and *Samara sata-vitata-vijayo jita-ripurajato divam jayati* in the *upagiti* metre. The reverse contains the legend *Parakramah* (the valiant).

Besides the 'standard' type, Samudragupta issued as many as seven other types of coins. The first of these is known as the 'Archer' type. This became the commonest and most characteristic of the Gupta coins, as it was struck in imitation of Samudragupta, by his successors. It was a natural development of the 'Garudadhvaja' type. The king is standing. There is a nimbate above his head. He is dressed as in the 'standard' coin, but instead of the 'dhvaja,' he holds a bow in his left hand and an arrow in the right hand. The head of the bow rests on the ground. The reverse contains the figure of Lakshmi as in the 'standard' type. The legends in the obverse are *Samudra* beneath the left arm and the expression *Apratiratho vijitya kshitim sucharitaih divam jayati* (the unrivalled charioteer, having conquered the earth, conquers heaven), in the *upagiti* metre. The reverse contains the legend *Apratirathah*, (the unrivalled charioteer).

The third type of Samudragupta's coins is usually styled the 'battle-axe' type. Here, in the place of the archer or the standard, there is a battle-axe, *parasu*. In the obverse, the king stands with a nimbate, cap, coat and trousers, ear-rings, necklace and sword, and holds a *parasu* (axe) in the left hand. His right hand rests on the hip. To his left, there is a second attendant figure or dwarf, behind whom there is a crescent-shaped standard. The reverse contains the figure

¹ The cornucopia is an ornamental vase (*kalasa*) from which corn, fruit and flowers overflow. Lakshmi, as the Goddess of Plenty, is naturally represented with it. The term *cornucopia* means 'the goat's corn' which, as the corn of plenty, figures in the legend of Zeus.

of Lakshmi as in the types already described. The legends in the obverse are (1) *Samudra*, (2) *kr (Krtanta)*; (3) *Samudragupta* and (4) the expression *krtanta-parasur-jayat-yajita-rajajeta-ajitah* (the deadly axe conquers; the conqueror of invincible kings; the invincible), in *prithvi* metre. The reverse contains the legend *Krtanta-Parasu*. In a variety of this type, the king wears a sword and the boy something like a sword, and the standard has two fluttering ribands at the top.

A fourth type of Samudragupta's coins is the one bearing the name *Kacha*, to which reference had already been made. This is also a development of the 'standard' type. The obverse contains the usual figure of the standing king holding a standard in the left hand and sprinkling incense on an altar with the right hand. There is the legend *Kacha* as well as the expression (*Kacho-gamavajitya-divam-karmabhir-uttamair-jayati*) (*Kacha*, having won over the earth, conquers heaven by the best deeds), in the *upagiti* metre. In the reverse there is, unlike in the coins we have thus far studied, a standing instead of the seated Lakshmi. She wears a loose robe, holds a flower in her right hand and cornucopia in the left. Sometimes she stands on a lotus. There is also the legend '*Sarvarajochchhetta*' (the uprooter of all kings).

The fifth type of Samudragupta's coinage is known after the figure of the tiger in it. The king stands wearing a turban, waist cloth, necklace, ear-rings, and armlets; and tramples on a tiger which falls backward on account of his shooting it with a bow in the right hand. The left hand draws the bow back behind the ear. Behind the tiger there is a crescent standard as in the battle-axe coin. The legend in the obverse is '*Vyaghra-parakramah*' (valiant like tiger). The reverse contains the figure of a standing Lakshmi or Ganga on a *makara* (elephant-headed fish), wearing ear-rings, necklace, anklets and armlets. She holds a lotus in the left hand, but the right hand is empty and outstretched. There is also a crescent-standard to the left. The legend on the reverse is '*Raja-Samudraguptah*'.

The sixth is the celebrated 'lyrist' type. This represents the king with a 'veena' in his right hand. He is seated cross-legged wearing a waist cloth, necklace, ear-rings and armlets, on a high-backed couch, playing on the 'veena'. Beneath the couch is a pedestal, with the inscription *Sri-Maharajadhiraja Sri-Samudragupta.* The reverse contains the figure of Lakshmi seated on a stool. She has a cap and jewels, besides fillet and cornucopia in her hands. Beneath, there is the inscription *Samudraguptah.* There are also three slight varieties of this type. The 'lyrist' type is of unique interest for the fact that the emperor is completely orthodox or Indian in dress, posture and environment. As Brown, Allan and others point out, the excellent modelling of the king's figure, the skilful delineation of his features, the ornate design and the careful attention to details, make this type the highest expression of the Gupta numismatic art.

In the seventh or 'Asvamedha' type of coins which were issued probably after 'the world conquest' of Samudragupta, the obverse contains the standing figure of a horse before the sacrificial post, which is surmounted by flags. Sometimes, there is a low pedestal below. Beneath the horse, there are the inscriptions 'Sri' and the expression *Rajadhirajah prithvivi-jitya divam jayatyaprativarya-viryah* in *upagiti* metre. The reverse contains the figure of the queen standing. She wears a loose robe and jewels. Her right hand holds a chowry which goes over the right shoulder. Her left hand simply hangs by her side. To the left of her figure is a sacrificial spear bound with fillet. There is the legend *Asvamedha-parakramah.*

Lastly, the coins bearing the figure of Chandra-Gupta I and his queen (to whom he hands over a ring) in the obverse and seated Lakshmi in the reverse and the legends *Chandragupta*, *Sri Kumaradevi*, in the obverse and *Lichchavayah* in the reverse, might have been issued by Samudragupta; but more probably they were issued by Chandra-Gupta himself.

Such are the coins of Samudragupta. One peculiarity in them is the growing nationalism of the designs. In

Garuda, Lakshmi and Asvamedha, we find the growing tribute to pauranic Hinduism. The monarch becomes more and more dressed in the orthodox fashion. In the 'tiger' type, he is already seen in waist-cloth and turban. In the 'lyrist' type he is completely Indian in dress, in his cross-legged posture and his play on the 'veena'. In the 'Asvamedha' type, he figures as the complete supporter of the orthodox clergy; for the coins themselves, it has been suggested, were medals made for presentation to them. The scripts, the language, the subject-matter and other details indicate the Gupta pride in all the ideals and practices associated with the '*kshattria-dharma*.'

SAMUDRAGUPTA AS DESCRIBED IN INSCRIPTIONS

Before analysing the inscriptional records, it is advisable to see what they say in regard to Samudragupta in general, so that we can understand what sort of man he was. Samudragupta is described in very eloquent terms. He was a world-conqueror, whose fame spread everywhere. He was always accustomed to associate with learned people. He was the supporter of the real scriptural truths. By commanding the collective merits of learned men, he removed obstacles to beautiful poetry. He himself enjoyed, in the world of the wise, supreme fame acquired by poetic composition. He enjoyed the deep affection and regard of his father. His noble nature gave protection to the weak and the distressed. Doers of wrong were humiliated by his powers and made contented and loyal. His building was that of religion. His fame had the witness of the the moon. His wisdom pierced the essential nature of things. As a compound of all virtues, he was a worthy subject of contemplation by the worthy. He was a hero of hundreds of battles, and had a body full of the marks of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, darts, swords, lances, javelins, iron arrows, *vaitastikas* (?) and many other weapons. He restored numerous royal families after conquering them and got from them presents in the form of maidens, 'garuda' tokens, and territories. He rubbed out the

fames of other kings with the soles of his feet. His spirit caused the production of good and the destruction of evil. He could always be won over by devotion and obedience. He was a giver of hundreds of thousands of cows. A glorious personification of kindness, he was ever inspired by the desire to lift up the poor, the miserable, the helpless and the afflicted. He employed his officers in restoring the wealth of the kings conquered by his arms. He was a *Dhanada*, *Varuna*, *Indra* and *Antaka* rolled into one. He put to shame Indra's preceptor and Tumburu and Narada, his sharp and polished intellect, his choral skill and musical accomplishments. He established a claim to the title of *Kaviraja* by composing poetry which could have given subsistence for the learned. He was a mortal only in observing the human duties. Otherwise he was a god. His wealth in elephants, horses, grain and money was endless. He was emperor, 'Paramabhattacharaka', 'Parameswara', 'Maharajadhiraja', 'Apratiratha', the ruler of the sea-girt world. He was in short an ideal monarch.

ANALYSIS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

We shall now analyse the inscriptional materials, of which the Allahabad pillar *prasasti* is the most indispensable. Though a large portion of the beginning of this inscription is lost, there is enough of it to show that, besides panegyrising the emperor in the terms described above, it gives accurate details of his political conquests and the extent of the empire. It opens with an eloquent description of the qualifications of the young emperor and of his selection as *yuvaraja* by his father in the presence of the whole court. It then proceeds to enumerate his conquests. First, he is said to have uprooted the chiefs Achyuta and Nagasena (line 13). He had him, who was born in the Kota family or dynasty, to be captured by his troops. He delighted, as a result of this, in the city which bore the name of Pushpa (Pushpapura). He then captured and released (line 19):

(1) Mahendra of Kosala; (2) Vyaghraraja of Maha-

kantara; (3) Mantaraja of Kurala; (4) Mahendra of Pishtapura; (5) Svamidatta of Giri-Kouttura; (6) Damana of Erandapalla; (7) Vishnugopa of Kanchi; (8) Nila-raja of Avamukta; (9) Hastivarma of Vengi; (10) Ugrasena of Palakka; (11) Kubera of Devarashtra; (12) Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura and other *Dakshinapatha* kings.

He then (line 21) exterminated, we are told, the following, besides many other kings of *Aryavarta*:

(1) Rudra-deva; (2) Matila; (3) Naga-datta; (4) Chandravarma; (5) Ganapati-Naga; (6) Naga Sena; (7) Achyuta; (8) Nandin; (9) Balavarma.

The emperor then made all the kings of the forest countries (Atavika-rajās) his servants. He then compelled (line 24) these 'Pratyanta-nripatis' (frontier or neighbouring kings):

(1) Samatata; (2) Davaka; (3) Kamarupa; (4) Nepala; (5) Kartripura; and 'other countries'

He then reduced:

(1) The Malavas; (2) The Arjunayanas; (3) The Yaudheyas; (4) The Madrakas; (5) The Abhiras; (6) The Prarjunas; (7) The Sanakanikas; (8) The Kakas; (9) The Kharapatikas; and other tribes.

He was paid (line 23) various respectful tributes like personal service, presentation of maidens and 'garuda' tokens, the entrustment of their own territories for his enjoyment, and willing obedience by (1) The Daivaputras; (2) The Shahis; (3) The Shahanushahis; (4) The Sakas; (5) The Murandas; (7) The Simhalas; and (8) other islanders.

Lines 26—7 and 30 give the panegyrics of the emperor, already mentioned. Line 29 gives his genealogy and describes the pillar erected by him as an arm, as it were, of the earth proclaiming his fame as a conqueror of the world, as one who departed to Indra's world to enjoy its pleasures. Lines 31—33 conclude the whole with a reference to the 'Sandhivigrahika Maha-Dandanayaka' Kumaramatya Harisena (the son of Dhruvabhuti Khadyatapakika, the devoted servant of the emperor) who composed the verses. It also refers to another

executive officer, Maha-Dandanayaka Paramabhattacharaka Tila-Bhattaka.

DR. FLEET ON THE ABOVE DOCUMENT

This very important record has naturally attracted the attention of the scholars engaged in the study of the dynasty. Dr. Fleet, with characteristic erudition, tried to identify some places and kings, but left the majority alone on account of the difficulty which they presented. For example, he acknowledged that, with regard to Achyuta and Nagasena, nothing was known. With regard to Pushpapura, he surmised that it might be either Pataliputra or Kanyakubja (which was also known as Kusumapura); he would surely identify it with the former but for the facts : (1) that no inscriptions of the dynasty have been found there till Skandagupta's time ; (2) that Pataliputra is not expressly mentioned as the capital even in inscriptions of Chandra-Gupta II (which mention it) and (3) that the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty are seen more in the vicinity of the latter place. With regard to the Kota family, tribe or dynasty, again, Fleet was able to make no suggestion. With regard to Kaurala, he changed it into 'Kairala' and then corrected it into 'Kerala' on the ground that he knew of no place or city of the name of Kairala. By changing Kauralaka into Kairalaka and Keralaka, Fleet postulated the conquest of Kerala by the king. Pishtapura he identified correctly with Pithapuram in Godavari District. With regard to 'Giri-Kautturaka,' Fleet identified it with Kailas-Kotta on the Mahendragiri hill ; but as, by this interpretation, Svamidatta would have to be made the king of two localities whereas the inscription uniformly mentions one, he was disposed to believe that Kottur was a Dravidian place¹ and that it was probably Kottur in Pollachi Taluk, Coimbatore District. The forest countries he identified with the lands between Madhura and Narmada,—practically modern Central India. '*Pratyantannripatis*' he doubtfully interpreted as the frontier or neighbouring states. Lastly² he identified Erandapalla with

¹ Sewell's *Antiquities*, I, p. 222.

² J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 369.

Erandol in Khandesh district. To this list of identifications, we may add Kielhorn's equation of Kaurala with Kurala, that is, the Colair Lake.¹

DR. VINCENT SMITH'S ELABORATION

Dr. Vincent Smith gave flesh and blood to the theory on the basis of the identifications made by Dr. Fleet. Taking his identification of Kerala, Kottur and Khandesh, he added to the list by regarding Palakka as Palghat, Devarashtra as Maharashtra. As a result of this, he was able to make a connected theory of Samudragupta's conquests and raise him to the position of an Indian Napoleon whose arms were felt from the Himalayas to the extreme south of the peninsula. After subduing as many as eleven chiefs and kings of the Gangetic plain, as well as many forest tribes, monarchies and republics within and beyond the frontier, in short, after reducing North India, Samudragupta, says Vincent Smith, started on a splendid campaign to the land south of the Vindhya. Marching through the area now forming Chota Nagpur, he continues, Samudragupta first attacked and reduced King Mahendra of Southern Kosala, then subdued the chiefs of the forest area between Orissa and the Central Provinces, one of whom was called Vyaghra-raja, and then advanced southward along the coast. Vanquishing the chief of Pishtapuram (Pithapuram in the Godavari District) and the hill-forts of Mahendragiri and Kottura (Ganjam District), Samudragupta next reduced Mantaraja on the banks of the Colair lake (in regard to which he accepted Kielhorn's view) and the Pallava king of Vengi between the Krishna and the Godavari as well as the Pallava king of Kanchi, whose name was Vishnugopa. After subduing another Pallava chief named Ugrasena at Palakka (Palghat), Samudragupta turned to the north and began his homeward march along the West Dakkan, subduing on the way the kingdoms of Devashtra (Maharatta country) and Erandapalli (Khandesh).

¹ Ep. Ind., VI (1900—1) p. 3, foot note.

"This wonderful campaign which involved more than 3000 miles through difficult and unknown country", surmised Vincent Smith, "must have occupied a number of years." And he assigned it to the period ending with A.D. 340.

A DEFECTIVE INTERPRETATION

This roseate account has been found to be defective in several respects.¹ In the first place, the relative chronology of the conquests of the Gupta emperor as laid down by Vincent Smith is not supported by the inscription itself. He believes that the Southern campaign began *after* the conquest of North India; but the inscription mentions the Southern campaign first. And though there is nothing in the inscription to show that it adopted a chronological order, yet the presumption must be in favour of the priority of the Southern campaign in case other evidences do not conflict with it; and scholars like Prof. Dubreuil and Dr. Bhandarkar do in fact favour the theory of an earlier date for the march against the South.

Secondly, the interpretations of some of the geographical terms given by Dr. Fleet, Kielhorn and Vincent Smith, do not stand scrutiny. The expression 'Paishtapurakamahendragirikautturaka-Svamidatta' was interpreted by Dr. Fleet and Smith as mentioning Pithapuram, Mahendragiri and Kottur; but Prof. Dubreuil¹ points out there is no reference to Mahendragiri at all, and that the term should be translated as 'Mahendra of Paishtapura' and 'Svamidatta of Giri-Kotturaka' (that is, the fort of Kottura on the hill). The result of this interpretation would be that some of the perplexing elements in the political geography of Vincent Smith would be removed. Again, Erandapalla (or Airandapalla) was identified with Erandol in Khandesh by Dr. Fleet—a fact which was instrumental for the enunciation of the theory that Samudragupta visited

¹ These criticisms are found in Prof. Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan* (English version, 1920), p. 58 ff; and D.R. Bhandarkar's article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

² *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p 59, para (2).

Khandesh on the way to his capital from his supposed conquests. And this was confirmed by the identification of Devarashtra with Maharashtra. But Prof. Dubreuil points out that, as the Allahabad inscription mentions Airandapalla next to the Kauttura¹ hill, it should be looked for on the coast of Orissa; and that, as a town of the name is referred to in later inscriptions near Chicacole, it must be located there.² In fact, Devarashtra is proved by later Eastern Chalukya inscriptions to be the country which included Elamanchi Kalingadesa,³ that is the country round Elamanchili in Vizagapatam District. Again, the identification of Kaurala with Kerala, Kauttura with Kottur (Pollachi Taluk) in the Coimbatore District and Palakka with Palghat, points out Prof. Dubreuil, is wildly speculative and incorrect. Kerala, it has been suggested, might be the modern railway station of Khurda⁴. Kauttura has been identified with Kothoor in Ganjam District; and Palakka⁵ with the Pallava capital of that name south of the Krishna, which figures in the early Pallava plates of the Nellore District. The logical result of this is that the theory of Samudragupta's going to the extreme South of the peninsula and turning westward as far as Palghat and Coimbatore, etc, vanishes into air. All places belong to the eastern coast of the Dakkan. The reference to Palakka and Vishnugopa, surmises Prof. Dubreuil, must have been to a confederacy of chiefs under the lead of Vishnugopa, the Pallava king of Kanchi, whose territory extended beyond the Nellore District as far as the Krishna. Samudragupta, therefore, probably did not even go as far as Conjeeveram,

¹ Ancient History of the Deccan P. 59, para (4)

² See Ep. Ind., vol XII, p 212, for a grant to an inhabitant of Erandapalli in the Chicacole region. The inscription is the same as C.P. No 4 of 1912-13 which is noticed in my *Topographical list* as VG. 68-A, where the correct identification of Erandapalli is noticed.

³ See VG. I in my *Topo. List.*, which is the same as C.P. No 14 of 1908-9, and Madr. Ep. Rep., 1909, p.p. 108-9.

⁴ By Dr. S.K. Aiyangar in his *Studies in Gupta History*, p. 27.

⁵ The Uruvupalli grant was issued from here. See Ep. Ind., Vol VIII, p 161.

SAMUDRAGUPTA'S REAL ACHIEVEMENTS
IN THE SOUTH

From all these facts, it is clear that Samudragupta's campaign did not cover 3000 miles at all; that, on the contrary, it comprised only the province of Kalinga or Orissa as far as the Pallava kingdom. The Allahabad inscription does not at all "speak of Kerala, Pollachi, Palghat, Mahendragiri, Colair lake, Erandol in Khandesh and Maharashtra. All the kingdoms mentioned in the inscription are situated on the east coast of the Dakkan. The expedition was solely confined to the coast." Further, even this limited undertaking was not quite a success. It was in fact tantamount to failure, due either to the successful resistance of the Pallavas or to Samudragupta's necessity to go to the North in order to meet the rising of the Northern kings. In other words, the Southern campaign was not for establishing an empire after conquering Hindustan, but a preliminary and unfortunate attempt to reduce Kalinga, interrupted untimely by a rising in the North. "After all those rectifications that we have just made, the expedition of Samudragupta presents itself before our eyes in quite another form. It is no more a new Alexander marching victoriously through South India; it was simply the unfortunate attempt of a king from the North who wanted to annex the coast of Orissa but completely failed."

Prof. Dubreuil thus sums up his view of Samudragupta's achievements in the South :

"About 340 A.D. Samudragupta left his capital Pataliputra and marched directly towards the South. First he conquered Southern Kosala, where King Mahendra was reigning in the vicinity of Sirpur and Sombalpur. He then crossed the forests that are to the south of Sonpur and found there the small kingdom of Mahakantara, which means 'the great forest', and where the Vyaghraraja, the tiger king, was reigning. Then he reached the coast of Orissa. Mantaraja, king of Korala, Mahendra of Pishtapura, Svamidatta of Kottura, a citadel on the top of a hill, and Damana of Erandapalli tried to stop him,

but were captured. Samudragupta now prepared to make new conquests, when he was opposed by a confederacy of all the kings that reigned near the mouths of the Godavari and Krishna, the most powerful of them being Vishnugopa, the Pallava king of Kanchi. The other kings were Nilaraja of Avamukta (unidentified), Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kubera who reigned in Devarashtra, and Dhananjaya whose capital was Kosthalapura. Samudragupta being repulsed by the kings of the Eastern Deccan, abandoned the conquests he had made in the coast of Orissa and returned home."¹

It may be added that the places mentioned in the inscription are not in geographical order. The Mahakantara on the borders of Orissa and Bundelkhand was apparently the northernmost territory in this list. Inscriptions of kings named Vyaghrarajas have been obtained in the 5th century from the vicinity of Ganj and Dachne in Bundelkhand. Its reduction by the Gupta forces earlier than the other parts is natural. But Korala (or Khurda station), Pishtapura, Kottura, Erandapalli, Kanchi and Devarashtra, are all mentioned promiscuously without any geographical order. Consequently it is difficult to say where the places Avamukta and Kasthalapura, unidentified as yet, have to be located. Kasthalapura, it has been suggested, might be connected with Kusasthali, a river south of the Krishna mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kalingattupparani*.² It might be either Koradala, eleven miles west of Sompeta in the Ganjam District, or any of the Kotapalles figuring in Ganjam (six miles south of Sompeta) Krishna and Nellore Districts, if the philological variation of 'Kosthalapura' into 'Kotapalli' in the course of ages is possible. With regard to Avimukta, it is only another name for Kasi and it must be some place in the coast named after the great centre of Hinduism. As the name of its local king is given to be Nila, and as Niladri is another name for Puri, one is tempted to connect Avimukta with that celebrated place in an earlier stage of its legendary greatness. But there is no

¹ Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 61.

² Dr. Krishnasami Aiyangar in his *Studies in Gupta History*, p. 27, note I

definite warrant to place the Avimukta of King Nila so far North, though it is not impossible.

With regard to the kings who, according to Prof. Dubreuil, formed a confederacy under the Pallava king of Kanchi, one or two facts may be noticed. Mahendravarman of Pishtapura¹, Hastivarman of Vengi and Ugrasena of Palakka, have been distinctly mentioned by different writers to be Pallavas. A different version is that they were not Pallavas but feudatories of the Pallava empire which had its capital at Conjeeveram. Mahendra, it is now certain, was not a Pallava at all. He was not improbably the last of the 'Brihatpalayana' kings who was shortly after overthrown by the Salankayanas. Hastivarman might be a Salankayana, not improbably the immediate predecessor of Vijayadevavarman with whom began a list of four kings whose inscriptions, from about 350 to 450 A. D. are well-known. Ugrasena might be a Pallava chief, as we distinctly know that Palakka was a Pallava capital ; or he might be the local governor under the Pallava rule. It is quite possible that all these chiefs were rallied by the Pallava king of Kanchi and made to oppose the Gupta invader. This surmise of Prof. Dubreuil is very probably correct ; but it has to be distinctly proved that Samudragupta did not visit Conjeeveram.

SAMUDRAGUPTA IN ARYAVARTA

It is probable that Samudragupta's return to Aryavarta from the Dakshinapatha was caused by the rise of some kings against him there. It is the belief of some writers that it might be due to the fact that he was a younger son, but this is yet to be proved. It is also believed by some that it might have been led by Chandravarman of Pushkarana who, it is maintained, was also the issuer of the Susuniya rock inscription and, according to some, of the Miharauli pillar inscription too. It is true that the name 'Chandra' occurs in the list of opponents of Samudragupta, but there is no evidence to distinctly

¹ Godavari Gazetteer, p. 18 and p. 233.

connect him with Miharauli. But it is quite possible that Chandravarman, who was either the local king of Pokarna or Susiniya or both, rose against Samudragupta together with the others. Rudradeva has been indentified by some with Rudrasena of the Vakataka dynasty, but this is yet to be proved. With regard to the other chiefs—Matila, Naga-datta, Ganapatinaga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandi, Balavarman, etc.—we have reasons to believe that the majority of them were Nagas. The Puranas refer to Naga rulers at Padmavati (indentified with Padam Pavaya, 25 miles to the north-west of Narwar) and Muttra. Nagabhatta and Ganapatinaga are clearly Nagas. They might have been subordinate to Chandravarman of Susiniya. Nagasena and Achyuta seem to be repetitions. The coins of a chief named Achyuta have been discovered at Ahichchatra, and Samudragupta's opponent might be identified with him. We cannot say whether Samudragupta's victories against these were due to his own offensive or to their provocations. From the fact that he is said to have defeated Achyuta and Naga and taken back Pushpapura, we have reasons to believe that he began as a defender of his heritage, but passed on subsequently to the career of a victorious imperialist.

Samudragupta's reduction of Aryavarta under his sole imperial 'umbrella' can be divided into distinct stages. During the first stage, he dealt with the Naga and other chiefs who might have formed a confederacy against him, and carried the Gupta arms beyond the Junna river in the west and across the forest lands, till the Vindhyan border in the south. During the second stage, Samudragupta engaged himself in the conquest of the frontier chiefdoms. These were Samatata in the Gangetic delta; Kamarupa further north; Davaka now forming the districts of Bhogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi north of the Ganges; and the sub-Himalayan States of Nepala and Kartripura (which included Kumaon, Almora, Garhwal and Kangra). The third stage was the conquest or rather conciliation of the tribes—mostly Republican—beyond the Chambal, in modern Rajputana

and the Punjab, like the Abhiras of Rajputana, the Madrakas of the Central Punjab etc. The same was the case with the Shahs or Kushans of Kabul; the Daivaputras or the later Kushans; the Shahanushahis of Bactria; the Murundas of Sindh valley; and so on. All these were in friendly terms with the Gupta monarch. They were not subordinate chiefs, but were interested enough to be in very friendly terms with the new and growing empire.

It is thus obvious that the component States of the Gupta Empire did not belong to the same status. The empire proper extended from the Himalayas to the Vindhya and from beyond the Chambal to the eastern basin of the Brahmaputra. The central portion of this was directly under the emperor; but some parts at least were feudatory chiefs paying tribute. Thirdly, there were the frontier or border States nominally paying tribute, but for all practical purposes independent. Still further beyond, were peoples and tribes who only had friendly communications with the emperor and who were in no way politically connected even in a subordinate capacity with him. The Western Satraps, the Kushans and Sakas of the West Punjab, Kabul and Bactria, the Vakatakas of the Dakkan and the Simhalas of Ceylon, seem to have been in this position. Even taking the parts of India which were directly and definitely subject to the emperor, it is clear that the empire of Samudragupta was extensive enough, though not so extensive as that of Asoka. Though much of the glamour of the 'Indian Napoleon' has been made dim by the iconoclastic character of later research, there still remains to his credit an achievement sufficient to give him the title of a magnificent empire-builder.

SAMUDRAGUPTA AS AN INTERNATIONAL PRINCE

From the fact that Samudragupta had diplomatic relations with the rulers of Gandhara, Kabul, Bactria and Ceylon, we are able to say that he had an international reputation. The communication with Ceylon is said to have begun in this way. King Meghavarna of that country,

who¹ it is certain, was on the throne about A. D. 350, sent two Buddhistic monks to Gaya, but they did not find convenient places to stay therein. Meghavarna therefore sent pearls and other tributes to Samudragupta and won his sanction for building an excellent three-storied monastery for the benefit of Ceylon pilgrims to Buddha Gaya. The structure, which is now in the form of a mound, occupied the site north of the Bodhi tree under which Siddhartha became the Buddha. It is remarkable to note that Samudragupta, who seems to have had no direct dealings with the Tamil States, was in close touch with Ceylon. This seems to have been due to direct communication between the Dakkan and Ceylon. The story of the Kalinga Princess Hemamala and the tooth-relic of the Buddha, which is described in the *Mahavamsa* as having taken place in the 9th year of Meghavarna, seems to illustrate this. This Princess, we are told, fled from her country and her father's capital, Dantapura, in consequence of the invasion of a Yavana named Raktabahu; and after staying for sometime in the diamond sands near the mouth of the Krishna, sailed away to Ceylon, where Meghavarna welcomed her and built for her tooth-relic a shrine in the Maha-vihara which, together with the Abhayagiri Vihara, to which it was taken in procession, was ever after a scene of grand festivities lasting for three months every year. Fa-hien describes this festival in 412. We do not know who the Yavana invader was, but he might have been an officer of Samudragupta. In this case, we may suppose that Samudragupta's conquest of Kalinga led, thanks to the

¹ The chronology of Meghavarna has given rise to some confusion. The *Mahavamsa* says that he came to the throne in 808 A.B. This would fall in 325 A.D., if the Buddha's Nirvana took place in 483 B.C. In this case, Meghavarna would have ruled from 325 to 352 A.D. But there would be difficulty if the theory of the Buddha's Nirvana in 543 is accepted. Dr. Sylvain Levi would place the reign from 352 to 379. In his *Studies in Gupta History* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is inconsistent and confused. Compare pp. 30—1 and 33. He seems to accept both the views, though later on he distinctly is for 352 to 379. The acceptance of this would place Meghavarna's embassy to Samudragupta about 361. The question cannot be considered to be free from doubt.

Kalinga Princess and the tooth-relic, to the establishment of friendly relations with Ceylon. The very embassy of Meghavarna might have been due to it.

The want of reference in Samudragupta's inscription to the Vakatakas of the Dakkan and the Tamil States further south gives rise to some interesting problems. Did he establish suzerainty over the Vakatakas? We have seen how, according to Prof. Dubreuil, he did not go to the Dakkan in his 'dig-vijaya.' One strong evidence in proof of this is the great power possessed by the Vakatakas in this period. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar suggests that Samudragupta might have been either on friendly terms with the Vakatakas or even conquered¹ them. He points out that, while Samudragupta performed Asvamedha, the contemporary Vakataka King Rudrasena I or rather his son Prithvisena I had no ¹ imperial titles which their predecessor Pravarasena I had professed, thus indicating the transfer of imperial power from the Vakataka to the Gupta dynasty. Again, it has been maintained by some that Rudradeva of the Allahabad pillar inscription might be Rudrasena, the Vakataka; for, in a sense, the Vakataka king might be included among the Northern princes. On the whole, however, the exact relation between Gupta and Vakataka rulers in the period is obscure. The want of reference to Prithvisena I is perplexing. The material at our disposal is yet too scanty to throw much light on the matter. Samudragupta might have regarded the Vakataka kingdom as a buffer state between the empire and the region of the Western Satraps. We know that there were marriage relations between the two dynasties later on, and there might have been an equally friendly understanding in the time of Samudragupta. It is quite probable that the Vyaghrarajas of Bundelkhand acknowledged the rule of one or the other as convenience dictated.

¹ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar would place Prithvisena I from the last year of Chandra-Gupta I to a few years at least of Chandra-Gupta II. This seems to err on the side of exaggeration—at any rate in regard to the commencement.

So far as the Tamil States are concerned, we have already seen that no inscriptions refer to them. Some scholars have seen in the celebrated campaigns of Raghu, as described in the 'Raghuvamsa', an echo of the campaigns of Samudragupta. But we have seen that Samudragupta never went to the Kaveri region or the West Dakkan. The theory of Kalidasa's reproduction of Samudragupta's campaign was formulated at the time when Samudragupta was regarded as having conquered South India. We have, therefore, now to conclude that Kalidasa's description is not quite literal; that it was rather a poetic license; that the reference to the Kaveri, the Parasikas, etc., must be attributed to his geographical knowledge rather than treated as a fact of history.

SAMUDRAGUPTA'S GREATNESS

The new theory of Samudragupta's conquests, however, does not take away from him much of his greatness. The empire over which he directly ruled and the high international fame he had, made him eminently fitted to perform the Asvamedha, the great symbol of imperialism, the memorials of which we have got in his coins and in his imperial titles. As a temporal conqueror and as the supporter of 'Dharma', Samudragupta was undoubtedly the greatest man of his day. A great patron of religion and literature, an eminent artist and patron of arts, he must have impressed his contemporaries as much by the beauty of his character as by the efficiency of his valour. At once soldier, statesman, organiser, artist and man of letters, he was indeed a versatile genius. He must have been to the Brahmanical advisers of his court the very embodiment of Dharma. Samudragupta's achievements in the realm of peace in all its multifarious aspects cannot be dealt with here; but it should be stated that to him, more perhaps than to any other sovereign, must be given the proud and privileged position of the saviour of the Hindu culture at a critical time. His pre-eminent place in history is the discovery of archæology and epigraphy; and though the information afforded by these is substantial, still one feels very much dissatisfied with what is

available and hungers for more knowledge of one who is so great and so elusive.

We cannot exactly say when Samudragupta's reign ended. As he came to the throne about 335 and as he ruled for a long period—45 or 50 years, to judge from his coins—his death may be assigned to sometime between 380 and 385. Samudragupta's chief queen was named Datta Devi ; and he seems to have had a number of sons by her and others ; for we are told that he specially chose one of them, the later Chandra-Gupta II, to succeed him. This seems to indicate that this prince was not the eldest son. Unfortunately we have no details. But if Chandra-Gupta was in reality chosen by his father in preference to his elder brother or brothers, we must infer that Samudragupta added to his other talents a fine faculty for judging character ; for Chandra-Gupta proved an excellent monarch and did no mean service for the empire created so skilfully and so efficiently by his father.

Our Banking Messiah II¹

BY PROF. B. RAMACHANDRA RAU, M.A.

While accepting some of the salient conclusions of Sir Daniel Hamilton, *viz.*,

- (a) that the paper-rupee is the most suitable monetary unit of the proposed system ;
- (b) that it should not be based on gold and silver ;
- (c) that the co-operative credit societies should be the machinery through which the money instruments are issued indirectly to the people ;
- (d) that paper created should be covered by goods or work in actual existence ;
- (e) that credit is the '*elan vital*,' the energising influence and integrating force of the modern State, political and economic ;

I believe that the organisation of the new monetary system should be on the following lines and pay heed to the lessons of our past experience.

As it is deemed advisable to provide for a better organisation of the monetary system, it has to be declared that the paper-rupee issued by the National Board of Currency Commissioners or a Central Bank shall by law be current as money within the Indian Empire. It shall also be declared lawful tender in all payments whatsoever. The present outward appearance of the paper-rupee note has given entire satisfaction and should continue to be so in the future, except that the minimum denominations of the paper-note would be one-rupee. Bills of exchange representing actual work, which are already used to a certain extent in

¹ This is the second and final article on Sir Daniel Hamilton's Free-paper Standard Scheme. The first was published in 'Triveni' for March-April, 1929.

the import and export business of our country, should be drawn on specific goods and all paper-rupees in future issued against such first-class trade bills alone. The co-operative banks should discount first-class trade bills and create this money which would be issued to them on the strength of such bills by the Central Bank or the National Board. This new authority will be issuing such paper currency from its office to the co-operative banks, which in turn place it in the hands of the real users of money. The quantity of money issued would not only be elastic but the automatic liquidation of bills at the end of the period would ensure the return of paper-rupees. The only business of the Central Bank would be to create the paper money against such bills arising out of purchase and sale of articles alone, and place it in the hands of the co-operative banks who endorse it before discounting the same at the hands of the National Board. The co-operative banks must also see that paper money is issued against such bills alone located definitely in its hands. If the market rate of interest is adjusted carefully to suit the demands of trade, agriculture and industry, the output of paper-money would be possessing the steady purchasing power of money. The price-stabilisation policy, mainly with the object of realising economic stability, has to be pursued by the National Board acting in co-operation with the co-operative banks and the existing banks, which would have to perform the same discounting of trade bills or agricultural bills or industrial bills. The rediscounting rate might be lower than the market rate so as to induce them to offer the highest class of bills for rediscounting.

Comprehensive publicity of the National Board's or the Central Bank's operations and efficient supervision by the Government would enable the new machinery to work smoothly. The profits arising out of this business should go to the Government who might spend it for securing the wider interests of the country. This is the kernel of the new scheme and so long as no single plank of the outlined reform is broken, sound money would result out of this suggestion.

MAIN POINTS OF DEPARTURE

The chief point of departure from Sir Daniel's outlined scheme is the adoption of the Government-guaranteed bank currency or national money. Mere Government currency is in no way superior to a Government-guaranteed bank note. The example of Government currency in the early days of the U.S.A. warns us against placing too much faith in the creation of value. The public had no faith in the 'continentals.' Even the legal tender laws could not make them circulate. "Fine, imprisonment, forfeiture of claim, outlawry and death" were the penalties decided upon to be meted out to those who refused to take the notes at their face value. But they were of no use. 'Not worth a continental' has become a famous English proverb.

Starting with the fundamental assumption that money is not capital but a ticket to make easy the transfer of capital for the main purpose of creating further wealth, it is absolutely essential to see that these tickets are not increased in any way without specific increase of goods, for, in the event of overissuing these tickets, the holder can get only a proportional dividend out of the stock of goods. A Government issuing money is apt to overissue it and bring about such a deplorable situation. Hence the Central Bank or a disinterested national machinery such as the National Board to issue the Government-guaranteed bank note or national money. The quantity of this money would be the natural outcome of economic conditions throughout the country. The interplay of these conditions *i.e.* the economic demand for currency and the totality of bank-note currency created would automatically fix the bank rate.

PERFECTING THE CO-OPERATIVE MACHINERY

Before the actual commencement of this permanent system for providing the national paper-money can be taken up in right earnest, the perfecting of the machinery of the co-operative banks has to be achieved. The present defects of the co-operative movement should be analysed by Provincial Committees set apart for the work of reconstruction.

As I have pointed out elsewhere¹, the three arms of the co-operative credit triangle need much strengthening. The co-operative financial arm, the non-official training, propaganda and supervision arm ; and the Government arm of inspection and audit ; has each its own defects which require early attention. Each arm consists of three parts. The co-operative credit arm is composed of the co-operative credit society, the co-operative Central Bank and the Provincial Apex Bank. The non-official arm consists of the supervising unit, the district federation, and the Apex Provincial Co-operative organisation society. These need immediate strengthening. Finally, inspection, auditing and liquidation, are the duties of the Governmental arm. If the different arms or limbs of the co-operative body do not harmoniously combine with each other, it is quite possible that there would be complete paralysis as in the case of the old parable—the man and the limbs.

DIFFICULTIES IN CHANGING THE CURRENCY SYSTEM

Even granted that the monetary instruments are perfected and the needed co-operative banking machinery is created, it must be remembered that the existing money system cannot be scrapped light-heartedly. The gold and silver hoards would lose value. As it is impossible to have a clean slate in the matter of monetary reform, the claims of these people must be considered. The position of the silver-rupee is in the present system illogical. It is a stumbling block even to the peaceful and steady return of the gold bullion standard. These difficulties would be aggravated thousandfold if neither silver nor gold is used as currency. The only possible thing is to think of their sale abroad, but the mere announcement of the Hilton-Young Commission's recommendations, though no actual 'dethronement of the rupee' was contemplated, pulled down the value of silver. Hence the sale of unwanted silver on a large scale without actually paring its value to a very great

¹ See my third edition of 'Present Day Banking in India'—Calcutta University.

extent is impossible. Nor can the new Central Bank or the National Board immediately take up the task of supplying at a fixed rate these new units as compensation for the present holders and as a means of averting possible loss to the stored-up energy in the form of precious metals. Even if it is attempted and even if it were possible to sell it gradually on the world markets in small quantities by means of the tender system, the value would still fall. There is no source that can be indicated as a desirable fund to withstand this loss. The gain to the Corporation of the National Board or the Central Bank would not be very great in the beginning. It would not be sufficient to act as a reservoir to bear this loss.

Most of the present day contracts and monetary claims are payable in gold or legal tender currency. Their value would be affected to a certain extent by the introduction of this reform. When doubts arise in people's minds as regards the soundness of the newly introduced paper, difficulties are sure to arise.

India should after all have a domestic gold bullion market. With the least sign of over-issue of inconvertible paper currency, a premium on gold would ensue. This would bring further discredit on the paper money in use.

If other countries do not adopt this self-same policy, as they are not likely to do, there would be danger to our society by rising prices or falling prices elsewhere. Tempted by falling prices, they may be led to sell stocks of goods in our country. If our price-level is kept steady, as it naturally would be if money is created only in due response to business needs, our exports might fall off. There would be increasing competition which our manufacturers would have to bear. Secondly, the foreign producers, though paid in paper, would go to the Central Bank or the National Board and get it converted into foreign exchange which would be useful for their own domestic uses. Thus a drain on the foreign exchange resources of the currency authority would ensue.

Taking the converse case of rising prices elsewhere, there would be irresistible temptation to sell our goods in

foreign countries, and gold or foreign exchange resources would have to be liberated. Our price-level would again be levelled up to the one prevailing in the outer world.

It is inevitable that with managed and stabilised currency for domestic purposes, the foreign exchanges must be made to fluctuate when world prices are unstable. When all countries of the world are now attempting to achieve relative stabilisation of the price-level by a return to the better managed gold standard and obtain exchange stability, our above-foreshadowed plan would be running contrary to their plan of action. Lack of a fixed unit par of exchange or exchange stability at such times has its own evil effects. It would be extremely disturbing to trade, government finance, and free flow of capital for investment purposes.

MANAGED GOLD STANDARD

Thus this monetary reform would be futile except for a brief period, and disturbances would be created as a result of extraneous circumstances over which we have no control. We would have to dance up to the tune sung by other peoples. All over the world, there has been the return to the gold standard and the problems confronting the present day gold standard are to be solved.

India's contribution towards the gold problem can indeed be a magnificent one for which the whole world might be held in fee. Were the future gold stocks to be smaller than the actual demand, the disgorging of her hoards which would indeed be a slow process and dependent on the development of the banking system, can be counted upon. The idea of the gold coin accompaniment, which a gold bullion standard can hope to possess, would have to be sacrificed. With the creation of a Central Bank of Issue co-operating with the other Central Banks, the perfection of the domestic banking system and the popularising of the credit currency can be achieved. It can mobilise gold and issue notes during times of scarcity of gold stocks. With the advent of sound banks, 'the store of value' function which hoards are now doing can be safely entrusted to them. The industrial or

the arts demand for gold can be lessened to a certain extent. But much progress cannot be achieved in this direction until the legal status of women is improved.¹

India's contribution can be equally weighty even if there were to be an actual increase of gold stocks with reference to world demand. Her use in the arts can be stimulated. The gold bullion demand for hoarding might now be acting as a god-sent gift or measure. The Central Bank of Issue need not hope to immobilise or impound gold in its reserve as was done in the U.S.A. banking system in 1923 or send it to the treasury and get gold certificates issued against gold. The above two remedies would be very efficacious in this respect.

The upshot of the above discussion would be that India can safely join the ranks of the gold standard countries. By creating a Central Bank of Issue and by perfecting the needed statistical service, that would be required for presenting a true state of the exact economic conditions of society, the management of the gold standard can be efficiently done by this enlightened body. India need not worry herself about the gold problem confronting her as well as the other nations. But she can be a tower of strength to the other nations of the world and can hope to render substantial service in either direction, of gold shortage or gold inflation, that might occur in the near future. Her services in this direction would be in no degree less than the supposed and doubtful benefits that she will confer by pointing out the path to achieve a new monetary era -the regime of free-paper standard.

Under such circumstances, the wisest course is to co-operate with the rest of the world. An effective and sound monetary system can be secured thereby very easily. Gold fiat money introduced and managed by the Central Banks of the different countries of the world as a result of mutual understanding, would be immensely superior to the Government paper currency or the free-paper standard managed by the Central Bank or the National Board. Monetary

¹ See my article on Hoarding—in the *Indian Finance*—1928.

isolation from the rest of the world would be introducing far more serious consequences than cultural or economic isolation. Monetary non-co-operation is unthinkable at this stage of our economic development.

Recognising the full stabilising influence of international gold fiat money, India must join the ranks of other nations rather than isolate herself. It is by doing so alone that India can possess a stable monetary unit for internal as well as external purposes, than by tying herself up to a free-paper standard scheme which may not after all be nicely and intelligently regulated. Secondly, by removing risks attached to unstable currency, interest rates would be stable and low at the same time. Thirdly, stability of exchange with all the gold standard countries can be easily obtained and India's exports can easily find a sale for them in the Gold standard countries. Fourthly, greater confidence abroad in India would encourage the free flow of capital for productive purposes. "Without currency stability, conservative capital would shrink from the country" says the Kemmerer-Vissering Report¹ and that has been our very experience during 1870 to 1892, years of unstable exchange. Fifthly, gold money or silver money which is so convenient for the people can ultimately be used under the gold standard. This is far more sanitary than bank notes or the Government paper currency of Sir Daniel. Sixthly, the credit-standing which India now possesses abroad would not be destroyed under some form of the gold standard or other. It is risky policy then to adopt the managed free-paper standard.

Even if we accept a reformed and much improved scheme of Sir Daniel, India would become one of the money wrenches that would be left sticking in the world's monetary machine. It all looks very grand to inaugurate a new monetary era, but it may perhaps bring in its train insuperable difficulties. That the "whirligig of time brings in its own revenges" should not be forgotten. To remedy

¹ Report on the Resumption of Gold Payments by the Union of South Africa.

them all, the world should be brought over to India's new monetary standard. This international concerted action in using managed paper currency is apparently an impossible task. If the mountain does not come to Mahomed, Mahomed must go to the mountain. It is folly to sever ourselves from the world standard and money.

CONCLUSION

Taking all things into consideration, the interests of the people who have the small hoards of silver or gold, the inherent difficulties involved in the transition to the new monetary era, the possible consequences that would befall us by monetary isolation from the rest of the world, the grip and fascination which gold exercises over the Indian people, the lack of the truly reliable co-operative societies, and the dearth of the financial statesmanship that would be needed by the members of the Central Bank or the National Board, I reject the free-paper standard, no matter however perfect the scheme might be made by ingenious safeguards against inflation and its possible consequences. India can confer a permanent and lasting benefit to the world by joining the ranks of the gold standard countries and perfecting the Central Bank of Issue in the light of international requirements and co-operation that would be forthcoming. A fairly intelligent regulation of credit currency is infinitely superior to Government fiat money. Gold price fluctuations can and should be eliminated by credit currency operating under an enlightened regime and nexus of international Central Bank solidarity. Of both the systems, the gold fiat and the Government fiat systems, the gold fiat system is 'a new and experimental one' but it is gradually improving its technique. If it succeeds in removing the tidal action on prices without attempting to establish complete surface tranquillity, with the help of a uniform system of index-number agreed upon internationally, the quest for a sound monetary system need not be carried further.

Current Topics

LORD ROSEBERY

Lord Rosebery, scholar and statesman, has passed away. The writers of obituary notices are careful to remind us that he was not only the last survivor amongst the Premiers of Queen Victoria, but also the last Premier of England to win the Derby. Lord Rosebery was a typical Whig nobleman to whom a political career was as much a matter of heredity and tradition as his broad acres or his race-horses. Wealthy and talented, his eminence in public life was a foregone conclusion. But he relinquished office and retired from politics, all too prematurely, because he felt that while he was a Liberal by conviction, he was not fitted by temperament to lead the Gladstonian Liberals. And his exclusion, as a Peer, from the House of Commons was a severe handicap. But with Lord Rosebery, politics was by no means an absorbing passion. He will long be remembered as an ornament of English society, and as the brilliant 'orator of the empire,' who on great occasions could be trusted to give utterance to the most exalted sentiments in choicest diction. His memorial tributes constitute a literature by themselves. Men like Lord Rosebery cannot organise a nation for victory in war, nor lead it in times of crisis. But their work is of more enduring value than that of the 'mere' politicians untouched by a glow of idealism or the refinement of learning. We can never have too many men of this class—the class to which belong Viscount Bryce and John Morley of England and Mahadev Govind Ranade and Srinivasa Sastri of India.

SCHOOLS OF POLITICS

We desire to invite the reader's attention to Mr. E.S. Sunda's article in the present number on 'Politics as a Profession.' We are in entire agreement with him as

regards the need for provincial schools of politics, where politicians in the making might get the requisite equipment for public life. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar has such a school in contemplation, and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has long been wishing to start a like institution for Andhradesa. For some years now, the patient study of public questions and the eagerness to be posted with facts and figures, have been lamentably lacking in our country, more especially amongst Congressmen. The Liberals were poor fighters, and their advocacy was always vitiated by a too great anxiety to accommodate themselves to the view-point of the 'other side.' But they were great scholars and took infinite pains to apprentice themselves to public life. Their example is certainly worth imitating in this respect.

Mr. Sunda, intellectual aristocrat that he is, flings a cheap gibe at the younger Congressmen of today. In his view, they are mere 'nobodies'. But it is worthwhile remembering that but for these youngmen who left their schools and colleges at the call of the Congress in 1921, the national movement would not have made any headway. While the older men were involved in endless discussions about the validity of the Non-co-operation programme and kept aloof from the great struggle for freedom, these youngmen gave up their all—though their 'all' might not amount to much in Mr. Sunda's view—and literally stepped into the breach. They covered the land with a net-work of village Congress Committees, preached the gospel of Swaraj from a thousand platforms, filled the gaols to glutting and brought imperishable glory to the Motherland. It was 'war-time' when every single unit was valuable. They were ill-equipped for their task, but if their 'betters' sulked in their tents, was it not their manifest duty to rush to the fray and keep the flag of Swaraj flying?

But all this by the way. The need for provincial schools of politics is imperative, and we are sure none would welcome them more than the intrepid youngmen of the land. The various Provincial Congress Committees ought to address themselves to this question. Such schools have their

value, even apart from work in the Legislatures, which in the conditions of non-Swaraj India is like ploughing the sands.

GANDHIJI AND THE KALASALA

With reference to the note about the Kalasala in our March-April number, Gandhiji writes to the Editor :

“I do not know what more I can do than what I have done, which you may not know. I purposely invited the teachers at Dr. Pattabhi's residence, and in his presence had a long chat with them. I needed no enquiry in the matter. My opinion was fixed, namely, that on no account could that institution seek affiliation. After having accepted large sums of money from the public on the strength of its rigidly national character, I suggested that it was a matter of honour with them to preserve the national character of the institution even if it was deserted by every single boy. Even if I stayed in Andhra Desh for a month and that at Masulipatam, I could not carry the matter any further.”

This only proves that not even Gandhiji can help those that refuse to help themselves.

K.R.

THE BRITISH ELECTIONS

It is hazardous to indulge in election forecasts. The task is much more difficult in the case of the forthcoming British elections in view of the 'flapper' vote. Yet, a careful analysis of the electoral conditions may help us to know which way the wind is likely to blow. It is better that we should recall at this stage how after the General Elections of 1924, the House of Commons opened with 413 Conservatives, 150 Labourites, 40 Liberals, 1 Irish Nationalist, 7 Constitutionalists and 4 Independents, and how at the time of the dissolution of the House, the Conservatives lost 15 seats, the Labourites gained 13 and the Liberals 5, apart

from other variations in the strength of the minor parties. Thus, ominously enough for Mr. Baldwin, the Conservative stock had already begun to fall. This has not, however, unnerved the Premier and he is now, inspite of the huge alarm sounded in his ears by valiant and veteran fighters like Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, placidly smoking his briar pipe. He has now put up 588 candidates against 570 Labourites, 510 Liberals, 25 Communists, and 31 members of other parties. It may incidentally be mentioned that there are 68 women candidates. The nominations, it is further understood, altogether total 1274 which is a record for British Parliamentary elections.

Everyone who has so far entered into a conjectural competition in regard to the election has invariably thrown a cold douche on the Premier's feet. Mr. Baldwin has been in the saddle for five years without commanding a good press and capturing public imagination. It is certain that he will have no majority huge enough to defy the Opposition benches, while it is even doubtful if he will lead the single largest party in the House. And now, on the eve of the elections, he is hardly in a position to counteract the growing influence of the Welsh Wizard who startled the electorate with a catching slogan. That therefore in any case Mr. Baldwin will drop a considerable number of seats, none can deny.

Then there is the Labour Party under the leadership of 'the good old Mac.' As the Conservative ranks are sure to be thinned and as the Liberals have no prospect of sweeping the field, though they can be sanguine about increasing their numbers, it is Mr. Macdonald and his party that will stand to gain most in this turmoil. But can he get back to 10, Downing Street? The possibility is not ruled out. If he does, it must be only as a result of an understanding he arrives at with Mr. Lloyd George. And Mr. Lloyd George, the most consummate political strategist that he is, is certainly not the man to put Mr. Macdonald at the head of the Cabinet, without demanding a good price from him.

These negotiations are not unlikely to lead to the formation of a Coalition Cabinet. Mr. Lloyd George has, in an electoral sense, "got away with a flying start" by bringing the most startling issue of Unemployment to the forefront and compelling even his opponents to fight on that very issue. Great Britain is once again under the spell of his wizardry. In the next House he will be a force to be reckoned with.

But after all, much depends upon the mood of the woman. And who can count upon so fickle a thing as a womanish mood? The three million votes Miss John Bull has gained, will decide the issue. As A. G. G. puts it, while summing up the parties' prospects in an *English Weekly*, "If she smiles upon Mr. Baldwin, she may still save him. If she smiles the other way, anything may happen." But whatever may happen and, whichever party may come into power, it makes no difference to India. That ought to be plain to everyone from the incontrovertible fact that all the parties have agreed upon omitting the question of India in their election programme. India must deliver India from bondage. That is the moral we can learn from the campaign in Great Britain that is now in full swing.

I. D.

Reviews

[We shall be glad to review books in all Indian languages and in English, French and German. Books for Review should reach the office at least SIX WEEKS in advance of the day of publication of the Journal.]

Sparks and Fumes.— By K. ISWARA DUTT (40, Broadway, Madras) Price, Re. 1.

When the author happens to be your friend, it is much easier to write a preface than a critical review. But as the Associate Editor has performed the former function, the latter falls to our share.

The pen-portraits of thirteen Andhra worthies collected in this attractive volume are already familiar to the public through *Swarajya* and to a slight extent through *Tricent*. Mr. Dutt has established a reputation as a writer of sketches after the manner of 'A. G. G.' He has the true Boswellian instinct for anecdote, and aided by a powerful memory and a remarkable felicity of expression, he is able to make the subjects of his sketches 'live' through his pages. This is something out of the way in Indian journalism, for with us, such sketches have a tendency to become more biographical and less critical. Mr. Dutt has chosen his men from all schools of thought, and while it is not possible that we should agree with his estimate in every case, we ought to concede that he has spared no efforts to be fair and judicious. Most of the public men brought under his searchlight are personally known to him, but he has very rarely permitted his affection and regard to cloud his judgment. This is especially so in the case of Mr. C. R. Reddy, who is to Mr. Dutt what Johnson was to Boswell. We mean no disparagement of either.

Like most students of literature who are anxious to copy 'models', Mr. Dutt has acquired a little too much of what may be called 'the quotative habit', the Sam Weller touch which inclines him to fortify himself at every turn with a pompous narration of what "so-and-so said of so-and-so." There is also a desire to pile up phrases for the sake of balance and to choose words for their alliterative effect. This leads to monotony after a certain point. These are, however, minor faults induced, firstly by a too close study of the manner and methods of the writers of 'journalese' albeit of the superior type, and secondly by a belief that all that glitters is gold.

Mr. Dutt is a writer of rare promise, and his 'arrival' an event of importance in the history of Indo-Anglian literature. He has taken the public by storm. His sketches are extremely interesting and suggestive. In fact, there has been nothing like it since the late G. Parameswaran Pillai's brilliant portraits of 'Representative Indians' and 'Eminent Congressmen'. There are passages like the description of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's lecture at the Chintamani Theatre and the malignant fairy at Mr. Reddy's cradle, which induce one to exclaim, "Hats off to Mr. Dutt". Our reading of this book has whetted our appetite for more of the *same kind*. And Mr. Dutt, we know, is not the man to let the grass grow under his feet.

K. R.

The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore:—By K. R. SUBRAMANIAN
(Madras, 1928.)

This sketch of the history of the southern outpost of the Maratha Empire is well done: it is short, crisp and clear. From a survey of the conditions which invited the Marathas to stroll down south, the book proceeds chapter by chapter, to unfold the story of the rise and the fall of a Kingdom, till the settlement of the country by its absorption into the British Dominions. Not only the political history of the Kingdom but its administrative system and its economic conditions are succinctly set forth. Mr. Subramanian has even added a chapter on the charities of the Kings and their religious policy which was guided by a very wise and enlightened spirit of toleration. Though the table of contents does not disclose it to the casual reader, the author has at different places enlarged on the cultural history of the country during this period and showed how the Marathas kept alive the intellectual activity of their subjects. Mr. Subrahmanian has managed to invest the history with much of interest, and to compress into a short compass a history which it would have taken another a much longer volume to tell. If the history of Tamil literature in the period is omitted, or so important a figure as Pachaiyappa in the economic settlement of the Kingdom is not even mentioned, and some other valuable facts and tendencies are ignored, we have to impute it to the anxiety of Mr. Subramanian to deal with an important subject within the compass of a primer.

We wish Mr. Subramanian god-speed in his explorations into Indian history.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.

GUJERATI

'*Chunban ane beigi vatho*,'—Sjt. Nagindas. N. Parekh. (Prasthan Karyalay, Ahmedabad.) Price Re 1.

This is an anthology of short-stories translated from Czech, French, Italian, Polish, Russian and Hungarian languages. Karolina Svetla, Prosper Merima, Maupassant, Kisfauldi are some of the writers translated in this volume. Mr. Parekh and his collaborator Mr. Sivasankar Sukla who also translated a few pages, have in this attempt, presented to the readers the treasures of a few rich foreign mines; and their work may serve as inspiration to other enterprising discoverers. Youngmen of Gujerat with the ambition of writing short-stories will certainly find much to be studied and digested in these consummate works of Continental masters.

Mr. Parekh has already established a name through his journalistic activities as the chief Editor of his College Monthly 'Sabarmati' while yet an undergraduate of the Gujerat Vidyapith, and later by his translations of Tagore's Bengali plays: *ru*, 'Visajjan', 'Lakshmir Pariksha', 'Nafir Puja' etc. His various independent contributions to important magazines have already acquainted him to the public of Gujerat. If he pursues his literary career unflinchingly, he will before long get admission into the Sabarmati school of writers.

The difficulty of translating Continental authors in diverse languages has been simplified by their having been already cast into the English language; while any idea of bringing out a representative anthology of stories from all the Indian vernaculars is utterly impossible at present owing to the necessity of one's being conversant with all those languages. Tagore and Chatterjee of Bengal, Dikshitulu and Gudipati of Andhra, Munshi and 'Dhumaketu' of Gujerat, and Premchand of Hindi have won distinction in the field of short-story writing in our country. How far have we tried to bring out anthologies of their writings in any vernacular?

Mr. Parekh, in the present volume, has mastered up-to-date Gujerati style, the criteria of which are clarity in expression, naturalness in construction, moderation in figures and imagery, a strict economy of words and a harmonious combination of all these qualities. We heartily congratulate the young translators in so far as they have successfully withstood the ugly temptation of the pompous, high-sounding, and circumlocutous style found in some of the Telugu translations from English.

The introductions to the book written by Mr. Ramanarain

Pathak—the Arnold of Gujerat—as well as by Mr. Parekh himself are of immense help and interest to the reader. Besides other valuable suggestions, they have added a list of renowned writers of the short-story in the various European languages. A few lines about the author with a short analysis of the theme precedes each story, which is an essential feature in such a volume. We earnestly desire anthologies of this type published in every Indian language. It might again be insisted that editing of collections of modern Indian short-stories is equally necessary.

We congratulate the publishers of this book on the fine printing and get up as well as the reasonable price.

B. G. REDDY.

TELUGU

The 'Andhra Patrika' Annual

This *Ugadi Sanchika* has become a regular Andhra institution. Its publication is looked forward to with eager interest every year. During two decades, the Andhras have learnt to admire the skill and enterprise of the publisher, Sjt. K. Nageswara Rao. But we must confess to a feeling of disappointment with regard to the present number. While the 'annual' has grown considerably in bulk, there has been a marked lowering of the standard of achievement. We should like to see a much more rigorous censorship exercised in the selection of poems, short-stories and essays. The tricoloured pictures ought to be chosen with greater care and reproduced in an infinitely better fashion. Several of the prints are no better than ugly patches of coloured ink. Then again, we see no point in reproducing an endless series of photographs of persons of no consequence and crowding them by the dozen into successive pages with unmeaning 'artistic' borders. The advertisements are coming to be a grave menace. They invade the inner and outer covers and are thrust right into the letter-press.

These criticisms are offered in a friendly spirit. We are anxious that whatever is published from Andhradesa should be of the finest quality. We have no doubt that with his ample resources and his trained staff, Sjt. Nageswara Rao will be able to bring out a much brighter number next time.

K. R.

'Samadarsini' New Year Number

We have just received the 'Samadarsini New Year Number' for the *Sukla Samvatsara*. This is the second issue of such a number, the

tradition of which was set up only last year. The attractive get-up with the stately portrait of the late lamented Raja of Panagal is praiseworthy. The liberal-minded and brief editorial note from the pen of Mr. Subrahmanya Sreshti reviewing the present state of world-politics and especially the Indian situation is particularly well-written.

The general standard of the contributions is very high. Some of the more valuable contributions to the number are 'Development of Village Industries' by the Hon'ble V. Ramadas Pantulu, 'Women of the West' by Mr. L. V. B. Chowdary, B.A. (Oxon), 'Encouragement of Arts' by Mr. Burra Seshagiri Rao, 'Neglected Literature' by M. Somasekhara Sarma, 'Insurance Companies' by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, and 'Life after Death' by Challa Seshagiri Rao. Among the contributors of the short-story Mr. G. Venkatachalam is a popular writer, while the powerful story by Mr. P. V. Rajamannar is also highly appealing. Well known among the contributors of verse are Messrs. Krishna Sastri, Ramireddi, K. Venkata Rao and Bapiraju. Some of the promising younger contributors are Messrs. Srinivasa Rao and Satyanarayana in criticism, B. G. Reddy and Pitchi Reddy in language and literature, T. V. Ramamurty in the short-story and P. Venkata-ramaiya, Viswesvara Rao, Bapayya and Narayanababu in the section of poetry.

The printing and the paper are high-class, though some of the beautiful verses of Sri Krishna Sastri are sadly marred by mis-arrangement and printer's devils. The printing of photos of prominent Andhra men and women is well-executed. The pages are left unnumbered, probably owing to oversight. The advertisements ought not to have come in between reading matter.

The most attractive feature of this number is the reproduction of half-a-dozen beautiful paintings. But at a time when journals of other provinces are publishing with pleasure paintings by promising artists of Young Andhra, it is a matter for regret to find a Telugu Annual so barren of the rising genius of our own province. We hope the Editors would make up for this next time. The frontispiece by Alla Bux, 'Bhava Sundari' by Purna Chandra Sinha and 'Chandrika Sudhakaram' by Sidheswar Misra are highly pleasing. Our hearty congratulations are due to the Editors for bringing out such a model number for this year and our earnest hope is to see more of the same quality in the coming years.

M. V.



' A Sift to the Lord Buddha '

By Kamendranath Chakravarty

' O Master, the merchant-prince, Anatha-Pindika, prays that you should accept his hospitality at Savattha ' : so entreated the disciples.

' Much have I heard of how he bought the great Jetavana grove at Savattha paying for it as much gold as covered the ground, and now have I heard of a monastery he is building therein,' said the Enlightened, and journeyed down from Kapilavastu.

' What wilt thou do with grove and monastery ? ' asked Anatha-Pindika of the Enlightened when He had seen them.

' Restore them on the Order, the present one and the future ' : so replied the Buddha gently.

And Anatha-Pindika knelt before the Buddha and poured water into His sandals and so made a gift of grove and monastery to the Order.

*A form so clear, a noble accomplishment, an humble gift,
A home devoid of shades.*

*A picture like unto the old frescos of Ajanta,--bold in
line, simple in composition, deep in colour, and clear, though
gentle, in contrast.*

The artist, Sjt. Chakravarty, is Headmaster of the Government School of Art, Calcutta. He had his training at the feet of Sjt. Nandalal Bose. For sometime he was art-toucher at the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala and an esteemed colleague of the Editor, ' Triveni '. This is one of a series of Buddha pictures painted by him.

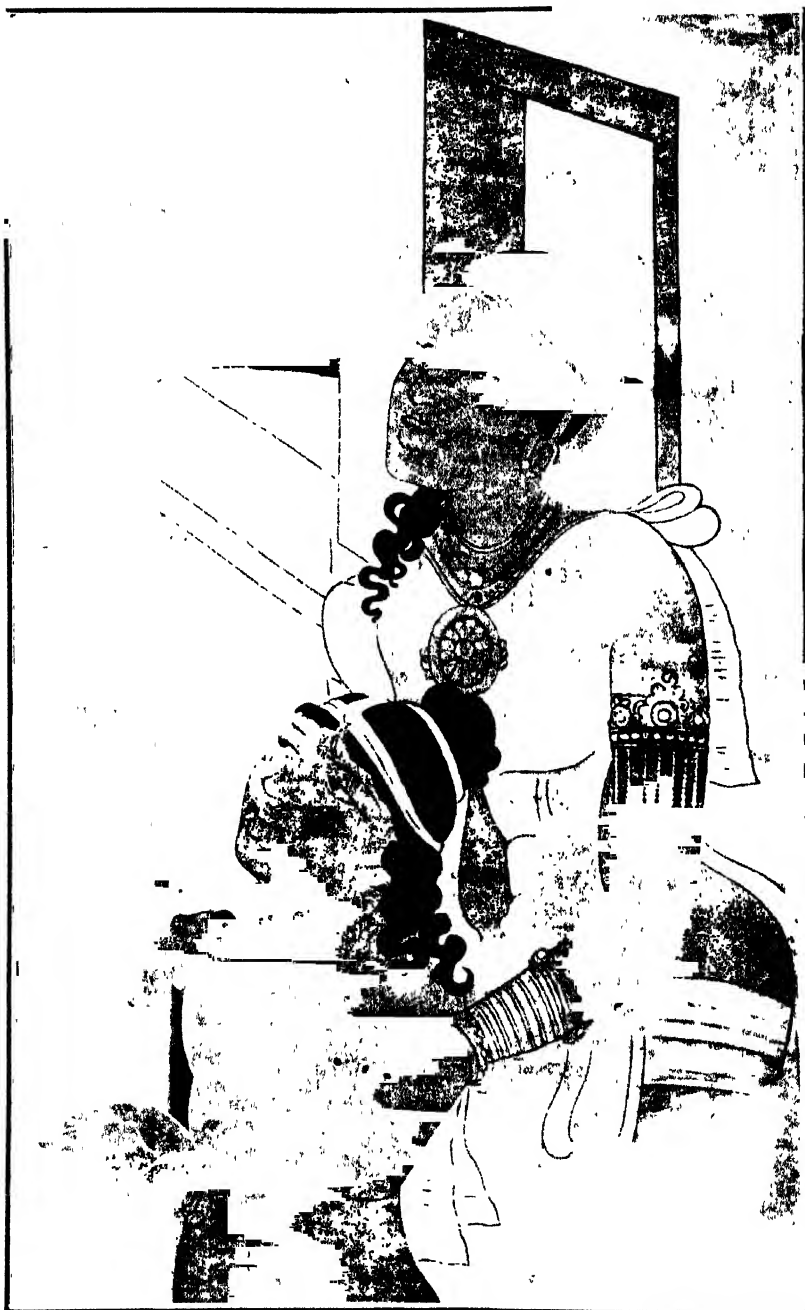
Selected Examples of Indian Painting and Sculpture

BY O. C. GANGOLY

[In my Address before the Art Section of the Fifth Oriental Conference held at Lahore in November last, I tried to emphasize on the crying need, in our educational curriculum, for provisions and opportunities for students to develop their power of understanding and appreciation of the works of artists, ancient and modern,—to achieve a trained knowledge of the beauties of the Masterpieces of Art and of the principles upon which they are founded,—in the same way as elaborate courses are prescribed for helping students to form an intelligent acquaintance with the beauties of the Masterpieces of Literature, by an intimate study of the best examples of Poetry, Drama, and Prose (*Belles Lettres*) without any pretention to train up Poets, Dramatists, or Story-writers. Our modern education, while it has weaned and estranged us from the standards and ideals of old Indian cultural life and the forms and repositories of their expression, has created a gaping breach between our modern outlook and the forms of old Indian Art in which the best phases of Indian culture are incarnated. In this way, the gaze of the modern Indian has been gradually turned away from the visage of Indian Art. This has led to a lack of contact and sympathy. Indian Art has come to be regarded as something to be brushed aside, neglected, and ignored. In the field of Literature, a frequent contact with the Masterpieces of Letters, (be it in English or in the Indian vernaculars), has helped to awaken in our college students a reasonable critical sense for apprehending the values of literary forms of different periods and *motifs* and a fair amount of the power of appraisal of literary merits. In the field of plastic forms, the average educated man from college is utterly incapable of apprehending the merits of Visual Arts—of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture—not having an opportunity to train his vision or critical faculty of appraising the quality of beauty in a given work of Art, owing to a lack of contact with the Masterpieces of Art under any kind of trained guidance,—for, the Plastic Art is a forbidden fruit in our college

studies. The doors of the Masterpieces of Buddhist Plastics, Brahminical Sculpture, or of the Schools of Rajput Painting, are as much barred against the comprehension of the average type of educated Indians as any European obsessed by Hellenistic or Græco-Roman prepossessions. But while the foreign critic, by reason of a general grounding in æsthetic education, is able to find a key to the understanding of Indian Art, to the educated youths from our colleges, the peculiar beauty and the special forms and *motifs* of Indian Painting and Sculpture appear to be for ever inaccessible. It is only by cultivating an intimate acquaintance and frequent contact with the different phases of Indian Art that Indians can be persuaded to realise the value of their priceless heritage. By the courtesy of the Editor of this Journal, it is my privilege to present in each number selected examples of Indian Painting and Sculpture, with suitable verbal comments, to accompany the reproductions. The Editor hopes by this means to awaken interest among educated Indians in the study and understanding of Indian Art, on which Indians have hitherto thought fit to heap nothing but disregard and neglect. It will be useful in this connection to recall the following remarks of Mr. E. B. Havell :

“ Even if, for Europeans who think like Macaulay, all Indian Art should be worthless, it will always remain a priceless boon for Indians, offering them something which the best European Art can never give them. Let Indians of the present generation, who through Macaulay's narrow and short-sighted policy have never enjoyed this precious heritage, see that their children are put in possession of it.”]



MOTHER AND CHILD

Yasodharma and Rahula Ajanta. Circa 500 A.D.

I

MOTHER AND CHILD

(*Yasodhara and Rahula*)

FRESCO CAVE XVII, AJANTA

On the spacious walls of the cave temples and monasteries of Ajanta, the monk-artists of Buddhist India have bequeathed for us a rich series of fresco-paintings, which from the quality of their deep and sincere religiosity, their grandeur of design and rhythm, their free and sweeping brush lines, and, above all, their sublime vision, must be taken to rank with the best of the masterpieces of pictorial art in any part of the world. The finest achievement of Italian painting has become an indispensable part of the heritage of European culture. The mural paintings of Ajanta deserve a similar place in the renaissance of Asiatic culture. Da Vinci's *Madonna of the Rocks*, or Botticelli's *Madonna of the Pomegranate* is familiar to most schoolboys in England—but how many of our school-teachers or College Professors can claim familiarity with our Buddhist Madonna, one of the magnificent fragments of the mural paintings of Cave XVII at Ajanta? The priest-painters of these Buddhist frescoes attempt to transport us to a new world of spiritual dreams, realized in terms of a deep and intimate familiarity with the joys, the passions and the sorrows of human life, and set down in a language of Form in which the physical and the spiritual are fused in a happy harmony. This fragment of the representation of 'A Mother and Child' is said to illustrate an incident when the Buddha accidentally met his wife, Yasodhará, and his son, Ráhula, as he went about begging from door to door in the city of Kapilavastu, which he had left as a Prince, and to which he had returned as a beggar-monk. The uplifted face of the mother of Rahula is illuminated with an

expression of serene tenderness and a poignant pathos which easily rival many an Italian Madonna's. Her eyes, almost brimful with tears, plead as well as rebuke. They plead for the desolate heart of a deserted wife, and they rebuke the Prince for his begging bowl and his robe of renunciation. Yasodhara is pictured here as a veritable 'Mater Dolorosa' of Buddhist Art. Even if we eliminate the religious and the sentimental appeal in this pictorial composition, the remnant of its æsthetic and visual qualities offers a rich and perennial fountain of delight. The finely-poised head of the Mother, rich in its delicate and sensitive outlines, is echoed by the head of the child, placed at a similar angle, to lend emphasis to the design by a clever repetition. The gentle but sweeping curves and the nobility of the descending line of the arm and the hands, as they caressingly hold the child, almost merge in the outline of the figure of the child—thus blending the two figures in a happy unity. Indeed, all the motives and gestures of the two figures are attuned to one subtle and delicate harmony. The whole story is told through the medium of sensitive and sure outlines—without the aid of light and shade or modelling. In such supreme achievements of pictorial expression, the Indian artist anticipated the Italian painters by several centuries.



TARA

Nepalese School, Late 12th Century
Collection of Mrs. A. DALY DUBLIN

II

A BUDDHIST TARA

(*Copper-gilt figure*)

SCHOOL OF NEPAL, c. 12TH CENTURY

The development of Mahayana Buddhism has bequeathed to the Sculpture Gallery of Indian Art a shining gallery of images of great depth of conception, of sensitive forms, and of a wide variety of attitudes and gestures. In this example of a standing form of a Buddhist Tara (Saviouress), we have a conception of suave elegance, and at the same time an image of great power and concentration. The youthful body, posed in a sensitive *avanga* flexion, is graced by a soft and delicately contoured pair of arms—terminating in a pair of finely-modelled hands—one in a *abhaya mudra*, and the other in a *lola mudra*) which are made to rest on the two hips—to emphasize, as it were, on the general effect of repose suggested by the figure. This static feeling is culminated in a head, conceived in an expression of deep and introspective concentration and meditation. As a saviouress burdened with the duty of relieving all the miseries of the world, her sense of responsibility is symbolised in a depth of expression—and a static self-contained movement. The facial expression is not the equivalent of an idle and passive reverie, but of an active sympathy with the sorrows of a suffering world, which the saviouress has accepted as her own, and of an energetic meditation for the means of alleviation. This deep and serious contemplativeness is relieved and illuminated by a sweet, but a very fragile smile, which seems almost to break under the burden of her sorrows, which are not of her own, but those of the suffering world. All the technical devices, and details of dress and iconography,

are designed to emphasize on the sense of repose and contemplation. The whole pose of the figure affixed on the lotus pedestal, with the weight of the body laid on the left leg, is conceived in a delicate equilibrium. This sense of equilibrium is re-inforced by the descending lines of the hands, and of the drapery, particularly of the *uttariya*, hanging in graceful and rhythmic folds from the left hand, its terminating end coming to rest on the pedestal. The only opposing movement is the upward spring of the three points of the *tri-chuda* crown, the effect of which is neutralized by the circular *siras chakra*, the decorative halo round the head. The lobes of the ear with their load of *kundala* are lengthened to touch the shoulders, the curves of which naturally lead to the bosses of the armlets on the upper arms, which slope down, in logical sequence, and melt into the descending lines of the hands—the sense of descent being carried and continued by the lines of the drapery until they reach the pedestal. In order not to disturb the effect of these descending lines, all the horizontal lines are given in soft and almost obliterated indications. The necklace (*upagriva*) and the waist-band (*kutibandha*) are almost invisible, and their drapery across the breasts is barely indicated by a pair of soft lines. This skilful design of a cascade made of a series of sweet and fluid lines, descending from the top to the bottom, is a happy and appropriate symbol of the flow of sympathy and mercy of the great saviouress,—the spiritual consort of Avalokiteswara—the Maha-karuna, the incarnation of Great Benevolence. Conceived with great power and concentration, this Indian statuette stands for an order of spiritual beauty which is on the opposite pole from the superficial flesh-forms of Greek Venuses, or Italian Angels.

A Basis for International Amity

BY JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph. D.

(Formerly known as John J. Cornelius)

The cross fertilization of culture has been and is one of the main factors, though little recognized as such, in the social and intellectual progress of mankind. The traveller who went to a foreign country in search of knowledge and brought with him to his native land a knowledge of the cultural achievements and activities of other peoples, performed a service of which we have hardly any exact knowledge, and much less definite appraisal. Similarly the function of the foreign student in the dissemination of culture and promotion of goodwill has not, even now, been clearly understood. Since the World War, there has come about an earnest desire that just as man's science has helped to create a neighbourhood out of the far-flung countries of the world, so also neighbourhood of man's spiritual ideals should help to create a brotherhood of races. All thoughtful leaders and prophets of the New Age are searching for a common meeting ground, and utilizing it in bringing different races together so that the hidden purpose of this New Age may be revealed and realized.

A LARGER FAITH

While science has helped to break down the physical barriers, other obstacles have sprung up, and they militate against the union of the different races of mankind. Rightly does the poet Tagore point out, therefore, that men go on living as though the old limitations were still real. In place of the natural boundaries, artificial modes of exclusion, such as the immigration laws, prohibitive tariffs, passport regulations, etc., have been put up by them. These new obstructions being artificial, says

the Poet, are not only a burden to the people, but by the might of their dead material create deformities in their moral nature. Hence such obstacles tend to keep the different races spiritually apart, though they have come physically near. Therefore if the world-neighbourhood is to be made into a brotherhood, it could only be done by helping mankind to realize a unity, wider in range, deeper in sentiment and stronger in power, than ever before. Since our problem is great and complex, we have to attempt to solve it on a bigger scale, to realize the God in man by a larger faith, and to build the temple of our faith on a sure and world-wide basis.

The Great European War was fought to end war, and yet we seem to be farther to-day from peace than we were prior to that war. The Nation-spirit is still marching on and many far-seeing statesmen are sounding notes of warning. Not long ago the famous English philosopher and noted writer, Bertrand Russell, wrote saying that the strongest democratic passion in the modern world is nationalism, and it is that that is bringing the nations to ruin. With the progress of methods of destruction, it is to be expected that the next great war will kill about half the civilian population on each side. The intellectuals in every country, ever since 1914, have been doing their best to accelerate and intensify this disaster by exasperating national hatreds, spreading untruthful propaganda and selling their brains to the War Offices and Navy Departments of their respective governments. From this madness, all who wish to save the world must emphatically stand aside. War, righteous or unrighteous, defensive or offensive, means, thanks to modern science, the death of all that has value on both sides.

THE MENACE OF NATIONALISM

The international jealousy, commercial rivalry, the race for armaments and the revolt of subject races, seem to threaten the world with a universal disruption in the near future. When the world is thus menaced by the spirit of

nationalism, is there any way of ushering in the reign of peace, the brotherhood of man? This world is a moral world and so long as we do not recognize moral principles in human relationship, so long shall we continue under the tyranny of the Nation, and there will be no universal peace, no international friendship. Nationalism has broken up the wholeness of human society ; further, it has created a social atmosphere which continually emanates such collective ideas as are prejudicial to interracial understanding. Many evil passions and destructive ideas are now controlling the society of nations : race pride is generating contempt and hatred of others ; greed for wealth and power makes the powerful exclude the weak from the benefits of their civilization ; suspicion and distrust of other nations, equally powerful, eats away the heart of wholesome human relationship ; commercial and political gluttony exploits helpless peoples and their lands. The spirit of nationalism is thus depriving man of the greatness of his purpose, and his society of the beauty of its completeness.

In spite of these disquieting aspects of the world situation, we seem to see the dawn of a New Age in human history. Just as the French Revolution rejuvenated Europe in thought and life, so also the Great European War shook the world from coast to coast and released new thought currents and spiritual forces. Having been stirred as never before, men are now seriously seeking for ways and means of educating the people to carry out the purpose of this New Age. Just as the collective egoism of the Nation has hitherto been cultivated in our schools, even so, says poet Tagore, it will be necessary for the purpose of the New Age to establish a new education on the basis, not of nationalism, but of a wider relationship of humanity. Further it is necessary to create opportunities for revealing the different peoples to one another. While it is true that different peoples do have varied accidental interests,—where they cannot meet,—yet it is also true that all the races have a region of common aspirations, where they can all come together. A common meeting place is,

therefore, found for racial and international co-operation in the region of culture,—a region where conflicting interests are absent. The peoples of the world are ever ready to share their cultural wealth with each other, since it is their achievement and not that of the Nation.

CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

Since the War, there has come about in the West a new movement to use cultural co-operation as a means to promote goodwill. As a result, the Institute of International Intellectual Co-operation under the direction of Professor Alfred Zimmern was organized in Europe. Professor Zimmern, like poet Tagore, holds that the problems of the modern world demand a special kind of education in which world consciousness is substituted for national consciousness; but he maintains further that only by a widespread understanding of the differences in national viewpoints can real international co-operation be attained. He seeks to accomplish this in two ways. The first is by means of contacts; the second, by the study of international relations. He brings together in Geneva every summer a group of the best students from thirty or forty different countries and also lecturers of world-wide repute on international relations. The fact that the school is held during summer in Geneva is considered in itself significant, for it enables the students to study present-day problems in the laboratory where the experiments in international co-operation are being made.

Professor Zimmern declares that in order to attain true international-mindedness, the relations between nations must be approached from every conceivable angle. It is his conviction that a knowledge of national cultures as well as national policies is necessary to those who wish to engage in international affairs. The study of international relations is, therefore, approached from a different point each week for the summer months when the Institute is in session. The subject is considered from the point of view of history, economics, geography, art, literature, philosophy, law and

psychology; and eminent men who are specialists in those subjects are engaged to lecture. Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford, J. Maynard Keynes of Cambridge, Ferdinand Maurette of the International Labor Office and Dr. Ernest Jaekkh of the Hochschule fur Politik, Berlin, are among the lecturers engaged for July and August of this year. The work of this Institute has met with marked success during the last six years of its existence, and, it must be said to its credit, the problems of international relations have never been approached in so broad a manner as is being done in that Institute.

Similarly, immediately after the war some far-seeing American leaders founded the Institute of International Education in the United States for the purpose of cultivating better understanding through educational agencies between America and the foreign countries. With this end in view, the Institute has been organizing and encouraging such activities as the exchange of professors and other intellectual leaders, the establishment of interchange student fellowships, the holding of conferences on international education, and the publication of books and pamphlets on the systems of education obtaining in different parts of the world. It has also been instrumental in establishing many of the present-day exchange fellowships between Europe and America. Every year the corresponding agencies in the European countries notify the Institute that they would undertake to provide board, lodging and free tuition, for a number of American students. In return, the Institute in New York obligates itself to provide similar opportunities for students from each of those countries. Outside of the great number of American students prosecuting their studies in Europe at their own expense, there are over 100 students on such exchange fellowship system studying in the different European countries.

When we turn our attention to the United States and her southern neighbour, we find that the relations between them have not been very cordial during the last few years, owing to the North American economic imperialism.

Moreover, Latin America is attracted more to France and Spain, by reason of her cultural affinity, than to North America. And with the rise of national consciousness, the tendency on the part of Latin American Republics to stress their national individuality is becoming even more intense. Under these circumstances it is nothing but natural that they should desire the friendship of the United States, only on a basis of reciprocity. In view of such strained relations, far-seeing statesmen in both the continents are organizing cultural societies to promote more friendly relations between them. As a gesture of friendliness, the Institute of International Education invited a few months ago a group of twenty representatives of a newly-formed body in Argentina known as the Argentine North American Cultural Association, to enjoy the hospitality of the American institutions of learning. That party, made up of university professors, medical men, scientists and child-welfare experts, spent a few months visiting and inspecting schools, hospitals and social service organizations in the various cities and towns of the country. Several such Cultural Associations have now been organized in the Latin American Republics for the purpose of promoting better understanding and closer cultural relations between the two Americas.

An interesting sign of the times is that thoughtful citizens everywhere are very responsive to the idea of forming such cultural societies. The Hungarians, for instance, have organized the Hungarian Society for the purpose of encouraging the exchange of students between the American and Hungarian universities. The Hungarian Government offers five fellowships to American students, which are available in any of the universities in Hungary or in the Academy of Music in Budapest. And, in return, American colleges have extended their hospitality to nine Hungarian students. There is also a plan under consideration to enable Hungarian students to study American industrial organizations and their efficiency methods. Besides, the Hungary Society of America, with headquarters in New

York, serves as a social centre for all friends of Hungary and also arranges lectures on Hungarian affairs, and exhibits sculpture, painting and other art productions of the country.

There are similar organizations for the promotion of friendly relations between Italy and the United States, and among them the Italia-America Society and Casa Italia are outstanding. The place of Italy in civilization is best realized by trying to eliminate that place from the history of European civilization and culture. Take away her contributions to law and government and her leadership in the realm of science and art, and what is there left of European civilization? In recognition of Italy's great contributions to civilization, Italian students and professors are invited under the auspices of these societies to study and lecture respectively in American colleges and universities. Similarly American students are asked to enjoy the intellectual hospitality of Italy; they are awarded fellowships to enable them to study architecture, sculpture, painting, classics, musical composition and landscape architecture. Such societies for the exchange of culture exist also in Poland, Germany, Scandinavia, France and Great Britain. A couple of years ago, an organization was founded in New York for the purpose of promoting cultural relations with Russia. An intensive programme for the interchange of ideas and information is being arranged by that Society; already several branch organizations have been established in different cities of the United States. An extensive library of contemporary Russian music was recently opened in New York with the assistance of Russian and American musicians. It includes works of every recognized composer, and is open to the use of musicians and students of music. The art and book committees of the Society cultivate contacts with experts in Russia in order to keep the people informed of interesting developments in important fields, and American books are freely exchanged for various valuable works of Russian authors. Negotiations for exchange of students in several of the music and theatrical schools, colleges and universities of Russia are

now under way. The work of this organization, like that of many others, is allied with that of the Society for Cultural Relations with America.

SOME AMERICAN EXPERIMENTS

There are many independent organizations both in Europe and America which are trying to promote better understanding through cultural co-operation. But all of them cannot be described within the short space of an article. However, the novelty of one or two recent developments in the United States may justify the indulgence of referring to them. One notices at present a growing tendency on the part of many of the leading American colleges to encourage undergraduate students to spend the junior year abroad; even scholarships given for the purpose have come to be designated as the "Junior Year Abroad" scholarships. There are many American undergraduates who are now spending their junior year in foreign countries. The fundamental idea back of this movement is that the undergraduate of that age, being more open and plastic, imbibes more readily the culture of another race; such an experience, it is held, easily widens his outlook, broadens his sympathies and develops in him the spirit of internationalism.

The other interesting movement is what is known as the Floating University. Its main purpose is to give its students a first-hand knowledge of the different countries of the world, its peoples, their life and their thought. The students of the University are taken round the world under the guidance and instruction of experienced professors especially chosen for the purpose from different universities. The curriculum comprises a wide range of subjects, including languages, sociology, philosophy, religion and history. The students are divided into various groups according to their special interests and are expected to attend classes regularly while travelling. And the work done at sea and in ports is supplemented by observation tours under the direction of the professors of the departments concerned. Such contacts and visits, it is

maintained, will give them a sympathetic understanding of the different races and their cultures. Though it is only five years since that University first began to function, yet it is making a sincere attempt not only to co-ordinate theory with practice, but even more to broaden the students' outlook and widen their sympathies.

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

The reader is perhaps now ready to ask: What about cultural relations with the Orient? Though there has not been much sharing of culture between the Occident and the Orient in the last century, yet a large number of students migrated to European centres of learning as Europe held then the spot-light of educational progress. Such centres as Oxford, Cambridge, London, Paris, Berlin, etc., were very popular with students from the Orient. Within the last few years, however, the student-migration from Asia to the United States has steadily increased. The registration of foreign students in American colleges and universities shows that at present the largest number is from the Orient. For sometime past, the relations between Japan and America have been greatly strained. In view of that situation, a Japanese-American Cultural Society was recently organized in New York to promote friendly relations between them. It is gratifying to note that there are 650 students from Japan studying at present in various institutions in America. Similarly, students from Korea, the Philippines and India now migrate in larger numbers to America in quest of knowledge. Among all the countries of the world represented in American centres of learning, China has the largest number, the enrolment being well over two thousand.

It is but natural that England, France and Holland, with their Asian possessions, and Germany, with its traditions of scientific scholarship, should have not only been interested in the Orient, but produced outstanding Orientalists and schools of Oriental Studies. To America, however, the Orient was not of any special interest, as the former

was too much concerned then with her own domestic problems. Though the Americans speak of the "Near East" and "Far East", they overlook the fact that they are misnomers as far as America is concerned. Yokohama, for instance, is at the same distance from Seattle as Naples is from New York. The "Far East" which embraces China, Japan, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies, is, in fact, nearer to the United States than is the so-called "Near East". Be that as it may, it is gratifying to note that America is now beginning to show greater interest in the Orient.

Many of the leading American universities are not only offering scholarship aids to students from the East, but are introducing courses on Oriental subjects. A recent investigation of more than five hundred institutions of learning revealed that one hundred and eleven of them offer courses on the literature, philosophy and religions of the East, with a total enrolment of more than six thousand students. Harvard and Columbia offer courses on Oriental languages, fine arts and history. Princeton University has a great project now under way to catalogue, edit, publish and, in some cases, translate over 3,000 Oriental and Occidental manuscripts. It is reported that the material contained in them would help to alter certain aspects of present knowledge of the Crusades, and of the history of geography, chemistry, arithmetic, astronomy and medicine, thus revealing the debt that Western peoples owe to Arab and other Oriental civilizations. It is calculated that the completion of this task, which Princeton has undertaken, will take centuries, and when that is done, the University will have made a distinct contribution to the history of Oriental culture, and created for itself the reputation of being a great centre for such work.

Outside of these outstanding institutions in the East, the chief centres of interest in Oriental affairs are on the Pacific Coast. Facing, as they are, the Oriental countries, the Pacific Coast States are striving to develop closer relations with them,—relations growing not only out of increased commerce and travel but of the gradual

adjustment of the long disturbed relations between the Oriental and American peoples of that region. America's interest in Oriental studies is of recent origin. In Europe a greater emphasis has long been laid on the literature, language, history, and arts of Oriental countries. Though Europe has produced some Orientalists of pre-eminence, numerically speaking, the output of the European universities has been rather small. But the work turned out by them has been, in the main, of a higher quality because of the longer interest and closer contact which have made possible the ripening of minds versed from youth in the affairs of the Orient. In time America will also develop Orientalists of real merit and genuine ability. Till recently American emphasis has been more on the study of contemporary politics and economics than of the arts and languages. In view of the recent recognition, both in Europe and America, that the time is at hand when the Western world must learn more from and about the Orient, studies in Oriental literature, history, philosophy and religions are now being popularized in most of the institutions of learning in the West.

The East and the West are necessary to each other, since they emphasize different and, not infrequently, complementary aspects of truth. The Western continents have been engaged in securing protection against physical death. On the other hand, the striving of the Eastern peoples has been, as the poet Tagore points out, to win for man his spiritual kingdom, to lead him to immortality. By their present separateness, East and West alike are in danger of losing the fruits of their age-long labours. For want of that union, the East is suffering from poverty and inertia, and the West from lack of peace and happiness. The spiritual impotency of Western civilization having been disclosed by the World War, some of the thinkers of the West are now beginning to feel that the Occident must draw some benefit from the spiritual wealth of Asia. "There are a number of us in Europe", writes Romain Rolland, "for whom European civilization no longer suffices,—dissatisfied

children of the spirit of the West, who feel ourselves cramped in our abode, and who, without depreciating the subtlety, the brilliance, the heroic energy of the philosophy which conquered and ruled the world for more than two thousand years, nevertheless, have had to confess its insufficiencies and its limited arrogance. We few look towards Asia." Such sentiment is expressed by many eminent Europeans. And yet how pitiful it is that, when Europe is turning instinctively towards the East, we of the Orient are unaware of its claim for succour and fail to recognize the honour of the call to serve humanity at this hour of need!

THE VISVA-BHARATI IDEAL

Where is India, the mother of philosophy and religions, in this new movement to exchange cultural hospitality? Having played so important a part in the history of civilization, is she not to be the fountain of Indian wisdom and Oriental culture? In Ancient India, our universities served two great purposes: they were first of all centres of learning where students acquired knowledge from the best products of the Indian mind; and secondly, they were centres of India's intellectual hospitality, where foreign students who came in quest of knowledge were welcomed as guests. But, alas! our modern educational institutions are India's "alms-bowl of knowledge". There is not a single university to-day in the whole country, with the exception of Visva-Bharati, to really fulfil one or both of those functions. Even to specialize in Oriental studies, a son of the soil is obliged to go to Europe! Could intellectual poverty be possibly worse in any civilized country on the face of the earth? The introduction of Western learning into India at the expense of her own culture, the utilitarian objective of training men in India for the carrying of the white man's burden, and the wofully low economic condition of the country have reduced her to this shameful state. Such a disgraceful position and the pressing need for an Indian seat of learning drove the poet Tagore to set himself the task of founding an Indian university to help India to concentrate her mind and to be

fully conscious of herself ; to seek the truth and make that truth her own wherever found ; to judge by her own standard, give expression to her own creative genius and offer her wisdom to the guests that come from other parts of the world. With such ideals, the Poet founded Visva-Bharati as the seat of Indian culture and centre of India's intellectual hospitality.

During the last eight years of its existence, famous scholars and students from different parts of the world have enjoyed the hospitality of Visva-Bharati. Professor Sylvain Levi of Paris, who is probably the greatest living Indologist, was there for sometime as a visiting professor. Other noted European scholars such as Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Mlle A. Karpellez and Professor M. Winternitz of Prague University, Professors Collins, M. Benoit, Lim and Bache have also been the guests of Visva-Bharati. Professors Tucci and C. Formichi, the noted Orientalists of the University of Rome, were sent out there to enjoy India's hospitality by the Italian Government. Dr. StenKonow of Christiania also was a guest of the Institution for sometime. India is thankful that she has at least this gift of Tagore's to save her face and extend her cultural hospitality to the pilgrims of knowledge and messengers of goodwill. In view of the fact that a new interest in Oriental culture is aroused in the West, a greater effort must be made not only to revive our culture, but to establish a larger number of cultural centres in India, China, Japan and other countries of Asia, to provide common meeting ground for East and West.

Though this new movement for the promotion of better understanding among the peoples of the world through educational agencies is only in its early stages, yet those who have had something to do with it bear witness to the fact that the students and professors who have returned after an enjoyment of educational opportunities in foreign countries, exhibit an increased breadth of vision and keener interest in international affairs. It is to be hoped, however, that not merely the beneficiaries

themselves may profit through such exchange, but also the nations they represent, and that better understanding and friendly relations may be fostered and established among them. We are, indeed, witnessing a cultural co-operation in this generation, which is bound to have a far-reaching influence in the spread of goodwill. The foreign student of to-day is destined to play a role far greater in its influence and far more significant in its effect, upon race relations. The fundamental idea back of this movement is the promotion of peace through the cultivation of human sympathies. Though this movement of cultural co-operation is of recent origin, yet its importance in the quickening of social progress and the furtherance of goodwill among the nations of the world cannot be over-emphasized.

Some Aspects of Muslim Polity

BY PROF. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (OXON),
BAR-AT-LAW

The revolt of Turkey against the Muslim conception of polity, society and religion, is one of the outstanding facts of modern Asiatic history. Writers like Amir Ali have claimed an extremely democratic character to the political and the social institutions of Islam. But to-day we find Muslim Turkey, the home and seat of Khalifas for the last four hundred years or more, revolts against the idea of Khilafat in the interests of true democracy and progress. The Khilafat theory and organisation are the very roots of the Muslim polity and society, rule and religion. Hence in order to understand the political value of Muslim ideas of polity, we must understand the Khilafat theory and organisation and see critically the real elements of political democracy in the Muslim polity as conceived by the early Arabs and their prophets and the Khalifas.

The modern State is not based on ideas of religious uniformity or racial identity. It is primarily a territorial and not a credal or tribal conception or unit. The forces which give it a unity, an organisation and a distinctness are partly geographical, partly historical and partly cultural. The feeling of neighbourhood and common attachment to the land dominate its mould. Common spirit and a feeling of common danger underlie its political activities. A feeling of common citizenship actuates its internal policy.

None of these elements are visible in the true Muslim State and polity. The idea of religion as laid down in the Kuran and the injunctions laid down therein to spread and to maintain that religion are the basic principles of Muslim polity and society. It is really a religious brotherhood or community. Within the community, every true Muslim is equal to the others religiously and to a large extent socially,

though racial differences like those of Arabs and non-Arabs may raise some aristocratic tendencies in some racial groups. But the community never recognised a democratic form of government in its political activities and organisation.

Outside the religious community, as against the non-Muslims, there is no sanctioned feeling of real neighbourhood or common citizenship. On the contrary, the attitude is to be one of continuous warfare against unbelievers or 'infidels' till they are converted, enslaved or rooted out. Toleration of non-Muslims is a religious lapse on behalf of the Muslim sovereign. Only men of 'the book' could be allowed to live on payment of a capitation tax. But they are not real citizens, but subjects only tolerated and not loved or associated with or served as fellowmen. Others who may be polytheists, idolaters, atheists, etc. may be forcibly converted or murdered. There is no third alternative.

Muslim polity grew out of the needs of self-preservation of a primarily religious community. Therefore the aim of the polity, in theory and practice, was first to preserve and defend and then to spread and maintain the new religion. It did not arise out of the necessity of preserving or defending economic needs or advantages nor political ambitions nor ideals. The conception of religion being inspired by and laid out in the other world, is authoritarian and does not change. Hence whatever is laid down or enjoined upon in the inspired 'Book of Utterances' is not subject to discussion, change, or the influences and needs of environment. But a political community and its polity which grows out of economic needs and political ambitions, or the social needs of safety and security, cannot acquire an authoritarian character. Economic needs and political aims are laid out and based on earthly considerations and environment. Therefore its form and organisation cannot be permanently sanctioned but have an adaptable and alterable character. Here people's needs and individual ambitions and ideals count. Therefore in the case of a religious community growing into a political community, the polity of a theocracy naturally develops and its form and character remain authoritarian and imposed ;

while in the case of a real political community which has grown out of economic needs, or need of tribal security and safety, the forms of polity become various and acquire their monarchic, aristocratic or democratic character according to the dominance and wisdom of the classes who compose that particular community.

Any people who claim to be ruled by God or a God's representative in the interests of a particular Divine dispensation possesses a theocratic polity. With them, the ruler is the chief priest, and the chief priest is the ruler. Political power is the handmaid of the religious power.

Persons who govern claim a special authority to declare the Divine Will or to interpret it if it is already known. There is no place for individual conscience or interpretation. The right of free worship or free thought in religious and social affairs does not exist. The political authority which empowers order and discipline is therefore in the hands of such a special authority, uncontrolled by popular will or unrelieved by popular wisdom. The conception is authoritarian and not democratic.

Thus among the Muslims, the conception of the State and the Church is not differentiated, and when it becomes differentiated owing to the political conquests of the Turks, the State is only the police of the spiritual power. God is really the ruler. Khalifa is His agent on earth. He is to carry out the Kuranic Commands. Political power is for the maintenance and promotion of true religion. Both powers are in the hands of the Khalifa. But he exercises the lower one in the interests of the higher one. Thus politics is subordinated to religion. Sinners and apostates are considered to be seditionists and rebels. Non-Muslims cannot be full citizens.

This theocratic conception of the State and its ruler left no chance for the development of any democratic ideas of government. Modern democracy is a territorial representative democracy. Ancient democracy was a direct democracy. But the Muslim Khilafat or monarchy was an irresponsible monarchy. Excepting the Kuran, to none was allegiance due

by the ruler. There was no right to rebel against Kuranic injunctions or Khalifa's orders and interpretations. It was both a sin and a sedition to do so. Thus it is evident that it was primarily an allegiance to a particular religion and its leader and not to the State and its ruler. There is no State apart from the religious community or church. It is only its temporal aspect and its police.

Muhammad, the Prophet, developed this theocratic conception and organisation of a religio-political community after his flight to Medina in 622 A. D. And the first two Khalifas, Abu Bakr (632-634 A. D.) and Umar (634-644 A. D.) who were his able and loyal successors succeeded in spreading it over the conquered countries and also perfecting it. As long as the succession to the Khilafat remained undisputed and the Khilafat remained undivided, the force of this absolutistic theocratic theory was great. But under conflicting theories about the election and the succession of the Khalifa, and the ensuing conflicts of their followers, the Khilafat split among three Khalifas in three parts of the world and came to be claimed by a number of houses whose members thought themselves to be its rightful holders. Its political power gradually decayed and was usurped by Turkish Sultans who were ambitious governors or officers and had conquered a large part of the Khalifa's territory for themselves. Such Sultanates or Amirates were established in various parts of the Muslim world, and some of them were new conquests of non-Muslim territories. These Sultans had very little religious power of their own, but had political power over the conquered territories. Therefore though they had accepted Kuranic teachings, still they tended to become powerful rulers and to look to their own stability and interests from the political point of view. No doubt they used their religious ideas to trouble or to oppress their subjects by depriving them of their civil and political rights and financial security. Still for the safety of their rule, they had to ally themselves with dominant races in the country who were non-Muslims and give back to them some of their religious rights and political

privileges. They often used them against their Muslim opponents in a civil or a foreign war.

In the early history of these newly-risen Sultanates, the authority of the Khalifas was formally retained. But later on, these Sultans and Amirs began to consider themselves to be the Khalifas of the age and the country of their rule. They claimed both political and religious supremacy. Though a strong body of 'Ulemas' or learned theologians had gradually arisen as being the true interpreters of Kuranic injunctions, and often proved to be a great check on the heretic or liberal tendencies of a sovereign, still it often happened that the tendency of the political and the religious power to unite in the person of the ruler asserted itself according to the theory of the Khilafat, namely, that the Sultanate (political leadership) and Imamatus (spiritual leadership) should be in the hands of one person. These two powers were really two aspects of one power.

The other point about the Khilafat which deserves notice here is the theory of the so-called 'election' of the Khalifa by the entire Muslim world. This is considered to be a democratic element in the early Muslim polity. There is hardly any such theory as well as practice found fully accepted by the learned or the laymen among the Muslims. Muhammad never laid down any such theory. The practice of the election of the Khalifa after him has neither any uniformity nor continuity. None of the first four Khalifas was regularly elected by the body of Muslims as a whole. The so-called election was confined to the relations of Muhammad and the members of the Kureish tribe. The Shias believed in the hereditary succession of Ali and his descendants. The Sunnis had no regular theory except that the Khalifas must be of the Kureish tribe. Kharjites or puritans alone believed that a true Muslim, whoever he may be by race, can be elected by the whole body of the true believers as the Khalifas. But this school arose at the time of Ali and no Khalifa was really elected according to its notions. There was always some manipulation by the leading men and families of Mecca

and Medina regarding the succession of a new Khalifa. After the death of Ali, the fourth Khalifa, either civil war or heredity decided the issue. Thus there cannot be said to be any democratic method of election when a new Khalifa succeeded the old. The reading of his name in the Khutba or public prayer was an approval after the event.

The Khalifa's or ruler's powers were absolute. They were not checked or controlled by any group of ministers or men regularly assembled. There was no parliament or assembly of men to control his resolutions and activities. There was no body of local or personal law which he could not override. There were no democratic ideas in the organisation of the State. There was no inalienable right in power, property or person, given to anyone except the ruler himself. The ruler was all in all. What pleased him had the force of law. What displeased him had the character of crime and sedition. Whatever he allowed to exist may be tolerated. It was only a measure of necessity or expediency, not a law based on any principle of justice or equality.

The ruler interfered personally in all matters whenever he wanted to do so. The executive departments were not fixed, nor were they well organised. They increased or decreased according to a ruler's wishes. Thus the government machine emanated from him and worked under him. He was the political head, the religious head, the judicial head and the executive head.

It is not possible to accept Sir Amir Ali's statement in *The Spirit of Islam* that "an examination of the political condition of the Muslims under the early Caliphs brings into view a popular government, administered by an elective chief with limited powers". There was no real election nor does Kuran leave any powers to the people. Muslim polity was largely a personal despotism unchecked by the people or the people's counsellors and representatives. Non-Muslims had no civic rights. There was no common citizenship amongst the ruled and there was no

responsibility of the rulers to the ruled. Thus there was no democracy in any sense. The results of the assertion of the old ideas of Muslim polity are being seen in the present revolution going on in Afghanistan. They do not leave any scope for necessary changes in politics and in society, and are again maintaining Afghanistan as a mediæval stationary state. Turkey has destroyed old Muslim polity for the sake of her existence and progress. Afghanistan is re-emphasizing the old ideas of Muslim polity and society, for the sake of what, we do not know. But certainly it is not for democracy, social and political.

Studies in Rajput Painting

BY G. VENKATACHALAM

II. NAYAKA-NAYIKA SERIES

Love, both human and Divine, was a subject of deep study in Ancient India, and there is a profound science and art of love elaborated into a system of philosophy which is at once interesting and instructive. Its great exponent was a Rishi, Vatsyayana, and his 'Kama-sastra' is a standard work on the subject. The modern science of sex psychology is merely a tiny fragment of that old science which dealt with not only physical sex-appeal, sex-impulse and sex-attraction, but with deeper founts of human nature. It is both a psychological and physiological treatise ; a mine of information on one of the fundamental forces of life. That Vatsyayana was a clever psychologist with a vivid imagination and penetrating intuition, will be apparent from the following poetic conception of his on the origin of the first woman: " When Brahma", he writes, " the Creator of the Universe, was minded to give a helpmate to man, he became, to his consternation, aware that he had already used up the whole of his material on the creation of man. Not knowing what to do, Brahma looked about him and too the stuff to fashion woman from the rest of his creations. He took the lovely curve of the moon, the sinuous undulations of the body of the snake, the mobile grace of the quaking grass, the satin softness of the flower, the tender tendrils of the climbing creeper, the witchery of the dancing sun-beam, the slender suppleness of the willow, the vanity of the proud peacock, the ingratiating wiles of the cat, the sweetness of honey, the gentleness of the dove, the cruelty of the tiger and withal the coldness of ice and the heat of the fire. After this manner did Brahma create woman."

The rise and spread of Vaishnavism with its 'Bhakti' cult brought about strange psychological changes in the nature of the people. Devotion and service were held up as the modes of salvation, and the union of the human and Divine soul (which in their essence were one) was the aim and end of life. This path to union with God was made intensely personal and direct, and every devotee sought after his Beloved through song, music, poetry and worship. Outpourings of devotional songs and hymns considerably enriched the literature of the period and a new kind of mysticism influenced the life and arts of the people. Love-songs, love-poetry and love-festivals were much in vogue, and various new cults arose out of them. The central theme for artists and writers was the love of Radha and Krishna, symbolising the love of the human soul for the Divine, and this, in its higher aspect, became a great elevating spiritual force, and in its lower aspect became a kind of degraded sex-worship. The painters of those days have found rich materials in this for their art, and another strikingly interesting feature of the Rajput School of painting is the depiction of Erotics in pictorial forms. They are as significant as the 'Ragamala' series. In many respects, except for the theme, the pictures look alike in treatment and technique.

The ancient writers classified this subject into very many details, and clever psychologists as they were, they analysed both men and women according to their *temperaments* and their emotional nature, and categorically divided them under eight main headings, *Nayakas* and *Nayikas* as they were called. A *Nayaka* is a man-lover or hero and a *Nayika* is the heroine. There are eight types of them, and these formed an absorbing theme for the Rajput painters. Here, as in 'Ragamala' pictures, the interpretations were the artists' own, and to those who knew its vocabulary, grammar and idiom, its meaning and significance were quite clear.

One of the commonest of representations in this series is the *Abhisarika Nayika*, where the *Abhisarika*, or the

young girl-lover, goes in search of her lover in the night time, through dangers and difficulties. The picture is a study in nocturne. The timid figure of the young girl dressed in coloured garments stands out against the dark background of the night. The sky is threatening with heavy clouds, and lightning is flashing illuminating the dark spaces of the trees. A storm is brewing and the birds are on the flight. The rain is pouring down and serpents are hissing about her. The picture is treated in a realistic manner, but some of the significant *motifs* are symbolically treated.

Another favourite theme is *Virahini*. There are many versions of this subject. The girl-lover is consumed with the fire of love for her separated lord and she is seen lying on a couch of leaves to keep her cool. Two maids are fanning her with their hands and at the same time offering her sandal paste and lotus flower to soothe and comfort her, but she is not consolable. In another version of the same theme, the girl is seen reproaching an artist whom she had commissioned to execute a portrait of her separated lord, and the verse behind the picture is interesting and reads as follows. She says to the painter: "From evening to morning and morning to evening, the days are passing and months go by. What do you know of the woes of another? I gave you clean paper, fresh and shining like glass. Ah! painter, how many days have gone by, and you have not drawn the picture of my friend." In *Uta Nayaka*, we have the familiar scene of the heroine waiting anxiously the coming of her lover at the place of tryst in a lonely grove beside a bed of leaves. She is depicted in nervous expectation and she is holding the stem of a tree to support herself. There is a pond of lotus near by and a deer is drinking water.

Mr. O. C. Gangoly has an interesting note on one of them, the *Vasaka-Sayya* : "It is a picture of a white pavilion painted on a background of deep Indian red, surrounded by a group of trees, with one human figure, a lady dressed in a diaphanous skirt, standing at the entrance to the pavilion.

The bed which is kept ready for the expected guest in the shrine of love is emphasized by the blankness of wall, which in its turn is contrasted with the crowd of trees which practically fill the space outside, poignantly suggesting that everybody is here but the beloved one. In the words of an old Vaishnava song, 'My temple alone is empty'. It is a vigil of love and she is waiting for her lover, standing motionless on the tip-toe of expectation. Her loneliness is laid stress on by the echoes of five straight perpendicular cypress trees, schematic in their rigidity. The monotonous red is the very symbol of prolonged agony of separation, which is the burden of the song and the theme of the picture."

Some of the best specimens of this series are from the brush of Kangra masters and therefore of exceeding beauty and charm. The 'Ragamala' series are mostly from the artists of the Rajasthani school and therefore of earlier date than the 'Nayaka' series. These pictures are more than mere pictures ; they are not only pleasing to the æsthetical sense with their flowing lines and harmonious colours, but they reflect in a great measure the idealism and the sweet serenity of Indian life. They are an index to the cultural level of the people, a mirror of their mode of life and expression, a commentary on an interesting phase of Indian history. Few artistic endeavours in the world can lay claim to such originality, variety, sweetness of conception and perfection of achievement.

The Chenchu Couple

BY CHINTA DIKSHITULU ¹

(I)

Lingadu was living in a bamboo hut beside a perennial stream in the forest of the Black Hills.

Lingadu was a Chenchu. He was young, dark-complexioned and good-looking. The hamlet of the Chenchus consisted of a number of round huts made entirely of bomboosplinters. The hut of Lingadu was at a distance from the hamlet. Lingadu had been married only recently. Eramma was his wife. The young couple chose to have nothing to do with the hamlet for the time being, and they built a hut for themselves by a mountain stream.

Their love-episode was similar to that of civilised people. Their mental experiences were identical.

In their childhood they swung by the hanging creepers entwined round the branches of trees. They went to the forest early in the morning to hunt a beast or a bird, make a feast over it and return in the evening. They also studied in the same school. Their teacher distributed sweets to them whenever they attended school. They went to school mainly to receive sweets and eat them sitting under a tree. The Chenchu pupils received free clothing too. They wore the cloths and absented themselves from school, in order to go a-hunting. By the time they left school, they learnt to identify the letters of the Telugu alphabet. They could not understand why their teacher was taking so much pains to teach them those crooked lines called letters. Like many in India, they perhaps wanted not education but food, not knowledge but clothing.

Eramma was at the threshold of youth. Lingadu's

¹Translated from his own short-story in Telugu.

mind began to stray into dreamlands. One day Lingadu and Eramma wandered into the forest in search of honey-combs. They were searching among precipitous rocks under projecting ledges. At last they could discover one. Lingadu went up the hill and Eramma, standing at its foot, was watching him. Slowly and cautiously he crawled to the edge of a rock under which a tempting comb was visible. He poked at it with a bamboo stick. Being disturbed, the bees rose up buzzing and surrounded him on all sides. Lingadu could not bear their stings and he came down. Eramma was disappointed. They had been fasting the whole day and they were hungry. They hoped to feast on the comb filled with honey, but it was not to be.

Eramma tried to 'smoke' the comb, and for the purpose she was collecting dry faggots. She did not know that it was dangerous to light fires in the forest. But Lingadu knew. (On one occasion Karigadu had lost his arrow in the forest, and to get it back he burnt the forest down to ashes. He got back his arrow and got a few months too for his trouble.) He dissuaded her from lighting the fire and got up the hill again. Eramma followed him. Both reached the edge of the rock. Eramma held to the projection of a rock firmly and gave her other hand to Lingadu. He held her hand and crawled, crawled out into space till half his body was in the air. He bent down and with the other hand forcibly plucked out the comb. Eramma pulled him back. They smiled at each other. They got the comb but their bodies were full of stings.

They smeared their bodies with some leaf-juice and sat under a tree beside a lake. The sun had set. The moon had arisen. The forest land was strewn with the moonlight-patches. The *Tandra* flowers were filling the forest with sweet scent. The birds reached their tree-houses and were making melody.

Eramma broke the comb into pieces and reached them to his lips. They ate up the comb and drank the lake-water to their fill. Under that tree, standing on the edge of the lake amidst the moonlight-patches, they gave themselves up

to an embrace and kissed each other. The forest 'scented' sweeter, the birds sang merrier and the moon shone brighter.

(2)

They wandered in the forest every day to satisfy their hunger with small game, honey-combs or 'chenchu bulbs'. Thus passed some days. Though they failed to secure food for a day or two, they did not mind. Gradually they fell into line with the other Chenchus and laboured for their food.

Lingadu was felling the bamboos, splitting them and thus earning six annas a day. Eramma wandered in the forest from sunrise to sunset, to gather tamarind, soap-nuts, 'chara' pulse, myrobalams and similar things for selling them to Government agents, at rates fixed by Government. Thus she too earned a few annas every day. With the money thus earned, they purchased food-stuffs and clothes for themselves, and iron tips for their arrows.

Formerly the Chenchus sold the forest produce to middlemen at very low prices. With a view to improve their position, the Government intervened and bought the produce themselves. But the Chenchus never improved. As before, they had to suffer for want of plain food and clothing. Wild animals and wild men are born children of the bounteous forest. The animals perhaps have enough to eat, but the men have very little. Is Mother Nature partial, or are their fellowmen cruel? In the summer, they appeased their hunger with mangoes and milk. Cows and buffaloes were the sole property of the Chenchus. The Chenchu couple had ten cows.

Thus passed one year. One day Lingadu went into the forest to cut bamboos. He toiled hard and when he returned home in the evening, Eramma was not at home. It was time she returned and cooked food for them. Lingadu was very hungry. He wanted to know why she was detained and started in search of her. He took the path by which Eramma was accustomed to return. He saw her under a tree sitting on a bough that shot athwart, just a little above the ground. The bundle of things she had gathered that day

was at some distance from her. Her upper cloth, that should have covered her breast, dropped down and lay on the bough. In front of her there was a Chenchu sitting and handing something to her. She was gazing at him.

Lingadu was full of wrath. He drew the bow and was about to shoot an arrow at the Chenchu but restrained himself. He hung down his head and turned homewards. This restraint was perhaps unusual with the Chenchus but Lingadu had his own misgivings. No doubt Lingadu was sincere in his love for his wife. But all the same suspicion crept into his mind. The smile on his face was blotted out for ever.

Eramma came home late at night and cooked their food as usual. Lingadu would not speak to her. Every movement of her body provoked his suspicions. He took a little gruel, spread his cloth outside his hut and laid himself down on it. Eramma slept at the doorway of the hut.

As on that other night, the moon was shining and fragrance was wafting. But to Lingadu the world was wrapped in sorrow.

(3)

Time is a quick healer of mental wounds. Lingadu's mind regained its calm, but not its balance. It was the time when the Chenchus had no work. Everyone was intent on earning somehow his daily food.

One fine morning, the Chenchu couple started for the forest. Lingadu was holding the toils for catching animals and Eramma was carrying a basket. They walked on a little distance along a foot-path when they came upon bamboo thickets. The screeching of the insects was heard from within the bushes. At some distance could be seen vultures hovering in the sky over a carcass left behind by a tiger overnight. The hillside was a thick mass of bamboo bushes.

They entered the thicket with some difficulty. At a spot where it was very dense, Lingadu spread his net. Eramma, meanwhile, secured from the topmost bamboo stalks a goodly quantity of rice. They sat in the shade of

a bush and began to eat the rice. The sun was growing hotter.

Lingadu without accepting the rice from her hands cast a piercing glance at her, and fell to talking of Bayigadu, in whose company she had been found. Eramma began to show signs of restlessness. She could not answer his questions. But she took him into her embrace and thus consoled him. Lingadu was quiescent for sometime. He was pleased with Eramma for what she was saying and doing for love of him. He began to wonder if his suspicions were baseless. He conversed with her in a pleasant manner. They caught hold of the hare that ran into their toils, roasted it, ate it and set out for home.

He was a mild man though brave. It was not in his nature to pick up quarrels or rush into dangers. She admired all brave deeds. She could use the bow with skill. Her arrow seldom missed its aim. She was charmed with similar skill in others. She loved Lingadu but she admired other brave men too. Bayigadu was one of them. When Lingadu spoke to her about Bayigadu, she managed to satisfy him for the time being. But she was labouring under a grievance. Why should her lover suspect her? It was unnatural, she thought. Even though her conduct might seem suspicious, she could not see why Lingadu, of all men, should be so mean as to suspect her. She became indignant. She wanted to tease her husband further.

One day, the couple were returning home. On the way, she saw Bayigadu resting by a stone slab on which the big stag he had killed that day was lying. Lingadu also saw him. Eramma told him that she would return home with Bayigadu and she stayed behind. Lingadu hid himself behind a tree. He had with him only his toils, but not his bow and arrows, nor his sword. Bayigadu had his bow with him. Lingadu thought discretion was the better part of valour.

Eramma sat beside Bayigadu. He placed his hand on her shoulder, but she removed it. He engaged her in conversation and drew a smile from her lips. Lingadu observed

that smile. She got up and took the bow and arrow of Bayigadu and hit at a bird concealed in the branches of a tree. He showed his admiration for her by lifting her up and embracing her. In deep anger, she flung him aside and started home. Darkness descended on the forest.

Lingadu saw that embrace. He lost his balance of mind and began to wander in the forest.

(4)

Why should this grief afflict him,—a wanderer in the forest? He was not guilty of any indiscretion. Why should his heart ache while others had sinned? When his cows were fondled by strangers, did he grieve?—or when his bow and arrows were used by others? Why should he interfere with the freedom of others? But then, was he not, after all, an animal? And was not jealousy common to animals? So he felt he was justified in resenting such conduct. His heart sank deeper and deeper within him. That night, and in the depths of that forest, it is hard to say what thoughts agitated the mind of Lingadu.

The next morning, a Lambady woman, while wandering in the forest for dry wood, saw a strange corpse, hard to recognise, beside a stone. Near by were footprints of a tiger.

All through the night, Eramma lay awake in tense expectation of her husband. He never turned up. At early dawn, she went in search of him into the forest. Nowhere could his trace be found. She began to repent her naughty behaviour of the previous evening. Remorse and indignation filled the whole of her being.

Was she not innocent? Did she not love her husband? Her heart, which she surrendered at his feet that day near the lake, with the goddess of the forest as her witness, was never taken back and given to others. Was he then justified in attaching blame to her? Was she really guilty? Could it be said that a woman did not love her children, merely because she fondled others' children? Is this sin? If so, why did this sin glow intensely in her heart, promising

her new happiness? Ignorant of the laws of man, she indulged in all kinds of wild thoughts.

With such thoughts agitating her mind, questioning wild men that came across her way and dragged onwards by the cords of love, she wandered in the forest. The Lambady woman crossed her path. Eramma heard her story. The sun was vomiting fire from the mid-sky. The unknown corpse was at last recognised by the Chenchu woman.

The red rays of the setting sun that evening covered the corpse of a woman floating on the waters of the cavernous Krishna river. A fawn, come there to appease its thirst, began to gaze at it strangely with its big rolling eyes.

The New Freedom

BY N. S. RAMA RAO, M.A. (Cantab)

Man has conquered nature and pressed her secrets for his own benefit. Science, physical science, that long-legged giant, has walked from peak to peak as from discovery to discovery and has traversed much of the visible universe. The knowledge of chemistry has made it possible for man to make many things in his laboratory while nature builds them up laboriously in hers on a limited scale. Physics has brought within his reach the tremendous energy that still lies coiled in the atom. This energy when freed and harnessed would turn the great Sahara into an Eden and the frozen poles would become a fair habitat for man. Botany, like her sister science, zoology, has yielded her secrets and many new nourishing vegetables and fruits and cereals, proof against bacteria and blight, are growing under man's observant eyes. Psychology and its attendant psycho-analysis are laying bare human repressions to the scorching rays of self-analysis. Mathematics and astronomy are scanning the skies to discover our earth's affinity in other stars. Of daily occurrence are inventions and discoveries which could fain make human life happier and inject more leisure into our feverish activities.

From the above, we see that the long sought of millennia is almost on us. It would indeed be with us if only we would give it a chance. Man has conquered nature and has established his empire over her by wresting her innermost thoughts from her unwilling bosom. She cannot resist his importunities and has delivered herself for good and all into his trustful hands.

In spite of all this, why is it that there is so much misery and distrust among men? For the simple reason, while being busy in bending nature to his needs man has failed to

surpass himself. He looks at himself with complacent insouciance and glories in his victories over his environment and little he thinks of himself, as one destined to become a superman. Man, looked at from this slant, is a glorious failure.

Realising this lapse in him, one or two of his own kind have risen in every clime and among every people to point him his real destiny. They say that just as you have conquered turbulent, unruly, disobedient nature, by understanding her secrets, you can with equal success be a master of your desires, passions and achievements. Impugn yourself before the bar where you are the judge, jury, the accused as well the accuser, and pass the verdict of guilty or not on yourself. Man has let himself be valued by others ; he has for long ages been arraigned and adjudged

It is easy for things to be so : as who of us wants to think ? A very difficult process indeed. Let others do it for us. But, no ! says the thundering voice of those of our kind who have surpassed themselves : " There is freedom, the greatest heritage of man." This is a new freedom to which mankind is not accustomed and feels there is something unholy in it and it says in effect : " It is unholy that man should be his own master. He has created a God, the monitor, whose perpetual slave he wishes to be. "

Functions of Local Boards

(A HISTORICAL RETROSPECT)

BY PROF. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

To understand the nature of the expenditure of Local Boards, it is necessary at the outset to have an idea of the scope of their functions. Legislation and the executive orders of the provincial government have defined as exactly as possible the particular purposes on which their funds may be legitimately spent. Before they were constituted for the first time in 1871, three local cesses were raised in rural areas, each one for a special purpose. The cess instituted by the Madras Act VI of 1863 could be spent only on schools; the village cess levied under the Act of 1864 could be utilised to pay the salaries of the village establishment; and the road cess authorised under the Act of 1866 could be applied only for the construction, repair and maintenance, of roads and communications. The first and the last of these cesses were repealed in 1871 and the objects for which they were raised were included among those for the realisation of which the Local Funds Act was passed in that year.

There have not been great changes in the functions of Local Boards since their formation in 1871. They were then defined as follows :—

(1) The construction, repair and maintenance, of roads and communications.

(2) The diffusion of education, and, with this object in view, the construction and repair of school-houses, the maintenance of schools, either wholly or by means of grants-in-aid, the inspection of schools, and the training of teachers.

(3) The construction and repair of hospitals, dispensaries, lunatic asylums, choultries, markets, tanks and wells,

the payment of all charges connected with the objects for which such buildings have been constructed, the training and employment of vaccinators and medical practitioners, sanitary inspection of towns and villages, the cleansing of roads, streets and tanks and any other local works of public utility calculated to promote the health, comfort or convenience of the people. (Section 26). It was only in minor respects that modifications were introduced into this list. Thus in 1884 when a new Local Boards Act was passed, the Boards were authorised to spend their revenues on,

“(4) the planting and preservation of trees on sides of roads and on other public places ” and

“(5) the establishment and maintenance of relief works in time of famine or scarcity ” (Section 95 Clauses ii and v).

When the Act was amended in 1900, the Boards were empowered to construct slaughter houses and cart-stands (Section 95, clause iii). For about thirty-six years no alterations were made in their functions. In the interval, however, the Royal Commission on Decentralisation made its recommendations and the Government of India issued resolutions indicating in broad outline the direction in which changes were desirable in local self-government. The Minto-Morley Reforms gave increasing opportunities for popular representatives to move resolutions in the Legislative Council and place before the Government the views of the educated public on this subject. The question was also carefully considered in the “Montford” scheme of Constitutional Reforms. The result of all this activity was the passing of the Local Boards Act of 1920. It absolved the Local Boards from responsibility for famine relief ; it authorised them to utilise their revenues for the construction of poor houses and orphanages, the removal of congestion of population, and the provision of house-sites, the payment of contributions to the funds of Health and Welfare institutions and the establishment and maintenance of libraries and reading rooms (Section 112 Clauses (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v). The functions of Local Boards at the present day are based upon this Act.

REASONS FOR CONSERVATISM

Communications, education and public health, have thus been regarded as falling within the sphere of Local Bodies. No acute controversies arose in respect of these. It was only when proposals were made to include particular items under one or other of these heads or to add to them that differences of opinion arose between the Government on one side and the non-official members of the Legislature. It may be said that on the whole the Government adopted with much justification a cautious and conservative policy in the matter. A review at this stage of the several factors that contributed to this conservatism is of much importance.

(I) One of the essential factors was the inadequacy of the resources of Local Bodies. In the earliest days of legislation on the subject, the Government ignored this aspect of the question. It thought that by merely creating Local Bodies and calling upon them to discharge certain functions, they would be enabled to do the work entrusted to them quite satisfactorily. It was in those days left to responsible officials and non-officials to invite the attention of the Government to the financial weakness of the Boards and the consequent folly of throwing heavy work upon them. Even education was regarded by them in such light. It was only later on when the Government obtained actual experience of the real capacities of the Boards that it understood the point of view of the critics. This standpoint was emphasized in the famous Resolution of Lord Ripon's Government, where it was clearly stated that when a new liability was transferred to the Boards a corresponding source of revenue also should be made over to them (Section VI). It was on this ground that opposition was shown to throwing on Local Boards the responsibility for famine relief (Speech of Ratnasabhapathi Pillai, M.L.C.P. 1900) The Madras Government retained in 1900 the clause regarding famine relief merely out of deference to the views of the Imperial Government and not

because it was satisfied with the justice or the expediency of the case. For, the history of famine relief clearly brought out how the finances of Local Boards were handicapped when they had to meet the charges on famine ; and after all what they contributed was very small when compared with the huge famine expenditure incurred by the Government. For instance in 1897-8, the Madras Government spent 92.86 lakhs on relief works and it was proposed to debit only five lakhs to the account of Local Boards. Even this resulted in heavy deficits which, under the rules then existing, Government had to make up by means of provincial subventions. It was not permissible to spend the funds raised by one Board in the jurisdiction of another. The local funds of all districts did not constitute a common purse. Though one Board might be in an exceedingly flourishing state, its funds could not be spent in another district suffering from famine (Financial Statement M. L. C. P. 1898, P. 19). In spite of these difficulties, the Clause was retained in the Act of 1900. It was however a dead letter and it was removed in 1920. During the discussions on the amendment of the Act in 1900, there were non-official proposals for including among the purposes the construction of poor-houses, the establishment of model farms, the importation and distribution of superior kinds of seed, etc. but all this was objected to mainly on the ground that local funds were unable to bear the additional expenditure. Various suggestions were placed before the Royal Commission on Decentralisation for expanding the scope of the work of Local Boards, but the Commission rejected all of them on the main ground that the administrative duties already assigned to Rural Boards were quite large enough and what was really needed was not an extension of functions but larger resources for the work already falling on them. (Report Para. 745). A similar opinion was expressed by the member in charge of local self-government during the discussions on the Bill of 1920, when it was proposed that Local Boards should be empowered to spend their revenues on agricultural and technical schools, home industries, etc.

and the Legislature concurred with him. (Speech of Sir P. Rajagopalachari). The general feeling has throughout been that if without increasing their resources—which was not found to be possible or practicable—new functions were added, it would do them more harm than good.

It may be argued that no evil effects will result if the list of permissive functions is enlarged, leaving it to the discretion of individual Boards to spend funds on them in case they can be spared. This will, it may be said, incidentally serve as a reminder to the Boards of the ideals for which they have to strive, the directions in which they have to move, and the great volume of work that lies before them. Two points however, deserve consideration in this connection. There is a danger of funds being frittered on fanciful schemes likely to capture the imagination of the electorate, each Board trying to outdo the other in this pursuit. Secondly, even under the existing legislation, the field open for Boards is wide enough to give full scope for years to come for expenditure on a variety of useful undertakings. Public health, education and communications, require all the funds that they raise. Concentration on these few items is in the long run likely to bear better fruit. A mere extension, therefore, of functions will not at this stage be of any real use.

(2) While the financial factor was of fundamental importance in determining the course of legislation on this subject, influence was also exercised to some extent by a few secondary factors. Where a state department had been created to work in a particular field, it was considered inexpedient and uneconomical to allot work in the same field to Local Bodies. This was the view put forward by the spokesman of the Government during the discussions on the Bill of 1920, when it was proposed to permit the Boards to open agricultural schools, model farms and technical institutions, etc. The agricultural and the industrial departments with their Directors and other officers were already entrusted with work of this nature. It was apprehended that if the revenues of Local Bodies were permitted to be

spent on the same purpose, the state departments may shirk their responsibility, grow slack, indifferent and even careless in their work. (M. L. C. P. 20th September 1920). These fears were really groundless. With a state department of education, the Local Boards have been entrusted with the establishment and maintenance of schools; and with a state medical department, they have been opening and managing hospitals and dispensaries; and these departments have not grown indifferent in consequence. So, a state agricultural department need not necessarily mean that Local Bodies should have nothing to do with agriculture. The fact of the matter is that the interest in the scientific development of agriculture is to be found only to a small extent among the masses of people. Boards consisting of their elected representatives cannot be expected to devote much attention to agricultural schools or farms; and their capacity to organize and manage such institutions is limited. Under these circumstances, the cause of scientific agriculture may suffer if its success is made to depend on Local Boards. Moreover, the subject is still in an experimental stage and it is better that for some time more it is entirely left in the hands of the state department. Owing to the large volume and variety of work in education, a division of labour has been brought into effect between Local Boards and the state education department—the former establishing and maintaining schools, the latter providing with inspection and general co-ordination. There is as yet no scope for such division of labour in the agricultural or the industrial department.

CHANGES AHEAD

It is circumstances like these that stand in the way of additional work being thrown upon Local Bodies at present. Conditions are bound to change with time and the above objections may cease to have force in future. Whether expenditure on a particular item would benefit only a class or the generality of ratepayers in the area, is another factor which influences the policy in regard to the functions of Local

Bodies. Though the diffusion of education was recognised as one of the main functions of these bodies, objection was raised in the early days to expenditure on secondary education and on reading-rooms and libraries. The ground of objection was that these would be of advantage to only a small minority of the population, especially the members of the higher castes. The strength with which this objection was held is best brought out in the speech of Mr. Arundel who was in charge of the Local Boards Act Amending Bill in 1900. He said : " I am more out of sympathy with this amendment (re : public libraries, reading-rooms) than with any other hitherto proposed. . . . With regard to reading-rooms and libraries, if any of these were to be provided for, it would be in larger Unions where the people who would avail themselves of this advantage would be the officials, the vakils and the schoolmasters ; and the people from whom the taxes are levied which go towards providing these things would, for the most part and with rarest exception, derive no benefit. In proposals such as these, we are altogether going beyond what is wise and expedient for Local Fund Boards ". (M. L. C. P. 3rd April 1900). The growth of literacy and the spread of the library movement through the efforts of voluntary organizations weakened the force of this objection by 1920 when, as has been noted already, expenditure on reading-rooms was declared legitimate.

A contrast is often drawn between the growing volume and variety of work turned out by Rural Boards in western countries and the narrow sphere in which the Boards here have to function. But it must be recognised that this contrast is only the counterpart of the difference in the standards of life and in material prosperity. The provision of swimming baths, wash-houses, gymnasia, museums, etc., should be considered a luxury in a land where there is not as yet an adequate supply of pure drinking water ; and continuation schools should be regarded in the same light where universal primary education has not yet been provided for. It is only when the general economic conditions undergo

improvement and the annual national income increases, that Local Boards would be able to come into possession of larger funds and try to approach the western standards of local administration.

PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURE

Legislation has not only defined precisely the functions of Local Boards but it also attempted in the past to regulate the proportion in which the revenues of these Boards should be distributed among the several functions allotted to them ; and where legislation failed to lay down such a rule, the administrative orders of the provincial government took its place. Thus, for instance, the Act of 1871 laid down that all the net income derived from tolls and two-thirds of the income obtained from the land cess should be spent on roads (Section 36); and the balance from the land cess should be set apart for expenditure on education, medical relief, sanitation, etc. The proceeds of the house-tax were intended for expenditure on schools, but when that tax was suspended, the Government issued a rule that ordinarily one-sixth of the land cess together with the miscellaneous educational receipts should be spent on education (Report of the Committee on Local Self-Government, Para 182). These rules resulted in very small expenditure on public health. So, the Committee appointed in 1882 to report on the condition of local self-government in the Madras Presidency in the light of Lord Ripon's Resolution expressed the opinion, that : " So much has now been done to improve them (roads) throughout the Presidency and the demands of the other services are now so imperious, that the time has come when the proportion of land cess appropriated by law to road fund may properly be reduced from two-thirds to one-half " (Para 246). In the Act of 1884, no minimum of expenditure on roads was fixed and discretion was allowed in the matter to the Boards. Between 1884 and 1895, the Boards paid increasing attention to education and public health and it appeared to the Government that roads were being neglected. There was

also an impression in those days among the members of the Government that the need for educational expansion was not urgent and they were even prejudiced at the progress it was making. When in 1895 a non-official member of the Legislature asked for additional allotments for education out of the Provincial funds, the Hon'ble Mr. Bliss replied: "The tendency of Local Bodies to spend more money upon education is encouraged by the local departmental officers, just as expenditure on sanitation is constantly fostered by the strenuous efforts of the Sanitary Commissioner. The consequence is that both Local Boards and Municipalities have been starving other departments for the sake of education. In fact, the roads upon which the prosperity of a country in my opinion depends, are now fast going out of existence. My impression is that so far from there being any prospect of more money being spent on education, the question that arises is whether less should not be spent". (M.L.C.P. 1895, P. 171). At about the same time, the Government of India was particular on more money being spent on "railway feeder roads". (G.O. No. 1369 L of 8th June, 1892). The remedy for the bad conditions of roads would have been the payment of provincial subsidies to Local Boards as was done before 1876 and not the curtailment of educational expenditure. But so averse was the Government to such a policy that it issued an order calling upon the Presidents of District Boards to allot every year for expenditure on roads an amount equal to half the land-cess and the net receipts from tolls, and to furnish an annual statement to show how far these instructions were being carried out. (G.O. 1686 L. of 14th September, 1895). A similar step was taken some years later in regard to expenditure on avenues. The Government of India called attention to this subject, (Resolution No. 21-34-14 of 11th July, 1905), and in 1904-5 the Madras Government issued an order that every Board should spend annually on avenues not less than the average income from them during the preceding five years (A. A. R. 1904-5). This contagion of fixing the percentage of

expenditure became widespread and an ingenious suggestion was put forward by Castle Stuart, the President of the Godavari District Board, who was so very much frightened at the growth (very slow, as it really was) of education that the Government should fix the maximum (not the minimum as in other cases) that might be spent on education (Letter of 16th December 1899. G. O. 1337 L of 3rd August, 1900). The Director of Public Instruction took a quite contrary view of the matter. He complained about the evil effects of the Government Order on roads, and wanted that the minimum obligatory expenditure should be fixed in the case of education and not of roads (G. O. 425 Education, of 6th September, 1900).

A rigid rule fixing the percentage of relative expenditure is not called for. Conditions vary from one local area to another. In some districts, owing to the paucity of railways or canals, more expenditure on roads may be necessary while in others *e.g.* Godavari and Kistna, less. A uniform rule applicable to all the districts in the Presidency will under these circumstances be an obstacle to real progress. In some cases, it is sure to lead to extravagance and waste. It will also be fettering the discretion of Local Boards and cut at the root of local self-government. Government has every year the opportunity of reviewing the administration of each District Board and that may be availed of for making the necessary suggestions. Reliance may be placed on the good sense of the members of the Boards, their local experience, and public opinion as expressed by rate-payers. (Report of the Decentralization Commission, Para 778).

GROWTH IN RECENT YEARS

The growth in the magnitude of the work of Local Boards is clearly brought out by the statistics of their expenditure. Taking the annual average in each decade commencing from 1872-3 when the first Local Funds Act was in full operation, the figures work out as follows:—(The figures are calculated from the statistics given in the Annual Administration Reports).

1872-3	Rs. 50,12,433	
1873-4 to 1882-3	„ 57,24,015	per year
1883-4 to 1892-3	„ 66,77,235	„
1893-4 to 1902-3	„ 84,14,721	„
1903-4 to 1912-13	„ 121,15,826	„
1913-14 to 1922-3	„ 209,33,836	„

These figures indicate a continuous and, in the more recent decades, a rapid growth in expenditure. It rose by 15 per cent. in the first decade, 15.8 per cent. in the second, 27.2 per cent. in the third, 44 per cent. in the fourth, and 72.7 per cent. in the fifth and the last decade, and Local Boards now spend per year more than five times as much as they spent in 1872-3.

It is also noteworthy that this increase is shared by all the important heads of expenditure, although there is a difference in the rate of relative increase under each head. Broadly considered, the rate of increase under communications was slow up to 1902-3 amounting to only four per cent. while in the following two decades it rose by 63 and 71 per cent. respectively. The growth under education has been more steady. The annual average expenditure in the first decade was 51 per cent. more than the expenditure in 1872-3, while in each of the following four it was 46 per cent. 58 per cent, 46 per cent. and 248 per cent. more than that in the immediately preceding decade. The extraordinary increase by 248 per cent. in the last decade is the result of the new policy adopted after 1911 in regard to elementary education with the ultimate object of making it universal. Similarly under public health, the expenditure has been going up from time to time, though at a varying rate. The percentage of increase in this case is 74.18, 55, 48 and 21 respectively. Under management the expenditure stood at Rs. 1,74,902 in 1882-3 while in 1922-3 it was 13.92 lakhs, thus showing an increase of 800 per cent.

Apart from causes affecting particularly each individual item, mention may here be made of those more general factors responsible for the enormous growth of

expenditure referred to above. It is to be noted in the first place that the services which the Local Boards have been called on to administer are of such a nature that they offer a limitless field for an ever-increasing outlay. It is not therefore surprising that in this long period of more than half a century, the expenditure should have increased to vast dimensions. In 1872-3 about fifteen thousand miles of road were maintained by the Local Boards while the mileage in 1922-23 was nearly twenty-six thousand. Similarly in 1872-3 the number of schools managed by the Boards and the number of pupils attending them were respectively 323 and 10,631. In 1922-23 schools increased to 9131 and pupils to 536,287. With regard to hospitals and dispensaries the number in 1872-3 was 93 and in 1922-3 it was 421. Only 427,179 patients were treated in the earlier year, while nearly five millions were treated in the later year. All this is what may be called the result of natural growth. In the second place there has been a striving after greater efficiency in each department of service. Better communications meant an increasing expenditure on bridges across rivers. More efficient education involved expenditure on school buildings, on furniture and on better apparatus for teaching, which of course included the employment of a larger number of trained teachers. Improved medical relief carried along with it better equipment of hospitals, more accommodation for in-patients and a larger supply of trained midwives and nurses. In the third place, another important factor has been in operation in recent years. It is the rise in the general level of prices, wages and salaries. The cost of materials required for roads, buildings, etc. increased in consequence; and after 1917-18, there has been an all-round revision of the salaries paid to those in the service of Local Boards. These general causes explain to a great extent how, as in the field of national and provincial expenditure, the expenditure in the field of the Local Boards also tended to continuously go up.

Rabindranath's 'Red Oleanders'¹

BY P. GUHA-THAKURTA, M.A., Ph.D.

Rakta Karabi (Red Oleanders) represents, more than any of his plays of the symbolical type, Rabindra Nath Tagore's dramatic genius in its fullest maturity. It has all the lyrical beauty of the earlier plays and dramatic sketches and also the spiritual depth of his developed thought. It has for its main theme the conflict between the true spirit of man and a materialistic and mechanical order of society. It is only natural that a play with such an avowed purpose by a man who has always held very independent ideas on most things, social or political, and has frequently expressed himself strongly on the problems of modern civilisation, should have a genuine present-day interest.

Let us first see how the play is presented to an audience. It opens in front of a royal palace in Yaksha-Puri where the bulk of the population slaves in the gold mines. The King is hidden from public gaze behind a net-work screen, before which the whole action of the play takes place. The affairs of the town are administered by his officials and he himself never appears among his people but busies himself in piling up the gold-nuggets that are being dug from the mines. None of the workmen can escape from their bondage except by death. They remind one of the Robots of Karel Capek's play 'R.U.R', mere machines, with numbers instead of names, completely under the mercy of a greedy super-capitalist. There is a Professor who also lives behind a net-work of scholarship and pedantry. He discusses philosophy and æsthetics with Nandini, the heroine of the play—a woman so beautiful that even the King is enamoured of her.

¹ The play first appeared in 1924 in the Bengali original in "Prabasi" a Calcutta literary monthly. The English version came out later in the year in the September number of the "Visvabharati Quarterly".

Nandini has a lover, Ranjan by name, whom she adores and loves and waits for his coming to liberate the people. Ranjan calls her his 'Red Oleander' because the colour of his love is red like the oleanders she wears on her neck, on her breast, and on her arms. The red of the oleanders is intended to suggest not only beauty and love but a foreboding of the strange and fearful things that are about to happen. Kisor, a boy-slave, worships Nandini and brings her red oleanders even at the risk of his own life. Nandini goes to have an audience with the King but she can only speak to a voice that comes from behind the net-work curtain. She bids him come out of his seclusion and tells him, however much she may admire his strength, he ought to be ashamed of his cruelty to the workers and of his greed in grabbing at the dead wealth which they dig up for him out of the bowels of the earth. The King says he is weary of his strength and covets her love. But she cannot give him love in return, for she loves Ranjan and is eagerly awaiting his coming to Yaksha-Puri. Workers, some of them in rebellious mood, pass before the palace, discussing their sorry plight and trying in vain to devise ways of escape from this hell of slavery. Bisu, a vagrant wanderer whom the Government had wanted to use as a spy, is the real friend of the workman. Bisu is an enigmatical character who sings songs and really serves as a mouthpiece of the author's gentle satire upon the false political economy of Yaksha-Puri. He mocks the tyranny of the machine-made institutions of the place and expresses a passion for a world entirely free from ugliness and cruelty and greedy, acquisitive passion. Nandini is his idol and the symbol of all his noblest aspirations. But the wives of the workmen tell him that some day "that girl with her noose of red oleanders will drag him to perdition". Later in the play, Nandini tells Bisu that she does not fear the King any more, for she has seen him face to face. He is hungry for love and wants desperately to live; for when she told him that she could give up her life for the love of Ranjan, he got frightfully angry and drove her away. Bisu becomes a little apprehensive for her

safety. In a third interview between Nandini and the King, the King threatens to kill Ranjan, if he ever gets hold of him. Nandini says: "Those whom you have scared all along, will one day feel ashamed to be afraid. If my Ranjan were here, he would have snapped his fingers in your face and not been afraid even if he died for it." She goes off and waits for Ranjan by the wayside. Meanwhile, Bisu has been arrested on a charge of inciting the workmen to insubordination. Ranjan comes at last, evading the watchfulness of the King's officials, but he is not seen upon the stage until he has been killed by the King himself, because he had challenged him to fight. The King does not know whom he has killed, and when he learns that it is Ranjan, he cries out—"I have killed youth. Yes, I have, indeed, killed youth—all these years, with all my strength. The curse of youth, dead, is upon me." He realises that all his life has been a mistake and calls on Nandini to help him to destroy the system that has been built up around him :

NANDINI

What would you have me do ?

KING

To fight against *me*, but with your hand in mine.

That fight has already begun. There is my flag. First I break the flag-staff—thus : Next it's for you to tear its banner. Let your hand unite with mine to kill *me*, utterly kill *me*. That will be my emancipation.

GUARDS (rushing up)

What are you doing, Your Majesty ?

You dare break the flag-staff, the holiest symbol of our divinity—the flag-staff which has its one point piercing the heart of the earth and the other that of heaven ; What a terrible sin—on the very day of the flag-worship :

Comrades, let us go and inform our Governor.

(They run off)

KING

A great deal of breaking still remains to be done. You will come with me, Nandini?

NANDINI

I will.¹

All that we hear now is that Nandini has "dyed her garland the colour of oleanders with her heart's blood" and "gone in advance of us all to the last freedom"; the King has just gone off to his death, hearing Nandini's call and, according to the Professor, "has at last had tidings of the secret of life". Ranjan has left behind "in death his conquering call—he will live again and cannot die"; the workmen have broken into the prison and released Bisu, and the net-work before the palace has been torn to shreds. Bisu comes out and calls on his comrades to come on to the fight and as we hear the shouts of 'Victory to Nandini!' the curtain falls. A song dies away in the distance:

‘Hark it's autumn calling—
Come, O come away!’

The rather severe satire in the play on the tyranny of a materialistic order of society with all its ugliness and inhumanity is, however, relieved by an exquisitely delicate sensibility and imaginative beauty. If the author has lashed materialism and worldly greed, it is with a silken whip. If he has rebuked tyranny, cruelty and falsehood, it is with a gentle and benevolent kindness. His satire does not sting—it only awakens pity and understanding. The character of Nandini stands out very clearly as a type of the grandeur and pathos of love, which runs as a red thread through the tapestry of human bondage and slavery. She has "for her mantle", as the Professor says in one place in the play, "the green joy of the earth.—That is our Nandini—In this Yaksha town, there are governors, foremen, headmen, tunnel diggers, scholars like myself: there are policemen,

¹ 'Red Oleanders' (Visvabharati Quarterly, Sept., 1924) p. 82.

executioners, undertakers—and they all fit in perfectly into the scheme of the place. She alone seems out of place here. “Midst the clamour of the market-place she is like a lute in perfect tune”. The author has used his extremest skill and imagination in the painting of the portrait of this lovely, warm hearted and brave woman, and we cannot help feeling sad when she passes out of our sight like a bird of passage, like a figure made, as it were, of pure abstraction, passing out into nothingness, leaving nothing behind but her bracelet of red oleanders. The *denouement* exactly suits the Poet's temperament. It seems strange that she who had made so vivid an impression upon us as a human being, as a physical reality, should come to such an end. As Rabindra Nath himself explains: “She is not an abstraction, but is pursued by an abstraction, like one tormented by a ghost. Nandini is a real woman who knows that wealth and power are *maya* and that the highest expression of life is in love which she manifests in the play in her love for Ranjan. But love-ties are ruthlessly molested by a megalomaniac ambition, while an acquisitive intellect plies its psychological curiosity, probing into the elusive mystery of love through vivisection . . . I have a stronger faith in the simple personality of man than in the prolific brood of machinery that wants to crowd it out. This personality—the divine essence of the infinite in the vessel of the finite, has its last treasure-house in woman's heart. . . The joy of this faith has inspired me to pour all my heart into painting against the background of black shadows. . the portrait of Nandini as the saviour of the message of reality, the saviour through death.”¹

It will be quite evident that what the Poet has attempted in this play is not the exposition of a new idea but the clothing of his most vital thought on the problems of life and religion in a new outward attire. We have the same fruitlessness of idle curiosity and covetousness as in *Raja* (The King of the Dark Chamber), we have the

¹See 'Red Oleanders: Author's Interpretation.' ('Visvabharati Quarterly' October, 1925) p.285.

self-same futility of a machine-made order of life as in *Achalayatan*, (The Immovable Sanctuary), we have the same redeeming potency of love as a restorative as in *Prakrtir Pratisodh* (Nature's Revenge), we have also the same note of the eternal craving of the human spirit for the distant and the unknown as in *Dak Ghar* (Post Office) and *Phalguni* (The Cycle of Spring), only in a slightly different dress. All these ideas again form coherent parts of the leading idea—the cruelty and stupidity of a mechanical and soul-less civilisation. This idea is also closely bound up with the Poet's favourite doctrine that each individual is enslaved or freed by something within himself and that if he breaks the outward chains of authority, this is only the revelation of the freedom which he has achieved within himself. There is no need to hide the fact that by means of a dramatic parable Rabindra Nath quite frankly attempts a criticism of the political machinery of modern times and of the consequences of the commercialised civilisation of the present-day. In a recent article in the 'Visvabharati Quarterly'¹, the Poet has said that the purpose of the play is to show what a menace to humanity is contained in the 'organised avarice' which has captured the imagination of the western races and threatens to "trample down life's true harvest" throughout the world. He says of this 'grim apparition': "It is intensely real; its hot breath is upon us; its touch is all over our shrinking souls. It is the principal hero to-day in the drama of human history; and I trust I have the right to invoke it in my own play, not in the spirit of a politician but of a poet, possibly a lyrical poet."²

There is a vast amount of abstract truth expressed through the different personages of the drama and wrought into a richness of imagery and delicacy of rhetoric and metaphor by a master of beautiful words. The individuals of the play have not perhaps come to life exactly in the way we might have expected, but they are much more than

¹ See October Number, 1925, pp. 283-286.

² See 'Visvabharati Quarterly,' October, 1925, p. 284.

mere types. They are entities, and one and all succeed in conveying the Poet's thought and feeling and have an universal appeal to human emotion. There could never be a mathematical measure of art, for all art in its essence must be universal. By universality we do not mean that all people will share an author's ideas or feelings; in point of fact, they will not. Rabindra Nath's true universality of emotional appeal in this play consists in his exquisite rendering of the subtle beauty of human life and nature, in giving everlasting vitality to a flashing moment of joy or pain, and thus widening our sphere of understanding and sympathy. He enables us to grasp reality, not so much through a process of reasoning, as through feeling and this end he achieves again and again with unmistakable success. Herein lies perhaps the real greatness of his art in rhyme or prose.

An Andhra Statesman In the Far South

BY N. KRISHNAMURTI

Poverty is rich in stimuli. Its beneficent powers lie in riotous profusion all around its beneficiaries as the fertilities of mother earth lie scattered about the mighty oak in primeval forests. Otherwise is it with those who come out with silver spoons in their mouths. The subject of this memoir was born of poor parents, literally poor. Ancestors unknown had left their ancient home¹ in the *Andhradesa* and come as far south as Tinnevely. Nagam Aiya was the fourth of a family of five children born to a pious couple of Telugu *Aruvela Niyogi* Brahmins whose stock of racial pride was all that was left to them through the vicissitudes of migratory living. Four years later, another boy was added to the family, and circumstance which it will take too long to narrate here sent these, roving again for shelter, to the shrine of Sri Padmanabha. That was perhaps the stroke of destiny. The young arrival duly went to school and to college too. And in 1870 H.H. the Maharaja's College sent up its first batch for the B. A., and Nagam Aiya earned the distinction of being the first graduate from His Highness' college. As his old professor of revered memory, Dr. Harvey, wrote to him on his appointment as Acting Dewan—"I must congratulate you on being our first Dewan as well as our first B.A." But poverty had not smoothed the way to a degree. For after matriculating he had to seek a job to help keep the pot boiling, and studies and breadwinning in a lowly capacity went hand in hand. But the lowly job ere

¹The village of Boppudi, (Narasaraopet Taluk, Guntur District), where representatives of the family may still be found.



Dewan Bahadur V. Nagam Aiya
Dec. 1850—May 1917.

the degree came had been changed for the privileged one of Assistant Professor of History and Mathematics in his own college. With passing the B. A., the young man was marked out for preferment, and was at once drafted to the Dewan's English Office, as it then was, by Raja Sir Madhava Rao.

His rise was rapid. He was appointed a Tahsildar in 1872, then Superintendent of Census in 1875, and wrote the *first* Census Report of Travancore in 1876. Kottayam marvelled at its 'Boy-Tahsildar' as he was spoken of, whose official duties no more oppressed him than games a schoolboy, but who at the same time laid the foundation of those qualities which distinguished his later career. The Census work turned all eyes to the young officer, who, to quote the words of the official review by the Dewan, "in the course of executing the work entrusted to him has displayed superior intelligence, great tact for organising, instructing and controlling a large and special agency which the necessities of the work called for". Passing through the appointments of Police Sheristadar and Marahmut Sheristadar in the Huzur, he found himself by the time he was barely thirty called upon to fill the place of Dewan Peishkar and District Magistrate of the Padmanabhapuram Division, the highest executive office in the State under the Dewan. The Peishkar was a *Ma Bap* then, and Nagam Aiya held the office in three out of the four Divisions and left everywhere indelible marks of the benevolent autocrat who did everything to promote the fundamental well-being of the people under his charge. The Dewan was gratified to observe "contentment pervading the bulk of the people in your Division". His Sovereign was pleased to write to him—"Nothing could be more gratifying to me than to hear that the division under your charge is in such a prosperous condition. I know you are sparing no pains in making the administration alike popular and beneficent to Government." From the charge of the Division it was in his day a promotion to be appointed to the charge of the Settlement operations then in progress. The Settlement Dewan Peishkar

had just become Dewan. The next senior officer so stepped into his place, and Nagam Aiya filled it for twelve years animated by one principle, "light taxes and large revenues". He believed in the noble maxim that money was more fruitful in the hands of the people than in the privy coffers of the State.

Throughout this long period he laboured under the disadvantage of strong differences with successive Dewans both on policy and on methods. The Dewans were the victims of pressure from the Madras Government whose views in the direction of rates of assessment and speedy settlement conflicted with Nagam Aiya's essentially. Matters came to a head with the coming into the Dewanship of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, and at a series of Settlement Conferences, strong differences strongly expressed led to a situation calling for a decisive step. His Highness thought—"let the Dewan go on with his scheme, let Nagam Aiya now take up the writing of the State Manual which work had officially been entrusted to him even during the Dewanship of Rama Rao". Whether as Settlement Officer or as Dewan Peishkar on Special Duty for the State Manual, Nagam Aiya had reached the step just below the Dewanship, and speculators and wags, in the press and elsewhere, were conning the chances for and against him. Dewan Krishnaswami Rao went to the Delhi Durbar of January 1903 with His Highness, and for the first time Nagam Aiya was Acting Dewan. "I have no doubt that this is a sure indication of what is in store for you at a date not far off." So wrote the Dewan himself. The chorus of congratulation on the appointment and appreciation of his temporary administration were crowned by the terms in which his Sovereign-master acknowledged his work. His Highness wrote:—"I have often thought of writing to you after my return from my trip to Delhi last year to express my high appreciation and satisfaction of your work when you were in charge of the administration during my absence from Travancore for more than six weeks. I know what difficulties and troubles you had to overcome but you

worked with your wonted zeal and energy and carried on the duties of the administration to my entire satisfaction. I have much pleasure therefore in placing you again in charge of the administration. It is needless for me to express the high opinion I have always entertained of your integrity and abilities. I have every confidence that you will afford me the same satisfaction whenever you are placed in charge of the administration."

But the fair weather which had so far carried him along the high seas of success and achievement now deserted him. The goal was in sight but unattainable. He may hold charge of the Travancore Administration, and he did on five occasions, but he may not be Dewan *pucca*. So the career which opened on a note of ample promise, and which for 42 years kept Nagam Aiya poised on rising pitches of success and fame, broke at last on a note of tragedy. Contemporaries, friends, foes, have variously explained this dismal trick of fate. But the truth lies hidden in the labyrinthine meshes of political practice which coil round kings and governments, and the story may therefore, perhaps, be never told. Or it may be. The time is not yet, perhaps, nor is this the place. But those who know, know too that neither Nagam Aiya nor those whose affections, hopes and admiration gathered round him, had just cause to say—"He missed the Dewanship, and he did not deserve it; his Maharaja did not care for him, and would not have him'.

With the Census Report of 1876, Nagam Aiya revealed the talent that lay in him for authorship. He then discovered himself to be for at least another thirty years the official spokesman of Travancore. The Census Reports of 1881 and 1891 established his pre-eminent literary gifts. His Government in recognition of the Census work not only recorded in formal terms high appreciation but also bestowed an honorarium of Rs. 2,000. A further gift of the value of Rs. 2,500 followed when after sixteen years Nagam Aiya made his last official publication, the three splendid volumes of the Travancore State Manual, in 1907. The work which was acclaimed as his *magnum opus* brought him such a chorus

of praise and congratulation ; it was a fitting conclusion to his career as publicist for his Government, and one which in the words of a British Resident addressed to the Maharaja, "will serve for all time as a memorial of Your Highness' reign in Travancore "; and to Nagam Aiya wrote the same authority—" I congratulate you on this lasting memorial of your connection with the State ". Space here does not allow of further extracts from a pile of enthusiastic appreciation, nor of a fuller account of the other numerous literary activities which embellished his career. Suffice it to say that for the press and for the platform, he was ever in demand, and people's memories enshrine the warmth and vivid charm and dignity of his personality, his mellifluous voice and silvery laughter, his lively sense of humour and finished diction. His broad outlook prevented his taking a parochial view of things, and to Indian politics he gave as anxious a study as to problems that lay close around, and he was a regular writer to the columns of *The Hindu*. He was of no party. A Brahmin of Brahmins, his best friends were drawn from among Nairs, his other non-caste brethren, from Christians and Mohamedans. His writings testify to this, and memories of him are fragrant with this unbogoted and warm-hearted trait in him. Conscious of his own high birth and opportunity, he was alike conscious that every one else had a right to a place under the sun.

He was spared to spend ten years after retirement from office, which time he filled with congenial literary pursuits, with visits to important towns in his own Presidency, with unfailing regularity in Tennis and Billiards, with the dispensation of gracious hospitality, while himself the recipient of his Maharaja's unabated confidence and regard, to whom he paid his customary two visits a week, the unexpected recipient too of the title of "Dewan Bahadur" from the Viceroy which all friends said was "somewhat belated, but in no case was better deserved", "so tardily conferred by the British Government", and so on, until in May 1917 the end came with a suddenness so becoming the justly proud and the truly noble. Such must die standing ;

it was almost so in his case. A slight stomach trouble took a quick serious turn without warning, and on the third day morning the world heard of him as no more.

Life's race well run,
Life's work well done,
Life's crown well won,
Now comes rest.

Expansion of the Gupta Empire

BY PROF. V. RANGACHARYA, M.A.

Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya (Circa, 380 or 385 to 413)

Chandragupta II, the son and successor of Samudragupta, was a worthy son of his father. From the fact that his records give him the title of Vikramaditya, it has been surmised by a number of scholars that he has a better claim than any other sovereign to be regarded as the original of the mythical hero of that name who figures largely in the Indian legends. The suggestion has been vehemently denied by others, Dr. Hoernle, for example, preferring to see the original of the legendary Vikramaditya in Yasovarman of Malwa nearly a century and a half later, and Mr. Vaidya considering that there was a real Vikramaditya in the first century B. C. after all. It is not possible to enter into a detailed discussion of the question as it primarily concerns the origin of the Vikrama Era ; but it may be mentioned here that, if there is any truth at all in the glories attributed by the legends to Vikramaditya, the Gupta monarch richly deserves to be regarded as such a hero. Chandragupta II, in fact, seems to be entitled to the name and glory of the greatest monarch of his illustrious line. Chandragupta seems to have been known, to judge from at least two inscriptions, also as Devagupta or Devaraja.

The materials for the study of the reign can, as in the case of his predecessor's, be divided into two classes, inscriptional and numismatic. But these can be substantially supplemented by the singularly interesting account left by Fa Hian, the Chinese traveller, and by literary evidences.

The available inscriptions of Chandragupta II are five in number. Three of them are dated, and two un-dated.

The former belong to the Gupta years 82, 88 and 93, corresponding respectively to 400-1, 407-8, and 412-3, A.D. The earliest is in a cave in the Udayagiri hill, two miles to the north-east of Bhilsa where a temple dedicated to Vishnu was, if we are to judge from the figures of Vishnu and His Consorts carved outside the cave, excavated'. The inscription is in the 'boxheaded script' peculiar to Central India in this period. It is of course in Sanskrit and in prose, and dated on *Ashadha-Sukla-Ekadasi* of G. E. 82 (A. D. 401-2). It says that a certain feudatory Maharaja, who belonged to the Sanakanika family (which, we know from the Allahabad *Prasasti* had paid tribute to Samudragupta), endowed something to the shrine. The chief's name, which is partly lost, apparently ended with the expression . . . *dhala*. His father was Vishnudasa and his grandfather Chagalaga.

The second of the inscriptions² is on a stone at the village of Gadhwa in Allahabad district, now deposited in the Calcutta Museum. It is in the northern Gupta script and in prose. The emperor's name is mentioned, and of the date portion, the number of the year, 88, is clear. The epigraph is in two parts, each recording a gift of ten *dinaras* for the maintenance of a *sattra* for Brahmans.

The third dated inscription³ of Chandragupta II was discovered by Cunningham in 1834. It is engraved on a stone in the rail of the eastern gateway of the great *stupa* at Sanchi. It is in Sanskrit prose and the southern script. It is dated in *Bhadrapada Chaturthi* (the *paksha* being not given), in G. E. 93. It is a Buddhistic inscription and records that a certain Amrakardava, the

¹Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*. No 3, pp. 21-25.

²*Ibid*, No 7, pp. 36-39. The inscription mentions Pataliputra as apparently the imperial capital. The *Dinara* was adopted from the Roman *Aurei* which had the figure of an eagle to which V. A. Smith traces the Gupta Garuda.

³*Ibid*, No. 5, pp. 29-34. Fleet does not believe that *Devaraja* was another name for the emperor; but the Vakataka inscriptions corroborate this record.

son of Undana and a feudatory of Chandragupta II, gave some village or land, besides a sum of *Dinaras* for the feeding of the mendicants and the maintenance of lamps by the Aryasangha in the Vihara of Kakanadabota (Sanchi). The merit of the gift was to go to himself as well as the emperor (to whom he was evidently highly indebted). The epigraph gives a clue to the toleration of the Gupta monarch, whom it also calls Devaraja.

The first of the un-dated inscriptions was discovered by Cunningham in 1880. It is in the back wall of the cave at Udayagiri,¹ to which reference has been made already. It is, like the other records, in Sanskrit. Its script is in the northern style. Though not dated, it clearly mentions the name of Chandragupta. On palæographical grounds this can be Chandragupta II only. It records the excavation of the cave shrine to Sambhu at the instance of a Virasena, a Minister of Chandragupta. Virasena (*alias* Saba), we are told, belonged to a hereditary line of ministers. He was in charge of peace and war (*Sandhivigraha*) and belonged to Kautsa Gotra. He knew the meaning of words, logic and the ways of mankind. He was further a poet and a native of Pataliputra. The inscription says that he came here accompanied by the emperor, who was seeking to conquer the whole world, and caused the cave to be excavated.

The second un-dated inscription², which was discovered by Cunningham in 1853, is on a piece of stone found originally in the gateway of Madhura (United Provinces) and now located in the Lahore Museum. The record, which is fragmentary, is in the northern script (with some peculiarities). It says that the son of Samudragupta—it does not name Chandragupta—by Queen Datta Devi, gave some endowment, the details of which are lost. Only that

¹Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 6, pp. 34–36.

²Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*. No. 4, pp. 25–28. Though the extant portion does not name Chandragupta, there is no doubt of his being mentioned in the missing portion.

part of the record which gives the Gupta genealogy is extant.

THE COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

Passing on to the second source of the history of the reign, namely the coins¹, the most important point to be realised is that Chandragupta II was not only the issuer of gold coins like his father, but also of silver and copper coins. The silver coins were issued for the first time by him, and the copper coins almost exclusively by him among the Gupta sovereigns. Chandragupta's gold coins which were at first called *Dinari*² and later on *suvarnas*, were even more abundant and versatile than those of Samudragupta. He continued the Archer and Tiger-slayer types of his predecessor with some modifications. In the former, for example, Lakshmi (surmised by V. A. Smith to be an adaptation from the Indo-Scythian Ardochro) is given an open lotus seat instead of a four-footed throne,—a truly nationalistic change. The Archer types are the most common of Chandragupta's coins and indicate, it is believed, by their modes the geographical range of their circulation as well as the transitional periods of their issue. It has been surmised, for instance, that the Throne reverses indicate an earlier period as well as circulation in the northern provinces, while the Lotus reverses indicate a later period and circulation in the central and eastern provinces. A single coin

¹These are dwelt upon exhaustively and from every scientific standpoint by Vincent Smith in *The coinage of the early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty* (reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society) and by Mr. John Allan in his *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Sasanka, king of Gauda* (1914). These supersede all earlier works on the subject which are copious. In his little book, *The coins of India* (Heritage of India series 1922), Mr. C. J. Brown gives an excellent summary in pp. 40-49. All the three works contain plates which can be directly consulted. Rapson's *Indian Coins* (1897), pp. 24-5, is still useful.

²One general fact to be noted regarding Gupta coins is that the obverse contains the conventional forms of the king and the reverse a mythological figure like Lakshmi. For the very few exceptions see V. A. Smith's *Catalogue*, pp. 13 and 16.

which has both the Lotus and Throne¹ reverses suggests a connecting link. All these suggestions however have yet to be definitely proved. One thing is certain, however, namely, that the Archer types are the most conservative of the coins of Chandragupta and indicate, by the Kushan dress in earlier instances, a contrast to the other types which are distinctly nationalistic. Even in these coins, however, the general tendency to growing orthodoxy is seen by the replacement of the conventional Kushan dress by the Hindu waist-cloth and sash. Passing on to the Tiger-slayer type, the change introduced by Chandragupta was the substitution of a lion in place of the tiger. The lion either combats or retreats² or is trampled upon. While the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta (which, it may be noted, is unique and characteristically national) had apparently the Ganga with the Makara on the reverse. Chandragupta's Lion-slayer type has on its reverse the figure of Lakshmi seated on a couchant lion and holding a lotus (or fillet, *pasa*, symbolical of the earth-girding sex) in her hands. All the successors of Chandragupta continued the Lion type, showing that the Guptas were very proud of the symbology depicted therein. One unique variety of it shows Chandragupta attacking the lion with a sword. Another type of Chandragupta's coins is the one named after the *chhatra* or umbrella figuring in it. It may be regarded as a variant of the standard model. On its obverse there is the figure of the

¹There are several varieties of each of these types. Vincent Smith suggests, though hesitatingly, the derivation of the devices from the Persian Darics. See his *Coinage etc.*, p. 18.

²The distinction between the combatant and retreating lion was first made by Vincent Smith. Others, with more correctness, do not see the difference between the two. But the other varieties pointed out by Vincent Smith are obvious. This writer would trace the Gupta lion and tiger obverses to the Greek Heracles contending with the Nemean lion. Though he is "not able to show any clear connection between the Greek and Indian designs", he still sees a Greek look in the retreating lion and feels persuaded "that its spirited design was inspired by western models." (*Ibid*, p. 20). To one who cannot see a spirited design only in western models, the Greek look of the retreating lion may not be obvious!

standing king, whose right hand sacrifices at an altar and left hand rests on a sword-hilt; and by his side there is a boy holding an umbrella over his head. The reverse shows Lakshmi standing upon a blossoming lotus, which Vincent Smith mistook for a dragon, (see his *catalogue* p. 14 and 91), with fillet or lotus in her hands.' Chandragupta issued a new coin, usually styled the Horseman type, which his successor afterwards adopted as his most favourite model. The figure of the horseman² had once been employed by the Bactrian Greeks and Sakas; but the Gupta rendering of it is, as Brown points out, original and spirited—a change which Vincent Smith failed to notice. The king rides on horseback. He is either fully clothed or has a waist-cloth the long sashes of which fly behind. He faces either to the right or left, and has either a sword or a bow. The horse is fully caparisoned in the Indian fashion, with a plume on its head. Sometimes there is the figure of the crescent too. The reverse of this type contains, as in Samudragupta's Veena coins, the figure of Lakshmi seated on 'a wicker stool'³ and holding lotus and fillet in her hands. The rarest of the gold coins of Chandragupta is the one known to numismatists as the Couch⁴ type, which seems to have been derived from the Veena model of Samudragupta. Here the emperor is seated on a high-backed couch. His right hand hold aloft a lotus. His left

¹The Goddess stands either full or three-quarter. Sometimes she stands on an altar. In some coins she is in the walking posture.

²Vincent Smith divides the coin into two types as the horse faces right or left, but Allan rejects this classification on the grounds that the same fabric is seen in both cases and that it is the presence or absence of the symbol on the reverse that should be regarded as the true criterion for classification.

³V. A. Smith ascribes this to the Greek coin bearing the figure of Demeter. See p. 24 of his *Catalogue*.

⁴One is reminded of the *couch* which is used in Tamil inscriptions synonymously with the throne. Vincent Smith notes that it was an imitation from Indo-Scythian coins and draws attention to figures in the same attitude in the Amaravati sculptures of the 2nd century A.D. See his *Catalogue*, p. 18.

hand rests on the side of the couch. On the reverse there is Lakshmi seated on a throne with a lotus or fillet in her hands. The emperor calls himself *Vikrama* (Cf. Samudragupta's *Parakrama*)¹ and *Rupakriti* in these coins.

In regard to the silver coins which, as we have already seen, Chandragupta issued for the first time, there is the warrant for the belief that they were issued immediately after the reduction of the Western Kshatrapas in whose province they seem to have circulated. The model was that of the conquered people, which in turn had been based on the Græco-Bactrian *hemi-drachm*; but in place of the Kshatrapa *chaitya* there was introduced the Gupta Garuda (which Vincent Smith has mistaken for a winged peacock) and in place of the Saka era, the Gupta era (with the additional letter *vo* for *varshe* or year). Further the Kshatrapa coins had contained only the conventional head to represent indiscriminately all kings; but Chandragupta introduced his own portrait. All these changes, together with the slightly altered clusters of dots representing the rayed sun, are easily intelligible. It must be noted here that the silver issues of Chandragupta's mints were very small when compared with those of his successors; and this can be explained only on the basis of the lateness and smallness of his silver mintage.

The copper coins of Chandragupta II—his predecessors had not issued any on account of the abundance of the Kushan coins which were still in circulation—were of nine different kinds (though Vincent Smith notes only four.) In eight of these, there is the figure of Garuda with the name of the emperor in the reverse and the head or bust in the obverse. In the ninth model there is the reproduction of the *Chhatra* type with a fine *kalasa* with flowers and leaves hanging down its sides in the reverse. The king has often flower in his hands, as well as an attendant holding a *chhatra*. The Garuda has sometimes a snake in its mouth. Sometimes the bird stands on an altar and is represented

¹To the types given above Vincent Smith adds a Javelin type which is most singular in having a reverse in which the king and queen are seated in a Couch. He sees a Macedonian influence in it. *Ibid.* p. 17.

with or without human arms.¹ The copper coins, in short, are distinguished in the obverse by devices of the umbrella, the standing king, the bust or head of the monarch. The Bust type is an imitation of the gold coins of Huvishika.

THE LEGENDS ON THESE COINS

The legends on Chandragupta's coins are as poetic and picturesque as those on Samudragupta's. The Archer type has on its obverse *Deva-sri-Maharajadhiraja-Sri-Chandraguptah*. The Couch type has the same in the genitive, some specimens however having the additional terms *Vikramaditya* and *Rupakriti*. The reverse of all these has the simple and short legend *Sri Vikramah*. In the obverse of the Chhatra type we find, in addition to the simple expression *Maharajadhiraja Sri-Chandraguptah*, the metrical legend *Kshitim arajitya sucharitaih divam jayati Vikramadityah*. (Having conquered the earth, by his good deeds, Vikramaditya conquers heaven). The Lion-slayer type has got the epithets *Narendra-chandra*, *Simhavikramah*, *Narendrasimha-Chandraguptah*, besides this verse in the Vamsastha metre.

Narendrachandra (h) pratitha (sriya) divam
Jayatyajeyo bhuvi Simhavikramah.

The Horseman type gives the epithets *Parama-bhagavata* and *Ajita-vikramah*. The silver coins have : *Paramabhagavata-Maharajadhiraja Sri Chandragupta Vikramadityah* and *Sri Gupta-kulasya Maharajadhiraja Sri Chandragupta*

¹The following excellent summary of Chandragupta's coins by Mr. Allan is worth quoting : " The coins of Chandragupta display considerable originality of type. In his reign the throned goddess is replaced by the purely Indian type of a goddess seated on a lotus. The Couch type and the Umbrella type are original. He also introduced the Horseman type which became so popular with his successor. Samudragupta had represented himself in combat with a tiger, and Chandragupta developed this idea in four distinct types in which he is represented slaying a lion, with legends descriptive of his prowess and strength. His reign is chiefly remarkable for the introduction of a currency in silver and copper, the former of which was considerably extended by his successors, Kumaragupta I and Skandagupta."

Vikramadityasya, together with the title *Vikramanka*. The copper coins have the simple titles of *Sri Chandragupta*, *Sri Vikramadityah* and sometimes *Maharaja*.

THE INFERENCES FROM THEM

The historical lessons we are able to derive from these epigraphs and coins are indeed very interesting. The latter show that the emperor was physically a strong man, capable of fighting with lions, and intellectually a versatile and accomplished expert in the arts of peace and war. They seem to indicate that, as a man, Chandragupta was as amiable and gifted as his illustrious father. From literary works of the period as well, which we shall presently refer to, we find that Chandragupta was personally a bold and daring adventurer who did not hesitate to go into the strongholds of his most deadly enemies in order to accomplish his objects. From these works we also understand that he was regarded as as much a poet as Kalidasa and others. No doubt the version which classes him with Kalidasa and other literary luminaries is not quite trustworthy in details; but the very existence of the legend and its incorporation into literary tradition indicates the great reputation which Chandragupta had for literary accomplishments. Chandragupta was also a man of toleration. His orthodoxy is clear in his coins and the majority of the inscriptional records; but one of the latter (the Sanchi epigraph) indicates his friendship with the professors of the Buddhistic creed. These materials show that Chandragupta II ruled over an empire which included regions which had not been reduced by his father, which extended in the west as far as the sea, while literature and Vakataka inscriptions indicate that his influence extended southward as far as the extremity of the Vakataka kingdom. One other inference we are able to make is that Chandragupta was an excellent administrator. The abundant currency he issued shows a long reign of comparative peace and the devotion of the people to the pursuits of trade and enrichment.

RELATIONS WITH THE VAKATAKAS

The endeavours of Chandragupta II to carry the Gupta empire to greater glories than those achieved by his father are particularly obvious in two directions, namely, his relations with the Vakatakas and his relations with the Western Kshatrapas. Light is thrown on the former of these by the records of the Vakatakas as well as a few literary references of the period. The Vakataka kingdom was at this time ruled by Rudrasena II, the son and successor of Prithvisena I, the conqueror of the Kuntalas. We do not know exactly when Rudrasena II came to the throne; but we can learn from the researches of Dr. Vincent Smith that he must have married Prabhavati, the daughter of Chandragupta II, about the year 395 A.D. It is very probable that Rudrasena had already ruled for a few years before he married the Gupta princess. It is also probable that, in bestowing his daughter on the Vakataka king, Chandragupta pursued a policy of wise conciliation inspired by his desire to checkmate the Western Kshatrapas who, as will be shown presently, were rather restless in the latter part of the 4th century. The immediate result of this marriage was the practical control of the Guptas over the Dakkan. The events which happened subsequently seem to have gone to emphasise this control. Rudrasena seems to have lived only for a very few years after his marriage with Prabhavati. About 400 A.D. he was succeeded by his young sons Divakarasena and Pravarsena II; and the actual administration of the kingdom was carried on by the talented queen-dowager in the name of the boy kings for 18 years at least. Gupta by birth and Vakataka by marriage, this lady immortalised herself not only by an efficient administration but by her religious ardour and services to the Srisaïlam temple in the southern border of the Vakataka kingdom. The legends of the temple say that Chandravati (probably another name for Prabhavati), the daughter of the Gupta monarch, conceived

a passion for the God on the Srisaila hill and offered every-day a garland of jasmine flowers¹ to him. Queen Prabhavati probably gave, as Prof. Dubreuil suggests, either a daughter or grand-daughter of hers to one Madhavavarman and made him the governor of the eastern parts of the Dakkan². It was this Madhavavarman that founded the Vishnukundin dynasty. That is why he declares himself to be the husband of the Vakataka princess and the adorer of the God of Srisailam. But the marriage of the Vakataka princess with Madhavavarman need not have taken place in the reign of Chandragupta II.

The practical supremacy of the Guptas over the Vakatakas must be obvious to one versed in the circumstances. Queen Prabhavati must have been a closely connecting link. Her frequent visits to her father's capital and court, must have had a large influence in bringing the two lines together, which the common danger from the Western Kshatrapas must have fostered. The misfortunes of the queen—the death of her husband and the necessity to carry on the administration for many years—must have still further increased the bond. We can almost imagine the Vakataka prince, the grandson of the Gupta emperor, being brought up in the Gupta capital and initiated into all the political notions and prejudices of the northern dynasty. It was a circumstance which would not only have enabled the Gupta political power to be supreme over the south but facilitated

¹See Madras Epigraphical Report for Aug. 1915, pp. 91—94 for a detailed account of the place. The Government Epigraphist has committed the incredible blunder of confounding the Gupta and Maurya Chandragupta with one another. The inscriptions (see my *Topographical list*, Kl. 446—489 P, which includes Mackenzie's collections too) do not mention Prabhavati or Chandravati. The exact durations of the reigns of Divakara Sena and Pravarasena II, are not known. The Vakataka records refer to the 13th year of the former and 18th year of the latter during the regency of the queen. But some have taken both these kings to be one and the same. Indeed a third name Damodarasena is also held to refer to the same. See for example Krishna-swami Aiyangar's *Gupta Studies*, p. 4. The question is discussed in detail in the chapter on the Dakkan history.

²Ancient History of the Deccan (1920), pp. 74 and 90.

the expansion of the Gupta culture into the Dakkan and from there to the further south.

A clue to this is afforded, as has been already said, by literature. A dramatic work called *Kuntalesvara-dautya*¹ (or *Kuntasadautyam*) which has been ascribed to Kalidasa, says that Kalidasa was once sent by Vikramaditya to go to the court of Kuntala (that is, the Vakataka kingdom which included the Kuntala country) and see how the administration was carried on and that he reported, on his return, that Kuntalesa was, in consequence of his having placed the burden of administration on the emperor, devoting himself to a life of pleasure. This is only another way of saying that, secure of the protection of his grandfather, Pravarasena had an easy and prosperous administration, and he utilised this security for the pursuit of literature and pleasure. We know that Pravarasena² wrote the Prakrit kavya *Setubandha* and that, according to one commentator (the author of the *Ramasetupradipa*), was revised by Kalidasa at the suggestion of the Gupta monarch. As the commentator says that this work was composed by the Vakataka king immediately after his accession, we have to suppose that the mission of Kalidasa referred to above must have taken place subsequent to the composition of the *Setubandha* by the Kuntala king.

RELATIONS WITH THE WESTERN SATRAPS

While the Gupta emperor thought it wise to pursue a policy of friendliness and intermarriage with the Vakatakas, he deemed it necessary to adopt an entirely different attitude towards the Western Satraps. We do not know what this was due to. Vincent Smith suggests plausibly that the Gupta monarch's ambition as well as the desire to end a dynasty of impure foreign rulers who differed in race, creed and manners, was responsible for it. From the coins of the Western Kshatrapas we know that, after 348 A. D., the

¹The work is referred to in detail in the chapter on literature. Here it may be simply pointed out that Rajasekhara, Bhoja and Kshemendra mention it.

²Bana refers to this. For other notices see the chapter on literature.

Kshatrapas had, for some reason or other, become completely eclipsed. Prof. Rapson believes that it might be due to some foreign trouble. Probably it was caused by the encroachments of the rising Guptas on the one hand and the Vakatakas on the other. Samudragupta, as we have already seen, had been approached by the Satraps (who may be identified with the Sakas referred to in the Allahabad inscription) in a conciliatory and friendly manner. Apparently about the close of the 4th century, there was a restlessness among the Sakas who were then under the Satrap Rudrasimha, son of Satyasimha. It was the encroachments of this king perhaps that made Chandragupta proceed against them. His alliance with the Vakatakas might have been due to the desire for a joint effort against the Sakas.

As regards the date of the undertaking of hostilities against the Sakas, we can make a fairly definite estimate. Chandragupta was making donations in the Udayagiri cave whither he came, we are told, on his way to conquer the world, in 401 A.D. We also know that the last of the coins of the Kshatrapas is dated S. 31 x that is, sometime between 388 A.D. and 397 A.D. From all these facts we have to suppose that the war between the Kshatrapas and the Guptas took place during the last two or three years of the 4th century. We have already seen how on the authority of Vincent Smith, we can attribute the Gupta-Vakataka marriage, which was just prior to the actual declaration of hostilities with the Sakas, to 395 A.D. The reduction of the Kshatrapa territory which about included West Malwa, Gujerat and Kathiawar must have taken place between 395 and 402, roughly. A few years this side and that may have to be added in the light of future researches.

The Gupta war against the Sakas is amply demonstrated by the supersession of the Saka currency by the Gupta, to which we have already referred. Literature also comes to our aid and throws some interesting side-lights on the war. In his *Harshacharita*,¹ Bana refers to an incident in

¹Cowell's Translation, p. 194.

the war. He says: *Aripure cha parakalatra-kamukam Kamini-vesha-guptah Chandraguptah sakapatim asatayat.* (At Aripura, Chandragupta who was in the guise of a lady, killed the Saka chief who longed for another man's wife). The commentator (Sankara) has interpreted this passage to the effect that the *acharya* of the Sakas made advances to Dhruvadevi, the wife of Chandragupta's brother (*Bhratr-jaya*) and that Chandragupta killed him after assuming the guise of the lady, in the midst of a number of soldiers who were dressed as her women attendants. This passage of the commentator is interesting for its proving that the Chandragupta of the Harshacharita was the Gupta emperor; for Dhruvadevi was a Gupta. But the commentator has made one mistake. Dhruvadevi was, we know from inscriptions, not the wife of Chandragupta's brother but of Chandragupta himself. The Bhilsad¹ stone inscription (dated G. E. 96, A. D. 415-6) for example, distinctly says that he was the son of Chandragupta by Dhruvadevi. We have to suppose that, in this as well as the reference to the *Acharya* of the Sakas, the commentator is inaccurate. Fortunately, the *Srinagaraprakasika*, an anthology discovered recently by the Office of the Madras Oriental MSS. Library and attributed to Bhoja, gives extracts from a drama called *Devi-chandraguptam*, which throws true light on this incident. These extracts say that Chandragupta entered the *Skandavara*, the camp of his enemy, at Alipura² in the guise

¹Gupta Inscriptions, No. 10.

²The printed editions of the *Harshacharita* have *Nalinapura* or *Aripura* but the *Devi-chandraguptam* calls the enemy's city *Alipuram*. *Alipuram*, it seems to me, might be *Alina* 14 miles to the north-east of Nadiad, taluk headquarters in Khaira district, Gujerat. The village has been the site of the discovery of two copper-plate charters—one of Dhruvasena II and the other of 'Siladitya VII—for which see *Ind. Antq.*, Vol. VII, p. 80 and *Gupta Inscriptions*, No 39, p. 171 ff. Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says: "There is a place called Alirajapura and a district dependent thereon, but on the mere name it would be hazardous to suggest an identification." The Professor apparently refers to *Alina*, but I cannot understand why an identification on the basis of names is hazardous when political and geographical circumstances favour it. He then refers to the mention of an *Aripura* in

of a woman for killing the lord of the Sakas and that, when he was reminded by the Vidushaka of the extreme danger he ran by going in the midst of so many enemies, he replied that there was not much danger at all as he was exactly in the position of a lion emerging out of his cave against a herd of elephants. It is clear from all this that Chandragupta's queen probably fell a prisoner in the hands of the Sakas in the course of the campaign against the Satrap, and was rescued from the importunities of the Saka monarch, Rudrasimha, by the Gupta emperor, in the guise of his queen. It is unfortunate that the *Devi-chandraguptam* has been lost. Its discovery is bound to be of unique interest¹.

It was apparently the Saka conquest that made Chandragupta assume the title of Vikramaditya in imitation of the original hero of Malwa who founded the Vikrama era of 56 B.C. By slaying the last of the Satrap kings and by annexing their territory, Chandragupta extended the Gupta empire over Malwa, Gujerat and Saurashtra. One effect of this was that Ujjain, the famous centre of learning, became the second capital of the empire. Again, by extending the borders of the empire to the Arabian sea, Chandragupta brought the advantages and resources of the magnificent seaports of the coast to the imperial coffers. The contact with the coast is also maintained by some to have promoted the direct sea-borne commerce of India with Egypt, Europe and other parts in the West, as well as the interchange of ideas from one part to the other. The extent to which this interchange of ideas took place is generally described in accordance with the prejudices of particular scholars. Some scholars exaggerate

Kalinga by the *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai* and makes the transparently obvious remark that it "seems too far east even for a Saka raid at this period." It is, to say the least, curious that a scholar who deprecates geographical identification on the mere basis of names passes on, in the very same breath, to a suggestion on the same basis though his conclusion is rightly against the identification.

¹V. A. Smith does not regard the tale as 'genuine history,' but the literary tradition is too particular and striking to justify the scepticism.

the invasion of European ideas on literature, art and science through the Alexandrian merchants. There is perhaps a tendency in the other school to go to the other extreme ; but on the whole the influence of India on the external world was far more momentous in this period than the influence of the external world on India.

ADMINISTRATION

The Gupta empire now reached the height of its glory and the maximum of its size. By annexing the territories of the Sakas and by exercising a large influence, or possibly even control, over the Vakatakas, Chandragupta carried the south-western and southern limits of the Gupta empire to those of the Mauryas under Asoka. It is quite possible that the Salankayanas of the East Dakkan were under the control of the Vakatakas and therefore of the Guptas. Further south, the Kadambas, Gangas and Pallavas were fast emerging into big powers ; but they had no direct dealings with the Guptas. In Hindustan, the empire extended from the Himalayas to the Vindhya and from the Brahmaputra to the middle Punjab. It is almost certain that western Punjab and the States further west were under the Kushan chiefs who succeeded the earlier Kushans and who must have been in touch, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, with the Sassanian dynasty of Persia. No records are available about the other parts of the empire upon which light is thrown by the *Prasasti* of Samudragupta ; but we may take for granted that, in these cases, there was no change. Both the administrative divisions and arrangements probably continued to be in this reign what they had been in the reign of Samudragupta. The official hierarchy was constituted on the same model. The frontier and friendly States were probably on the same political relationship. One remarkable thing to be noticed in the administration of Chandragupta was the part played by women. We have already seen how Prabhavati was all-powerful in the Dakkan for years. Similarly queen Dhruvadevi seems to have been entrusted with some hand in the

administration of the province of Vaisali (Basarh). Clay seals¹ bearing her name and the name of her son Govindagupta have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Vaisali. It must be acknowledged, however, that the inclusion of the name of the empress with that of a prince in administrative matters and during the life-time of the emperor is rather anomalous. The only way of explaining it seems to be that the seals were dated subsequent to the death of Chandragupta and that the queen-dowager was probably the guardian of Govindagupta, one of the younger sons of Chandragupta, who was in charge of the province of Tirhut. The seals discovered in this region also include the seals of other princes like Ghatotkachagupta, probably a near member of the royal family whose exact kinship is yet to be ascertained, and of a large number of officers. The very titles of these officers are significant and their importance must be realised by every student of the constitutional theory and practice in this period.

THE CAPITAL

One important question which has to be decided in this connection is whether Pataliputra was the capital of the empire. Vincent Smith says that after his conquests, Samudragupta had shifted the royal residence, though not the official capital, from Pataliputra to Ayodhya (Fyzabad) in Southern Oudh. He is disposed to believe that, owing to the more central situation and traditional greatness of Ayodhya, it might have been the imperial residence and premier city. We do not know how far this is true, though the spurious Gaya epigraph and the reference of Hiuen Tsang to the Gupta monarch's company with the Buddhistic philosophers of that place might be regarded as arguments in favour of the theory. At the same time, there is no doubt that Pataliputra was a populous and magnificent city in the 5th century and is described, as we shall presently see, in glowing and eloquent terms by

¹For these excavations of Dr. Block, see *Archæological survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-4*, pp. 101-120.

Fa Hian. Literary evidences as well as political circumstances, it may be pointed out here, seem to show that, in the latter part of the reign, Ujjain too was as prominent a seat of government as Ayodhya or Pataliputra. Probably Chandragupta used all the capitals. The exodus to Ujjain seems to have been rather permanent after the annexation of the Kshatrapa territory, though it is difficult to be positive about it. The emperor's desire to keep close watch over the movements of the newly conquered people of the west and to give security to the trade and traffic which, ever since the annexation of their land, had become a source of prosperity to the empire—might have made Ujjain the most important of the capitals in the last years of the reign.

FA HIAN'S ACCOUNT

So far as the effects of Chandragupta's administration on the country and people are concerned, we unfortunately do not possess sufficient illuminating materials. There is one source of knowledge, however, which, though indirect and incidental, is for that reason all the more valuable; and that is the account of the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, who visited India in this reign. It is true that the celebrated pilgrim does not mention the name of the emperor; but as we definitely know from Chinese sources that his travels took place between 399 A.D. and 414 A.D., no other sovereign could have been intended. Fa Hian¹ had a purely religious mission. His object was to collect the genuine sacred scriptures of Buddhism for the benefit of the Buddhists of his country who had had hitherto access only to mutilated and incomplete collections of the treatises on *Vinaya*. It was in 399 A.D. that the young monk—for Fa Hian was then only 25 years of age—left his native country at the instance of his sovereign. For the next fifteen years he

¹Fa Hian's account has been translated by several scholars,—Beal in the first volume of *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 volumes, 1885; by Legge (Oxford, 1886) and by Giles (1877). For the full bibliographical history, see Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, 4th Edn. (1924), pp. 24—25.

was engaged in his journey. Six of these years he actually spent in India, six in his journey up to India, two in Ceylon and one in transit from Ceylon to China. In the course of his extensive journey he visited all the sacred places associated with the life and labours of the Buddha and has left realistic accounts of them. He visited all the monasteries where he sought the precious books and relics, and recorded, with a most charming and refreshing naivete and sincerity, their history, together with the life of the monks, the miracles of the Buddha, and other details. His narrative is thus a classic on the Buddhistic conditions and methods of worship in the reign of the most orthodox of the Gupta monarchs; but incidentally there are references to social and political conditions. Fa Hian visited the principalities or provinces of Udayana (Kabul), Svat, Gandhara, Takshasila, Peshawar, Madhura, the land later on forming Rajputana, the Madhyadesa (by which we have to mean the heart of the Gupta Empire), the various scenes of the Buddha's life and labours in this region which were already far gone in the path of neglect and ruin, Bengal and Ceylon. He also gives a hearsay account of the Dakkan. In every one of these he describes the absolute, though not relative, strength of Buddhism and the facilities he had for copying the scriptures he wanted. His interesting account of the journey from Ceylon to China is an indispensable authority for a knowledge of the Indian trade conditions and colonies in this period. All these, however fascinating, are not germane for our present purpose. So far as *this* is concerned, there are, in the story of his travels, only a few passages; but these are sufficiently instructive.

Fa Hian describes the Madhyadesa—the central part of the empire—in terms which make us believe that the Gupta emperor was able to bestow on the people the benefits of a sound and orderly administration, which enabled them to enjoy much material prosperity. Fa Hian says that the people, who enjoyed the warm and equable climate of their land, were opulent and contented. Travelling was both free and safe. Fa Hian testifies to the mild and sympathetic

character of the judicial administration. There was no capital punishment, he says somewhat surprisingly, except for treason which was chastised with the amputation of the right hand. He notes the absence of judicial torture and the usual punishment of crimes with fines alone. He observes the absence of heavy tolls and other restrictions on trade and traffic. He says that rent was collected from crown lands and that the king's personal servants were paid fixed salaries. One remarkable fact emphasised by the pilgrim with pleasure is that the Buddhistic idea of sanctity for life permeated all classes of the population. There was a complete abhorrence to the killing of animals, to the drinking of wine, and, (curiously enough) to the eating of garlic and onions! There were again, says Fa Hian, no dealings in swine, fowls, and cattle for the purpose of slaughter. The chandalas, butchers and fishermen alone, he notes, dealt in flesh and the slaughter of life. For ordinary purposes, we have reasons to believe from Fa Hian, the people used cowries or shells as currency, coins being presumably used by the rich and higher classes alone. Fa Hian notes the liberal endowment made by the sovereigns and nobles for the Buddhistic monasteries from generation to generation, as the result of which the monks were free from all cares regarding food, housing and luxuries. Donations of houses, fields, gardens, men and cattle were showered by nobles as well as the ordinary householders. The title-deeds were handed from reign to reign, so that there could be no violation of them. The resident priests of the *viharas* were fully provided with mats, beds, food, drink and clothes without stint. Fa Hian speaks with particular admiration of the city of Pataliputra and its people. He refers in detail to the palaces of Asoka and the legends connected with them. He describes the city as highly opulent and the people as vying with one another in practising benevolence and righteousness. He remarks that the nobles and householders founded numerous charity-houses and hospitals where the poor, the crippled and the diseased could get gratuitous treatment. The prosperity of the capital city as described by him forms a strange contrast

to the ruins of the Buddhist centres. Fa Hian found it necessary and profitable to stay at Pataliputra for three years; for though it was the headquarters of an extremely orthodox and beloved Hindu emperor, he found more materials here than in Buddhist places of worship. During this period of three years he learnt Sanskrit, and copied a number of MSS. in the local Mahayana *vihara*, which he could not get elsewhere in the west in consequence of the system of teaching by memory which was in vogue there. Fa Hian's description of the local monasteries and festivals indicates the advanced state of idol worship, the close co-operation between the Buddhist and Brahmanical leaders and the inordinate love of gaiety and display which the court and the people indulged in. It would be hard to find a more pleasing picture of harmony and co-operation than the one presented by the pilgrim in this connection.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the late Dr. Vincent Smith has remarked that "probably India has never been better governed after the oriental manner than it was during the reign of Vikramaditya". The judgment is all the more acceptable for the reason that Fa Hian himself contrasts the condition of North India with that of the Dakkan in a manner which is quite unfavourable to the latter. We do not know to what part of the Dakkan Fa Hian refers. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar believes¹ that it applies to the Vakataka kingdom and he sees a demonstration of Fa Hian's condemnation in the story that Kalidasa reported to his sovereign that the Kuntala king devoted himself, in consequence of the all-powerfulness of the Gupta monarch in administration, to a life of pleasure, neglecting his proper duty. But Fa Hian could not have referred to the Vakataka country. He, it is almost certain, referred to the unsettled country on the coast, which was either under the Kalinga or Salankayana dynasty. The government of this part of the country was not efficient enough to secure the

¹*Studies in Gupta History*, p. 55.

safety of person and property. Communication was sadly neglected, so that the country was precipitous and the roads dangerous. "Those who wish to go there, even if they know the place, ought to give a present to the king of the country, either money or goods. The king then deputed certain men to accompany them as guides, and so pass the travellers from one place to another, each party pointing out their own roads and intricate by-paths."

The reign of Chandragupta is not only politically important but highly eventful in the history of literature and arts. It is not possible to deal with these subjects here; but it may be noted that some of the most renowned poets and philosophers, Brahmanical and Buddhistic, belonged to his time and court; while the emperor's taste for architecture, sculpture and painting created an atmosphere favourable to the bequeathal, to posterity, of some of the most enduring monuments in the world. These subjects are dealt with elsewhere.

THE CHARACTER OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

It must now be obvious that, from every standpoint, the reign of Chandragupta II was a glorious epoch in the history of the Guptas and of Hindu India. From numismatic evidences we find that the earliest date of his son and successor Kumaragupta was G. E. 96 (A.D. 415). We have therefore to suppose that Chandragupta died in that year or more probably, a year or two earlier. The year 413 A. D. has been generally taken, certainly with plausibility, to be his last year. Chandragupta had wielded the destinies of the Gupta empire for about twenty-eight years and, it can be hardly doubted, with the highest credit to himself and the highest benefit to the country. To the Brahmanical leaders and scholars he must have been the very incarnation of divinity; and alike in the history of religion, art, literature politics, and statecraft, he has left a name second to none. Chandragupta's private life is, as in the case of almost all ancient Hindu monarchs, obscure. The few existing records say that he had at least two queens,

namely, Dhruvadevi, the heroine of the *Devi-chandraguptam* and the issuer of the Vaisali seals, and Kubhera Naga the Naga princess and mother of Prabhavati, the queen of the Vakatakas. Chandragupta must have had other queens, but we have no information about them. Both Kumaragupta who succeeded him and Govindagupta who figures in the Vaisali clay seal finds, were the sons of the first and senior queen. The legends of Vikramaditya, if they are to be taken as referring to Chandragupta II, seem to indicate a most amiable and charming personality who loved women simply because they were women ! It is quite possible that Chandragupta was a lover of the fair sex as he was a lover of valour, culture, beauty and learning. At any rate, that is what the legends clearly indicate. But apart from this surmise, there remains the solid fact that, as an empire-builder and as a patron of culture, he was the most conspicuous and commanding figure in all India during (roughly speaking) the last fifteen years of the 4th and the first 15 years of the 5th century. To posterity his political work has become nothing ; but the results of his patronage of art, literature and all that is likely to elevate and enrich human life, have endured to the present day. Further, the consequences of his instrumentality in that change in the balance of power which eventually saw the absolute and unqualified death of Buddhism before the all-absorbing and all-assimilating Hinduism, have been about and upon the peoples of India through the long vista of the last fifteen centuries. Chandragupta's great civil and military talents, his successful lead of armies to victory and his combination of good government, peace, order and security with the force of full royal authority, must have been big achievements in the eyes of his contemporaries ; but the effects of these have passed away, sharing the fate of the work of every other great eastern empire-builder and statesman ; but the results of his efforts to illuminate and beautify the world, to help the cause of what he regarded as the true morality, the true creed and the true social structure and manners, have, for good or for evil,

endured. And if in the course of centuries the Brahmanical civilization has displayed a marvellous vigour, force, and enduring power, it must not a little be due to the successful endeavours of the great Gupta monarch to engraft what were then regarded as the highest ideals upon what was then regarded as the highest political ambition or achievement.

Thoughts on the Art of the Theatre

BY GAJANAN KATHARDEKAR

Life as we see it is full and varied in its presentations, but art is fuller and richer. Life is limited by physical circumstances, but art which is the creation of mind and emotion has no limitations. Where imagination has full play, fanciful dreams are raised and we reach out to regions which life has never so far touched.

To present life in vivid reality seems to be the ideal of the play-producers. The child who puts on his father's glasses and struts about with assumed importance is lovingly styled as 'a little actor'. The art of imitation which wins him this title is the recognised art of acting. This art is, by its very nature, closely connected with the art of the theatre, and therefore we see on the stage a craze for imitating life. The more accurate and conventional things are, the greater is the satisfaction of the play-producer: and in that feeling of satisfaction is to be seen a grave danger to the progress of art.

To use art for imitating life is narrowing its ideal and purpose. It all depends on what you go to the theatre for. If you want to see life as it is, nature as it usually exists, and emotions as they are normally and conventionally expressed, go to the modern theatre and you will be satisfied, provided you go to the best of its kind. There you will see faithfully represented in a historical play the dresses of that particular century, created out of the unearthed records of the period. Perhaps, if you are sensitive, some colours may jar on your eyes but you must curb your revolt, since, there, art is limited by accuracy.

The modern theatre at its best is indeed delightful; but one

wonders if that is all. Life—flesh and blood life—is attractive. There is a loveliness even in sorrow. The story of a life-time is written on the wrinkled forehead of an old woman who carries on her head a bundle of fire-wood. The dawn of love as painted on the face of a maiden has a poetry which words could never interpret. The innocent baby-tricks, it is for the child alone to do. Life embraces all these little scenes of human existence. But there is, now and again, given to us a vision of something more wonderful than the world of life : it is the vision from the world of dreams, the vision of dancing spirits lovelier than men, the vision of colours lovelier than nature, the vision of emotions lovelier than love. To interpret these on the stage is the work of art, art that is not limited by life.

In order to release this art from the commonplace, we must aim high. We must cultivate our imagination and dwell in the abstract. Hundreds and thousands of people, weary of heart, care-worn, down-trodden, full of longings and disappointments, go to the theatre every night. If the theatre could lift them up to the sublime regions where everything is lovely, where they see life from a higher altitude, where sorrow spreads its wings of pain only to carry them from experience to experience till at last they get the glimpse of the snowy heights of attainment : if the theatre could soothe and uplift the sorrow-laden humanity, will it not bring greater harmony in human relationship ?

When the moon sheds its calm lustre on our world, our thoughts soar up higher and higher. Environment plays a large part in the making of man. The beautiful is perfect and perfection is beautiful. Why not then surround men with beautiful visions so that they will be filled with beautiful thoughts, and move, however slightly, towards perfection ?

The struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh is the struggle between the beautiful and the ugly. But struggle itself is essentially inartistic. The Flesh could as well be conquered by the expansion of the Spirit. Let us fill our minds with beautiful images, beautiful emotions, beautiful

thoughts, beautiful symbolism, so that ugliness is crowded out of our life. "It is in and through Symbols" says Carlyle, "that man, consciously or unconsciously, lives, works, and has his being", and the noblest age is that which can the best recognise symbolical worth and prize it the highest.

Keeping these ideals in view, the need of being 'creative' instead of 'imitative' on the stage will at once be felt. You can be realistic to a fault and never attain the sublime effect which is intended by true artists. You could present a sentiment on the stage in many ways; let us take two of these, typical of the realistic and the idealistic in art. For instance, take this idea from Omar Khayyam :

" For in and out, above,
 " About, below,
 " 'Tis nothing but a magic
 " Shadow-show,
 " Played in a Box whose
 " Candle is the Sun
 " Round which we Phantom
 " Figures come and go."

You could present it on the stage either by dressing up a man in a Persian costume, taking, of course, good care that every fold in the dress is accurately Persian!—and flooding him with top-lights and foot-lights, make him recite these lines in front of a Persian lamp. Or you could present this idea in another way, such as this: let a huge lamp, hung from above, with fantastic figures on its sides, revolve in the centre of the stage; keep just under it, flasks of wine amidst a heap of pearls and jewels; with no other lights but the one in the centre, let there emerge people dressed with flowing, flimsy garments—never mind Persian or Arabic—and let them hungrily, blindly dance round the weird lamp, and gradually vanish into darkness. Let the words come from nowhere, so to speak, and then let the vision fade. Both these presentations, neither of them the best in their line, are, perhaps, good

enough to make my meaning clear, and to speak for themselves.

Gordon Craig complains of the realistic actor: "He never dreams of his art as being an art, such for instance as music. He tries to reproduce Nature; he seldom thinks to invent with the aid of Nature, and he never dreams of *creating*. As I have said, the best he can do when he wants to catch and convey the poetry of a kiss, the heat of a fight, or the calm of death, is to copy slavishly, photographically, —he kisses—he fights—he lies back and mimics death—and when you think of it, is not all this dreadfully stupid? Is it not a poor art and a poor cleverness, which cannot convey the spirit and essence of an idea to an audience, but can only show an artless copy, a facsimile of the thing itself?"

To produce plays of symbolic nature is by no means an easy task, even for Stanislavsky, a master at his art. "It is a hard nut to crack—the Symbol", he says, "it is successful when it has its source not in the mind but in the inner soul. . . . It is necessary to play a role hundreds of times, to crystallize its essence, to perfect the crystal, and in showing it, to interpret the quintessence of its contents. The symbol and the grotesque synthesize feeling and life. They gather in bright, courageous and compressed form the multifarious contents of the role."

Symbolism is interwoven in the life-fabric of the Hindu. From the misty height of symbolism it is easy to tumble into a travesty of art. To build well and truly the structure of a new Theatre in India, are required men of the genius of Stanislavsky and Copeau, and also constructive critics of the type of Craig, men of keen perception, refinement, and intelligent imagination. To fulfil this mission, who knows, but that, even as centuries ago the melody of Krishna's flute hailed the Gopis from far and near, likewise, in its own time, the dance of Nataraja may draw together artists of the highest order!

Life at Oxford

BY L.V.B. CHOWDARY, B. A., (Oxon), BAR-AT-LAW

The aim of all education must be to develop character, to mature intellect and to equip a person with proper tools to make the best of his life. In the West, this object of education is aimed at and different methods are adopted in different countries to achieve this object. In England itself, there are variations in the method of imparting education but every variety contributes on a smaller or a larger scale to the same object. And England has for centuries past been bred on Public Schools, though of late, such institutions as County Schools have come into the field and are challenging the former's supremacy. There are some people nowadays who deny the value of Public Schools to the nation and who even assert that they breed snobbishness, class spirit and diehardism and are therefore harmful. But it has generally been recognised that Public Schools build up character, that is, fair play to your opponents, obedience to authority, loyalty to your friends and sacrifice for your college and university. Moreover, a good grounding in the outlines of different branches of knowledge is given there and solid foundations for future building up of knowledge are laid. Whatever else may be said of them, it is true that able administrators like Lord Curzon of Kedleston, rulers of men like Lord Palmerston, statesmen like Gladstone and generals like Wellington are made there and that the battle of Waterloo was won on the cricket fields at the Lords. Public Schools like Eton and Harrow have glorious traditions and these traditions along with the excellent training that is received in them are carried to universities like Oxford and Cambridge where they are developed to a high standard and blazened to a magnificent beacon for all to see and follow.

Now, there are two sides to a school, college or university. One is 'learning' side and the other is 'playing' side. The chief features of Oxford University on its 'learning' side are its tutorial system, its enforcement of residence by the students, its proctorial supervision and its club life. Residence is intended for promoting *esprit de corps* among the alumni ; proctorial supervision is there for keeping young men and women within proper bounds of behaviour and conduct ; and club life is fostered for social intercourse and developing business, oratorical and debating powers. The most important of all is the tutorial system. It is by this system that Oxford and Cambridge stand or fall on their 'learning' side. The system means that a young man or woman has two or more tutors to look after his or her education to guide him or her along the proper channels. The tutor plans out your work for the term, asks you to attend such and such lectures, gives you a question or two for writing an essay or two, and refers you to various books and various chapters in different books which you will have to read for your essay or essays. This is done once or twice every week. When the day comes, you take your essays called 'tutorials' to your tutor. Sometimes, you will have sent them to him the previous evening, so that he may look into them carefully and make notes on the margin. When you go to him, you either read the essay aloud to him or he reads it with you and he points out your mistakes and explains your difficulties. He will thrash out points with you and will occasionally give you orally a summary of the subject. And then he gives one or two questions again and asks you to refer to various books and journals as before, and you take again your tutorial to him. This thing is repeated week in and week out, throughout the academic year. Besides these tutorials, there are what are called 'collections' and they are examinations at the beginning and the end of every term. The tutor will have given you some work for the vacation and you are, on your return to the college, examined in that work. So is the work that is done during the term, tested at the end of the term, to see

how far and how much you have taken in what has been presented to you. If either tutorials or collections are not done satisfactorily, you are warned once or twice and if you are obstinate and do not heed the warning, you are 'sent down for good', that is, you are *dismissed* from the university.

The education you receive at Oxford is very liberal and you are free to develop your personality and individuality as you please. It is not compulsory at Oxford to attend lectures. Of course, you will have to attend those which your tutor recommends, but there is no sanction attached to non-compliance with your tutor's advice. He may be displeased with you, if he finds you are not attending them, because you have become a slacker, but he will not mind in the least if you tell him that a particular lecturer is no good and that he speaks awful rot. In any case, you will not attend more than ten lectures at the most in a week, but of course you are not precluded from attending any lecture you like and you may attend as many as you please. Only, you must not neglect your work and write poor tutorials for your tutor. Since there is no compulsion of attendance at lectures, there is no roll-call. I think the roll-call is a hideous thing. I am afraid it is based on distrust of students with regard to their willingness to work and learn. I am sure the atmosphere of distrust is not congenial to the healthy growth of young men and women. Students are left to develop themselves in their own way, although under the wise guidance of their tutors. Tutors do not exact agreement with orthodox notions and compliance with their own ideas. New ideas and opinions are encouraged; and individuality and originality are fostered. Only, there must be in your speech and writing, a system, a method and a cogency. If your arguments are cogent, logical and probable, you are encouraged and supported. No matter whether your tutor personally likes your views or not, he will not come in your way. On the other hand, a really good essay, whether your tutor agrees with it or not, receives his unstinted praise.

Your tutor will not be stiff-necked with you, nor will he treat you as if you were a child or worse still. He will put you at your ease in his presence and make you as comfortable as possible. You may even smoke his cigarettes and offer him yours. Your tutor and yourself are really friends : he knowing more than you do, and being anxious to tell you 'all about it'. He may be your elder brother taking a keen interest in you, as all good brothers ought to in their younger brothers. At the worst, he is something like a father to you, admonishing and correcting, but full of kindness and affection. The dons of your college are your elder brothers or uncles and the College Head is a veritable patriarch who beams kindness and concern on you. The proctors with their bull-dogs may at times disconcert you, but when you come to know them better, you will find that they are really jolly good fellows at heart.

Oxford is not 'the home of lost causes', as Matthew Arnold, a great alumnus, once said of it in half-playful and half-sentimental mood, but is a haven for new faiths, new ideas and great ambitions. It is full of life, full of romance and full of dreams. It abounds in various clubs and societies where you meet and mingle with different types of people from a good many countries of the world. You find there young men from almost every part of the world and from almost every race and religion. Nowadays girls of many nationalities are to be found there as under-graduates of the University. Oxford is a little world in itself, and its club life is the breath of its training. It is in its various clubs and societies that beginnings of great careers are made and foundations of noble ambitions are laid. Oxford club life forms a battle-field where competing wills and rival intellects fight a hard and strenuous battle. There are clubs for all tastes and for all convictions. There are Conservative, Liberal, Labour and Communist clubs ; and diehard Unionists, Radicals, Syndicalists and Bolsheviks have also their associations. There are the Union Society, the Indian Majlis, the French Club, the Spanish Club, the Chinese Association, etc. They have

societies like the League of Nations Union, the International Association, the Asiatic Society, the British Empire League and the Social Service League. You have clubs of a clique complexion such as the Lotus Club. And there are high-brow, snobbish, exclusive and *bonhomie* clubs, such as the Bullingdon, the Vincent, and the O.U.D.S.¹ There used to be a club for drinking also, called the Mermaid. There are various University Associations such as the Historical and the Hellenic Associations. Besides these, every college has its arts and science associations, its debating society, and its sports and games clubs.

The Union Society at Oxford is the foremost of the debating societies in the university, and its fame has far transcended the university-bounds. It is called the House of Commons nursery and it more than justifies that appellation. When you hear the witty and brilliant speeches that are made there, you will feel that it is nearly as good as any House of Commons is and much more amusing than any deliberative body can be. It is really good to see a sturdy young man eagerly get up and deliver a slashing, fervent, and torrential attack. It is pleasant to notice a healthy youth proceed in a deliberate way and make point after point in a cool, scientific manner, demolishing his opponents' arguments and building up his own case. It is very interesting indeed to observe a good-looking young man get up languidly from his seat and spin out an amusing speech with a twinkle in his eyes and a smile on his lips. Youth after youth gets up and many foolish things and many mere nothings are said. There are epigrams, paradoxes, witty sayings and *bon-mots*. There is seriousness in the minds of the audience and there is amusement in their eyes. Laughter and shouts are not uncommon and everybody seems to enjoy himself. At times the debating society seems to have somehow turned into a picnic party. A very pleasant aroma spreads over the whole house. They come with expectation and they go away with satisfaction and

¹The Oxford University Dramatic Society.

enjoyment. The Union Society can boast of such illustrious names among its members as Gladstone, Lords Salisbury, Asquith, Birkenhead, Curzon and Milner, Sir John Simon and Hilaire Belloc, besides many other famous people.

The Indian Majlis has its lessons to offer to the young Indians who go to Oxford for study. It also serves as an avenue for the coming together of some Englishmen and Indians. It has had quite a reputable career, but I am afraid it is not at present at its best.

The various other clubs in the University bring men and women of many races and nationalities together and provide opportunities for the understanding of each other's point of view. All these clubs and societies contribute to the making and growth of the youth. The youth finds, himself in a glorious lake of many enchanted waters, which is surrounded by wonderful groves of magnificent fruit and flower trees and by beautiful meadows of limitless verdure. And without shame or shiver, he discards whatever he has on him and plunges into it in all his nakedness and ingenuity and with all relish, joy, freedom, and abandon of a bubbling young life. He is like a *Salaka* (a sharp razor-blade) and his physical, mental and emotional qualities shine sharpest and brightest and he is ready for a fight and victory. He is all freedom, all joy, all daring, and all conquering.

Now we shall turn to the 'playing' side of the Oxford University. We have already noticed that building up of character is a chief characteristic of Public Schools and that that characteristic is perfected in the universities like Oxford and Cambridge. Well, character-building is chiefly done on the 'playing' side of a university. When you are playing a game and taking part in sports, you will come into contact with your opponents and you have to deal with them squarely and fairly. Fair-play is to give the Devil its due and to act in a 'give and take' spirit. You have your comrades who throw in their lot with you, and you will all have to pull together your burden along and carry your team into victory. This teaches you loyalty, loyalty to your friends and co-workers. You will have to play the 'game' or

what is sometimes called 'cricket', by them. You will also learn obedience to authority. You have the Captain of your team and unless you obey him implicitly and with good humour, you will not be able to pull the cart along as you ought to, and you will thereby spoil the chances of victory for your college or 'Varsity. So, you learn the maxim that only those who are able to obey, are those who will be able to command. Sacrifice also is sometimes demanded of you. You have to forego your personal ambitions for the sake of the team. You must be prepared to have your collar-bone broken in the preparation and the fight that the games and the sports entail upon you. You sometimes take part in them against great odds or in the face of danger to your health or studies, in order to uphold the reputation of your beloved college or 'Varsity.

Oxford is famous for its rowing and rugger. Its 'Torpids' and 'Eights' are well known and its annual boat race with the University of Cambridge on the Thames, has become a national institution. It is not infrequently that the Prince of Wales who was up at Oxford for two or three years before the war, and the Duke of York who can boast of being an alumnus of Cambridge, follow the boats of their respective 'Varsities along the race course from Putney Bridge to Mortlake. There is a happy rivalry between Oxford and Cambridge in various sports and games, but the object on which the rivalry is most concentrated is the annual boat race. This race serves as a link between the old and the new alumni of the Universities and refreshes memories in the minds of the old students and reinforces their sentiment, affection and loyalty to their beloved *Alma mater*.

Oxford in summer is very pretty with flower and foliage and the University is very gay during the 'Eights' Week' which comes in the summer term, when inter-collegiate boat races take place. The Isis, which flows through the city and on which the boat races are run, is at its full and it flows slowly and majestically. There are expanses of lawns and meadows on its either side and on its western side

there are magnificent trees which form a glorious background for the stately barges of various colleges. During the 'Eights' Week' undergrads and 'undergraduettes' put on pretty things full of colour, and college and 'Varsity colours are simply enthralling. Young life bubbles over with vigour, hope and confidence. Parents and friends of *statu pupillari* are invited to Oxford for the 'Eights' Week'. The varied colours of the pretty dresses of their friends and relatives and those of their blazers, the humming life around them, the green foliage and the warm sunshine give zest to student life and arouse enthusiasm in young men and women to strive and achieve. These make the youth ambitious to win the laurel crown before their parents, friends and sweethearts. Moreover a heat in a boat race is something like a hard fight with life. Sports and games prepare young men and women for the worst in life. They knock the soft side out of them and make them hardy and prepared for the struggles of life. A rowing or a rugger blue can equally stand the scorching heats of the equatorial Africa and the biting colds of the Poles. He is better able to spread culture and civilisation on the banks of the Amazon and he is better fitted to govern the turbulent tribes of North-West Africa. We know the maxim that a sound mind is in a sound body. Oxford is a happy combination of a sound mind and a sound body.

Mr. Sastri's Work in South Africa

BY R. L. RAU

The first thing that seems to have struck Mr. Sastri on his arrival at the Headquarters of the South African Government, was the very deplorable condition of the Indians themselves ; and notwithstanding the warmth of the welcome, he could not but feel disappointed at the spirit of discord and disunion which prevailed among the Indians. This was no new experience to him, coming as he did from India ; but one presumes, it is that bright optimism which he has always about him, which seems to have carried him through many a crisis, through many a delicate, if not embarrassing situation. And so the first step according to him was the establishment of goodwill and of understanding amongst the diverse Indian communities themselves. Mr. Sastri declared his intention that he was going to stand by the Capetown Agreement to the very letter, and in spite of the popular clamour which wanted him to consider only the beneficial aspects of the said legislation, he stood firm and declared he would do nothing that would either excite the suspicion of the Europeans, or give scope for the slightest misunderstanding : and this he made clear to everyone in South Africa. He used every opportunity to advantage in so laudable a task, and wherever he went he made his position very firm and unequivocal.

There were two things which were decidedly in favour of Mr. Sastri. The first and the foremost was, of course, the personality and the dignity of the man ; and secondly the sweet reasonableness and the magic of his speech. These he used to the fullest advantage and at most of the mayorial dinners he pleaded arduously for co-operation between the European and the Indian. Such a policy as he pursued then could not fail of its desired effect ; and the newspapers of

Africa were the first to take up his cause. It went a long way to evoke in the heart of these oppressed people a response, and a feeling of confidence. They felt that in Mr. Sastri, they had found a worthy exponent of a somewhat forlorn and a lost cause as well. And after all sympathy is one of the biggest factors in the happiness of an individual. Ever since 1914, since the departure of Mahatma Gandhi, no Indian worth the name had shown any concern in South Africa and its affairs, much less, sympathy for their cause. So Mr. Sastri's attitude drew round him the people as nothing else had drawn before.

The very first speech he delivered on the Capetown Agreement was listened to with a great deal of attention and sincerity on the part of the Whites, and in the course of the speech Mr. Sastri suggested the appointment, in the first instance, of a Commission on Education in Natal. It was a moderate and a well conceived demand. But the African publicists were not prepared for even such a mild gesture, coming as it did from an Indian! The *Natal Mercury* was the first to take up arms; and it suggested too that what mattered most to the Indian population was not so much the need of compulsory education as the need of a cleaner standard of living. But on the other hand, the *Natal Advertiser* was good enough to see the justice of Mr. Sastri's humble demand and for the first time ushered in the slogan 'Education First'.

Naturally, therefore, the controversy so created attracted a great deal of public attention. But the Government remained obdurate. There was not much love lost between the Provincial and the Central Governments. The Provincial Government were decidedly at an advantage with their autonomy, and the Central Government could do little either to bring the Provincial Government to its view of thinking and action, or to impose its authority. And the Capetown Agreement seemed to be almost a dead letter. To add to this unpleasant situation, the Cabinet of General Hertzog and the Natal Government were far from having that attitude of co-operation and help,

which any one would have expected them to have between them. General Hartzog was much misunderstood and he had no majority behind him.

One can well imagine how delicate, how embarrassing, the position must have been. It was not so much dealing with a set of men who were amenable to good feeling and reason, as it was dealing with a set of diplomats and vested interests; and one speculates whether any other person would have been equal to this stupendous work of clearing up the atmosphere of suspicion and doubt, as Mr. Sastri himself. But it must be said to the credit of this great 'Brahmin' of the South that he did it well.

The 22nd of September 1927—it was his birthday too, and on such a day as this a 'great measure of relief' was granted to the South African Indians in the shape of the announcement of the Commission on Education by the Government of Natal. The *Natal Witness* was the first paper to congratulate Mr. Sastri on this signal achievement, and on the significance of the day.

But it was one thing to appoint a Commission and another to get into working order with the co-operation of all parties concerned. A small deputation consisting of Dr. Kitchlew (the Deputy Director of Public Instruction in the U. P.), and Miss Corrie Gordon, an Inspectress of Schools in the Madras Presidency, was specially sent from India to aid Mr. Sastri in his new scheme. Dr. Kitchlew proved a valuable asset and Miss Gordon drew up a scheme of education for the Indian girls and a Training College as well. Of all provinces in South Africa, Natal is the one which is thickly populated and where the majority of Indians have been living. Of the 1,00,000, of men and women and children, it was found about 9,500 children attended the schools: and of the 9,500 nearly 7,500 were either in the elementary or primary classes. Such a thing as higher or university education was unknown! There was one Indian boy studying for the matriculation examination and none at all in the university classes: and of course the number of children that were never sent to school

school was something phenomenal. So much about the children.

The teachers and the schools were not less exempt from neglect. There were 52 schools for the whole of the Indian population out of which 43 were conducted by private individuals. The teachers had little or no training in the theory and practice of education. But all the same, the Provincial Government received from the Central Government £ 5,5sh. for each boy as grant-in-aid and one knows too well how the money went. In the year under question (1927), the Government of Natal obtained £ 40,000, towards the cost of educating the Indian ! And it is a fact worth remembering that even out of this sum only £ 28,000 was utilised for the said purpose. The rest of the £ 12,000, went to the maintenance and education of the European children. This glaring injustice was at once brought before the newly-appointed Commission by Mr. Sastri and he took the first opportunity of impressing on the Natal Government the moral obligation of allotting the whole sum. He insisted too on the introduction of compulsory elementary education and the establishment of Training Colleges all over the land.

But this was not all. It was a disastrous plan to rely eternally upon the goodwill of a Government which had its likes and dislikes, not to say prejudices. So Mr. Sastri induced his countrymen to have the control and the establishment of educational institutions on their own account. The plan was quite successful. In less than a year, a sum of £ 20,000 was subscribed by the Indians and a Training College, later named after that illustrious worker, was also established at Durban.

One cannot forget in the chronicling of these events the wonderful result of the lectures of Mr. Sastri at the universities in South Africa. He spoke in many places, and often as he spoke on the philosophy, on the culture, and the ancient literature of the country he loved and served so well, there were many in that crowd of listeners who felt a little touched, and who could not but admire the eloquent

appeal of that dignified person. And many of them wondered too how a man, whose skin was perhaps as dark as the coolies that worked in the Rand or in estates in Kenya, could speak in the very tongue they (the Whites) spoke. For the first time in their lives, they knew of a greater, nobler, India. For the first time in their lives, they knew that India, not 3000 miles from Capetown, was not a nation of coolies and 'niggers'. To this new awakening in the minds of the Whites, Mr. Sastri brought a new vision as it were and spoke to them simply and straightly of a justice, of an equity which they had neglected to give to that oppressed race. The magic of his words, more than anything else, brought Mr. Sastri the thanks of many an Indian, for, for the first time in South Africa the White man paused ere he contradicted an educated Indian, and it is interesting to remember that Mr. Sastri eclipsed even General Smuts in his oratory and beauty of speech.

After the educational facilities were provided for, came the question of public health. Yet another Commission was the result of his endeavour. Then came the work of social organisation, and the formation of Trade Unions amongst the workers, all of which Mr. Sastri with his ever willing colleagues organised in an efficient manner. The next important phase of his work was the satisfactory working of the two Ordinances, the 'Assisted Emigration Act' and the 'Condonation Act'. It is impossible in the course of this brief resume to give all the details but it has been the object of the writer to point out that Mr. Sastri's work was no less important than the work of some of our bigger political workers of the land. It remains a melancholy fact that amidst the thunder and lightning of a political war-cry, amidst the fights 'within the Congress' and 'without the Congress', the work of a man like Mr. Sastri is often left unnoticed. This is neither the time nor the place for a homily—but work of the type that Mr. Sastri has done will stand for all time to come. "It is not the life that matters", said Hugh Walpole, "it is the courage you bring to it." How true it is of Mr. Sastri!

From the post of a lonely schoolmaster, then to the Presidentship of the Servants of India Society, and then the accredited Agent of the Indian Government in South Africa is a long jump indeed : but it has been a magnificent career, and the story of his life and courage is an unparalleled page in the history of modern India ; and only to such a man as he, could General Smuts have said during the Flag controversy :

“South Africa having made a solemn agreement with mighty India, could not lightly repudiate that Agreement.”
(With acknowledgments to the *Dyan Prakash*, Poona.)

Mr. Hirst's Life of Morley

BY K. CHADRASEKHARAN, M.A., B.L.

It is a singular feature of the Englishman's character that if he loves or admires another for his higher traits or for a life of ceaseless and varied activities, he scarcely fails to write his biography. The biography swells into volumes, when it is fortunately within the power of the author to avail himself of a store-house of information, such as carefully preserved epistles. But the dearth of materials of a very helpful kind, never seems to stagger the mind which is bent upon producing at least a collection of impressions. Hence, Mr. Hirst, whose allegiance to the great man assumed that of a political disciple, has not stinted in his efforts at creating a true picture of one who lived to a ripe age after strenuous toil in the fields of journalism and politics, despite the lack of full information of the early years, when the aspirations of youth could have amply shown us the true inwardness of the future statesman and litterateur. It is the admiration that the writer of these two volumes felt for Lord Morley, that proved the incentive for the publication of the life of a man who has left an equally brilliant name in literature as well as in politics. For, he says in the introduction, "he struck me as the greatest man I had ever met, most inspiring of politicians, most fascinating of talkers. I never changed my opinion."

To write the life of one whose favourite form of composition was the biography, appears to us to be the most appropriate tribute paid to his memory. Indeed, it is but strange that Lord Morley with an excellent record of achievements in different spheres and ranging over a period of many years, should have delicately cautioned against a 'superfluous memoir' of himself. The author of the 'Life of Gladstone' in three corpulent volumes, deserves no less a treatment at the hands of his own biographer. But realiz-

ing, as we do, the difficulties of Mr. Hirst's task, we consider it praiseworthy that he should have given us in the present form, the life of his political preceptor, quite engrossing, and gratifying to a great extent our avidity to peer into the lives of the great. "The satisfactory form of biography is a well-edited correspondence," was ever the contention of Morley himself, and his biographer has properly taken upon himself the task of publishing some of his letters. Hence our pleasure at reading the letters—most of which found here are addressed to his sister Miss Grace Morley and his life-long friend Mr. Frederick Harrison, who were both kind enough to hand over these interesting records—the memorials of a fine penman and an admirable and attractive character.

Of Morley's boyhood, nothing very interesting is known except that he had been a pet with Mr. Hoole, the headmaster of a school at Cheltenham, and that his relish for the classics was such that it even stimulated him on one occasion to indulge in a harangue to an audience in Greek. The chapter on Oxford only discloses to us his association with some names, which figure later on in Parliament and elsewhere as the most eminent personages. The future author and Parliamentarian was not at all conspicuous in the 'Varsity' records. His emergence from the portals of college heralded the beginning of the career of a journalist, no mean vocation, especially as it was deemed so at the time in England. From a regular contributor to *The Saturday Review*, which received many a flashy article from his pen on the works of eminent novelists like Victor Hugo and George Eliot, he soon achieved the rare distinction of being appointed editor of *The Fortnightly Review*. Hereafter his style of composition received the higher quality which distinguishes him and places him in a class apart from the prose-writers of the nineteenth century. His peculiar leaning to the study of the lives of great thinkers and writers, with an equally strong desire to cultivate the art of biography, enthused him to give to the reading public a series of biographical sketches, starting

with that of Burke. His philosophy of Government and his own individual views on life and the State found prominent expression, when he dealt with that statesman of the eighteenth century.

The chapter on his first candidature brings home to us vividly, how such an uncompromising idealist had to modify his aspirations in the course of the political and party warfare. The Franco-German War found Morley enjoying a brief respite from his political activities and devoting his time to writing books. It was his phenomenal equipment that was actuating him to utilize his leisure hours to the noblest of endeavours, that of immortalizing men of honour and distinction. The lives of Condorcet and Turgot as well as of Carlyle and Byron were published about this time. The post-war period is full of letters written to his friend Frederick Harrison and they abound in criticisms of his friend's favourite theories on Communism. His *Voltaire* was published much to the excitement and admiration of his friend who broke out, "I pronounce it our best modern biography". Again letters are the connecting links between the years 1870 and 1873 and we find in them many traces of his critical faculty and enlivening discussion. His book on Rousseau which receives the encomium from his friend again as "a consummate piece of biography" was published during this time. Morley's prepossessions against revolutionary doctrines had not warped his mind so as to disable it from exercising a proper judgment on the work of Rousseau both "as a political speculator and as a motive force in revolutionary thought."

The times were very momentous in the history of parliamentary legislation. The education of the masses was the prime object of reformers, and *The Fortnightly Review* was vigorous in voicing forth its opinion on national education, with a trenchant criticism of that section of the House, whose vision was blurred with the prospects of Empire expansion. Morley's letters to Frederick Harrison, stating his personal views on a topic of such national import,

convey to us the enormous capacity in him to pursue a subject to its furthest limits. The chapter on Morley's religion, shows us how he has been logical in his conclusion to remain a Rationalist while bestowing careful attention on the prevalent controversies. We feel that Mr. Hirst, with a conviction that was founded upon his intimate knowledge of the true workings of Morley's mind, exalts him almost to the skies when he says "true, for him, Faith was not anticipation of a future and a better world after death, but a belief in human progress and in the perfectibility of mankind . . . on this Faith in human destiny, allied with Faith in democracy, he built Hope. And above all hopes he worshipped Truth". What higher aim or end can any religion preach to wavering minds? It sums up, how "in his permanent moods, Morley's thoughts moved in a loftier and rarified air, above the smoke and stir of vulgar controversy." The vicissitudes of party supremacy at that time caused no little perturbation to the members of the House of Commons, and Morley, a true Liberal of the Gladstonian fold, does not cause us any surprise, when he calls the regime of Disraeli "a square-toed humdrum, disguised by blazes of indiscretion". The pungency of this remark reveals to us the extraordinary vigour of the editorial pen, especially when it sides with a party or a policy. As a partisan, Morley's entire want of sympathy with the Royal Titles Bill, his inveterate attack on Mr. Bartle Frere for the "Forward Policy" though he spared here a friend of his, Lord Lytton, his complete disagreement with Imperialism, and his hearty contempt for Jingoism, all bear strong testimony to his consistency of thought and action and his preparedness for healthy combats in the chosen arena of politics. With the change in Government, when Gladstone regained power, Morley found himself also editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette*. It was that then his *Life of Cobden* found its way to the hearts of the Liberals, particularly in Lancashire and Yorkshire, where Richard Cobden and John Bright were "house-hold gods of Political Non-conformity".

Now, begins a period of ambition and parliamentary successes. It sealed his journalistic career since he felt it impossible to share together the responsibilities of an editor and a politician. His candidature for Newcastle and his election by a clear majority, were much rejoiced over in political groups, and, if a leading journal said that Newcastle would thereafter have as its representative

one 'of candour and character,' it is no little praise bestowed upon the man, who was to be its spokesman at Westminster. As a speaker, Morley was attractive for his 'choiceness of phraseology' and 'gift of evoking moral enthusiasm for good causes'. Why, as a Liberal he was second to none in his integrity and fervour for the cause he espoused. His enthusiasm to imbibe any healthy principle and his readiness to do propaganda for any good cause are his chief traits which claim our admiration. His acceptance of Radicalism, though a fresh-born creed, was justified by him when he describes it as "Liberalism only made more alive".

Mr. Hirst depicts in a short compass almost all the incidents connected with his hero, but they hardly satisfy our desire to know intimately the *man* Morley as he was. We are disappointed with the mere narration of the history of the House of Commons, where most of his part was played. Instead of a critical examination of the professions and actions of Lord Morley, which is legitimately expected of his biographer, it is a mere placid survey of his work that has been given us.

These two volumes draw us to the irresistible conclusion that Morley was one of those few men, who have distinguished themselves in two of the highest spheres, namely Politics and Letters. Lucidity of expression and freedom from confusion in narrating the details of a life crowded with incidents, mark every page of these volumes. It is not quite so easy, as it may appear on a superficial estimate, to collect materials and furnish them in a manner which would infuse into us the same devotion and sympathy that the biographer felt towards his object of adoration. True, the greater the emotional note the biography strikes, the more interesting it becomes. The minor incidents of the private life of a man bear always a distinct charm for us, since they alone reveal to us something of the personality. There is very little of Morley's home in these pages. We are not admitted into his domestic circle and permitted to know more of Morley the husband, and the eldest living member of a family bound together by the most affectionate ties. But, none the less, Mr. Hirst by his publication of Morley's own letters has compensated for this to a great extent. We have hardly any other feeling than one of extreme respect for the author, who has so nobly and successfully accomplished his task.

The Poetry of Sarojini Devi

BY V. N. BHUSHAN

What is richer than thoughts that stray
From reading of poems that sweetly flow ?

—ROBERT BRIDGES

Down through the ringing corridor of the ages, India has kept her history fragrant with the enduring memories of illustrious women that have shed their lustre on the paths of life. Even in the early dawn of Indian literature, we can see a Vishyavara or a Ghosha sing with upfolded hands the invocatory hymns of their own composition. Since then every Indian language and every age has had its representative Women of Letters. To this day we read with delight the lovely and graceful songs of Rupamati, of Mirabai, of Zeb-un-Nissa, of Muddupalani and of Anandamayi. And among the few women of India that have decked English Poesy with their song-offerings, the names of Aru Dutt, Toru Dutt, Kamini Roy, Padmavati and Sarojini Devi stand conspicuous.

With eyes full of poetic fire, Sarojini Devi moves on the sacred strand of song, lyre in hand; and as her heart dances to the drum-beat of rumbling clouds of thought, she delicately touches the strings; anon, we hear a thrilling sound of vibrant notes. She is a magician that spreads the lure and leads us on to the celestial heights of Parnassus where eternal music sounds amidst everlasting sunshine.

Her poems are like the joyful notes of the contented spring-messenger, radiating charm and vitality. They are like herself, delicate and sensitive, as delicate and sensitive as the snow-flakes that descend at dawn from above, but no, not so volatile. They move before our mind's eye like a pageantry of the stars and open up to our clouded visions the magnificent dreams of her powerful and poignant soul. They are dreams to the dreamer, songs to the singer,

madrigals to the strephon. They beckon to us, coquet with us, perfume us and haunt us evermore with the lingering echo of their music.

Sarojini Devi is a poetess of the spirit, of sublime emotions. She is a high-priestess of romanticism, sailing on seas of song and singing as she sails. She expresses moods, thoughts and visions that are happy, lovely and beautiful in ornate diction, in lines 'frisking light in frolick measures'. It is as if Sarojini Devi has caught the silver flutter of dancing star-maids and limned it through her verse. And when she rides "sublime upon the seraph wings of ecstasy" through the luxuriant lawns of imagination, her poems come to us "wind-carried, butterfly-borne, or as softly a-sail as a rose-petal upon a stream's surface." They are a dream of beauty—a veritable 'rapture of song.'

'THE EASTERN MAGIC'

In her love of Nature and her speckled scenes of beauty, Sarojini Devi has a close proximity to the twin inspirers of Poesy—Shelley and Keats. She is nevertheless eminently Indian in temperament and well merits the exclamation of Arthur Symons that "her poems have in them an Eastern Magic". Let us now take a peep at her Palace of Song, that we may realise how astonishingly Oriental she is.

In the Bazaars of Hyderabad conjures up a picturesque vision. Beside the perpetual stream of people along the thoroughfare, we see the merchants with their rich

Turbans of crimson and silver,
Tunics of purple brocade,
Mirrors with panels of amber,
Daggers with handles of jade,

the vendors with their

Saffron and lentil and rice
* * *

the goldsmiths busy making

Wristlet and anklet and ring,
Bells for the feet of blue pigeons,
Frail as a dragon-fly's wing,

the fruit-sellers with trays of

Citron, pomegranate and plum

the musicians playing on their

Cithar, sarangi and drum

the magicians casting

Spells for the aeons to come

and the dainty flower-girls weaving

Crowns for the brow of a bridegroom,
Chaplets to garland his head,
Sheets of white blossoms new-gathered,
To perfume the sleep of the dead.

Close upon the heels of these people come the picturesque
bangle-sellers with their

.....shining loads...
.....delicate, bright
Rainbow-tinted circles of light.
Lustrous tokens of radiant lives,
For happy daughters and happy wives.

What a strange variety of men and things !

Let us contrast the above scene with a Western one
described by Mr. John Drinkwater in his poem *Symbols* :

All day long the traffic goes
In Lady Street by dingy rows
Of sloven houses, tattered shops—
Fried fish, old clothes and fortune-tellers—
Tall trams on silver shining rails,
With grinding wheels and swaying tops,
And lorries with their corded bales
And screeching cars. 'Buy, buy' the sellers
Of rags and bones and sickening meat
Cry all day long in Lady Street.

Here indeed is the glaring difference in outlook !

SONGS OF SPRING

Devi Sarojini is a lover of the Spring that comes "with
the lure of her magic flute". Spring robes everything in
flaming colours, and in the rapturous joy of the season,

Kamala tinkles a lingering foot
In the grove where temple bells ring,
And Krishna plays on his bamboo flute
An idyl of love and spring.

Spring with its varied songs stirs passionate souls ; one in eagerness queries,

Springtime, O springtime, what is your secret,
The bliss at the core of your magical mirth,
That quickens the pulse of the morning to wonder,
And hastens the seeds of all beauty to birth !

In yet another quarter, we espy a lonely village girl. Enamoured of the boatmen's rustic songs, she tarries long at her duty and while returning says feelingly :

Full are my pitchers and far to carry,
Lone is the way and long,
Why, O why was I tempted to tarry,
Lured by the boatmen's song.

From another side we hear the alluring melody of the milk-maid Radha's song,

I carried my curds to the Mathura fair...
How softly the heifers were lowing...

.....
which is at once expressive of love and admiration for the Divine Flutist of Brindavan. It also reveals to us how the commonplace people misunderstand an exalted soul like Radha, who was mocked at when, in sacred adoration of Krishna, the Divine Cowherd and Musician—the ' Divine ' Beloved of every Hindu heart, she chanted :

Govinda ! Govinda !
Govinda ! Govinda !

To Sarojini Devi, Spring makes an intense appeal as a season for mirth and merriment and she would do nothing else on a spring-day :

Their joy from the birds and streams let us borrow,
O, heart, let us sing.
The years are before us for weeping and sorrow,
To-day it is spring !

POEMS OF LOVE

With many writers of verse, the love theme is a lute with many strings that can be harped at will in accordance with the flow of the ebb and tide of their fancy. And even then their interpretation of Love never rises to superb heights. But the love poems of Sarojini Devi have a fascination all

their own, and to her, Love is something more than a mere earthly passion. Her conception of Love transcends all human limitations. To her, it has something of the Divine, of the Eternal. To her, it opens a path in the never-ending pursuit of perfection. She does not depict Love as amorous, as passionate. It is serene, sublime—triumphing over Death and surviving through Eternity. She sings—

You permeate
With such profound, supreme and intimate,
Knowledge, possession, power, my life's domain ;
O, are you not
The very text and title of my thought,
The very pattern of my joy and pain ? ...
Shall even Death free
My soul from such intricate Unity ?

Elsewhere she assures the lover—

You haunt my waking like a dream, my slumber like a
moon,
Pervade me like a musky scent, possess me like a tune.
You are the heart within my heart, the
life within my life.

This reminds us of some lines of Mr. Maurice Baring. In his excellent play, *Dusk*, he makes the hero say to Jessamine, a beautiful water-spirit that has strayed out of the 'cool and silent depths' and enticed him :

I love you while I breathe, sun of my day ;
I'll love you when I die, star of my dusk ;
I'll love you after death, moon of my night,
Through all the trackless ways and deeps of space,
Amidst the murmur of this clamorous world,
And in the silence of Eternity.

We have already noticed that her idea of Love is something unique, overleaping all mere mortal conceptions. Here is a quest for Love Divine :

Alone, O Love, I breast the shimmering waves,
The changing tides of life's familiar streams,
Wide seas of hope, swift rivers of desire.

FONDNESS FOR FLOWERS

For flowers of various kinds—the jasmine, the champak, the cassia, the gulmohur, the poppy and the iris, Sarojini

Devi has an extraordinary fondness, and brings to our memory the name of yet another votary of the English Muse—Poet-Laureate Austin. He too has a passionate devotion to the bloom and fragrance of beautiful flowers—the banksia, the wild rose, the cistus, the lily, the primrose—a devotion so strong, so sincere that it makes him say of his poems—

Their music they stole from the deep-hushed rose ;
And he celebrates his love of the primrose thus :

You have brightened doubtful days,
You have sweetened long delays.

Sarojini Devi sings of the age-long admiration of humanity for flowers when she says of the champak blossoms :

.....'t is of you thro' the moonlit ages
That maidens and minstrels sing.

Nay, she even goes farther and attributes divinity to them :

I sometimes think that perchance you are
Fragments of some new-fallen star.

THE PATRIOTIC NOTE

She is not only a poet but a patriot too, striving her best to free her country from the degrading shackles of alien domination. Affection of the highest order it is that leads her to address these impassioned lines to the land of her birth :

O, young through all thy immemorial years !
Rise Mother, rise, regenerate thy gloom,
And like a bride high-mated with the spheres,
Beget new glories from thy ageless womb.

And Sarojini Devi looks up to India as the spiritual *Sardar* of the world :

The Nations that in fettered darkness weep
Crave thee to lead where great mornings break.

She kneels in humble adoration before the shining altar of her Motherland beseeching her for guidance and for benediction :

Waken, O Mother ! thy children implore thee,
Who kneel in thy presence to serve and adore thee,
* * *

Awaken and sever thy woes that enthrall us,
And hallow our hands for the triumphs that call us.

THE PURANIC PAST

She has an unparalleled admiration for the immortal heroines of our Puranic Past. For her they always remain as images of devoted loyalty and perpetual radiance, envisaging before her artistic vision the multicoloured film of our halcyon days. The very thought of these historic women makes the fire of her poetic inspiration flare up; and in its lambent light we behold a gorgeous parade of bygone times—of holy India, bright and sublime with its righteous men and devoted women, its sacred-souled *sadhus* and its silver-bearded sages, its temples echoing with orisons and avestas, and its places of pilgrimage resonant with the measured chants of Vedic hymns. It is of such times that the Poetess sings to us, nay, even makes us partake of,

.....Savitri's sorrow and Sita's desire,
Draupati's longing, Damayanti's fears,
And sweetest Sakuntala's magical tears.

Elsewhere, she consummately sums up the serene ideal of a typical Hindu wife, when she makes Damayanti say to Nala in the hour of exile :

What fate shall dare uncrown thee from this breast
O God-born lover, whom my love doth gird
And armour with impregnable delight
Of Hope's triumphant keen flame-carven sword ?

AWE AND REVERENCE

Exhilarating, enrapturing, ecstatic—such are her poems, avoiding that tremendous word 'mystic,' for I firmly believe that Sarojini Devi's poetry is not at all mystic,—in the same way that the poetry of Herbert and Vaughan, of Tagore and Iqbal is mystic. But though she is not mystic in her outlook and though she does not strive to interpret in symbolic terms the hidden mysteries of heaven and earth, yet she has a profound sense of awe and reverence for the all-ruling Power. She is extremely sensitive of her eternal indebtedness to the All-merciful for all that He has vouchsafed unto her. For all that she is endowed with, she asks—

Have I not poured my life in glad libation
Like pure, vermilion wine,

And swung the censers of my adoration
 Sleepless before your shrine ?
 And of my days made a mellifluous pæan
 To you who dwell apart,
 In the untrod enchanted empyrean
 Of my surrendered heart ?

She does all this because—

My glad heart is drunk and drenched with Thee,
 O inmost wine of living Ecstasy !
 O intimate essence of Eternity !

Beyond these utterances of faith, we meet with some scattered lines that tell us of her conception of life :

And all our mortal moments are
 A session of the Infinite !

* * * *

Life is a prism of My Light,
 And Death the shadow of My Face.

* * * *

And all Life's ripening harvest fields await
 The restless sickle of relentless fate !

THANKS !

To that brilliant English Man of Letters, Sir Edmund Gosse, are due our warmest thanks. It is an exquisite piece of good fortune that he prevailed upon young Sarojini Devi and her 'girlish ecstasy' "to write no more of robins and skylarks in a landscape of Midland counties,..... to be a genuine Indian poetess of the Deccan, not a clever machine-made imitator of the English classics". By voicing forth the silent musings of her Oriental heart through the medium of an alien tongue, she has helped to bridge the yawning chasm of creed and culture, and flooded the West with a sublime saga of our life and love, of our joys and sorrows. We rejoice today in the thought that she has remained with us to sing to the world of the soul of India, and the spirit of the Orient. Devi Sarojini the singer, the gifted holder of the winged word, the happy denizen of the 'moon-enchanted estuary of dreams', the admired queen of our minstrel group,—with her haunting visions of heavenly beauty and sibilant echoes of aerial melody, moves with regal pomp in the realm of song.

‘Ketaki’

BY NIRMAL CHATTOPADHYAYA

The Spring is gone and dead is the Rose
The Koil from the *Sahakara* bower has fled,
Cloud-prince, dear yet terrible, come thou to-night !
The green carpet is there for thee,
But dying is thy bride.

Yet, stay awhile,
Dear and awful Cloud-prince ! stay :
Away from the garden, in forlorn sands I ever
 pray for thee ;
And sleep enchained in a castle of thorns ;
While around me in slumber lie snake-guards
 heaving deep :
In a thorned tower I sleep away my charmed days.

Vain are the morning rays for me
While in dreaming sleep pass night and day ;
Ketaki, Queen of thorns am I.
The bee steals away my gold,
But to thee my scent-offering I waft
On the cool wings of the evening breeze ;
Dreaming ever of when my black Prince-charmer
 will come and rend my chains,
And awaken Ketaki with his magic-wand !

Anon, thou hast come beside me, my dark Cloud-
 prince dear !
For there dies whispering thy poignant tear on my
 cheek.

O Life and Love !
Dearer than gold shall be these very sands,
If but my Prince would kiss his Ketaki ere she is
 cold !
Draw close, and closer, my Prince ! before I droop,

And thy coolest kiss upon my brow be laid !
Tho' my lips have not the runaway Rose's glow,
Nor the coming *Sephali's* graceful sweet perfume.

Am I pale ?—

But pale have I grown thro' waiting,
Because my Prince would never come !

My thorns ?—

They but sprouted in bitter shame—

My burning tears be they !

My fragrance bitter-sweet thou mayn't scorn,
For, in severest pain was it fraught !

Ever and ever in forlorn dreary sands I await,
And dwell in fear that he might never come,
My cruel, beloved Cloud-prince.
In distant death tower in dumb lament pine I,
Ketaki, Queen of thorns !
And slumbering serpents guard me round !

A free translation from BENGALI by

PULIN BEHARI SEN

Satya's Resentment

(From the Telugu *Parijatapaharanam*)¹

Like a fierce trodden she-serpent or a fiery tongue of flame Satya arose; the flush of ruby-flare in her eyes flooded her cheeks with the crimson light of *Kumkum*, and in a voice injured and tremulous, she said:

“ Was such the advent of that sage who feeds on strife? And was such indeed his talk? And did he, the lord of the Gopis, lend a willing ear? And what proud words spoke Rukmini? O, lotus-faced maiden, tell me the whole truth at once and hesitate not the least.

“ Be it that Narada made a friendly present of that flower to Achyutha, proudly avowing the peerless excellence of the gift; and be it that he in his turn offered it where his love did rest: but, tell me what right had that artful sage of the gods to bring in my name on that spot?

“ To speak full many words that prick like thorns may be the very nature of that world-trotting sage, to whom discord is merriment. But should not my lord then have prevented such talk?

“ And yet, and yet, the fault is not the sage's. Why, pray, should Rukmini so accept the gift? And what must I think of the conduct of that graceless cow-herd? Will not the heart break when one's husband, dear as one's own life, behaves this wise?

“ Uncritical about their own ways, these men still tell us that we women cannot be trusted. But, in truth, is it not men that are fickle-minded even as the fleeting clouds of *Sarat*? How can we trust them, then, my friend?—tell me how can we?

“ Woven into the very texture of my life with meshes of

¹Translated by M. Visvesvara Rao from the famous Telugu *Prabandha* of Timma Kavi, one of the poets of the Imperial Court of Vijayanagara, during the reign of Sri Krishna Deva Raya.

pure affection, living with me in desires ever insatiate, loving me and blending with me in pleasures ever so guileless, could he, my lord, have acted thus? But, ah! it may be that, caught in the jealous charms of that Rukmini, he has forgotten me and my love!

“To every wife, her lord is the life of her life, her protector, her God—but, when even he chooses to be ungracious, O, tell me, what prop is then left to the devoted ones?

“The taking back of riches once given can be borne without pain. But, O my maiden, when love is once offered by the lord—and then withheld, what charm has life for me ?—”

Thus wailing and weary, and full of jealousy and wrath, Satya, lovely as the creeping vine, rushed into the “Chamber of Resentment” like unto a *Naga* maiden passing into her grotto in a *Harichandan* trunk.

The Parijata of Love

BY K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO

I

"Sri Krishna respected Rukmini, but he loved Satya", said I.

"No ", angrily retorted my friend, " Sri Krishna loved Satya, but he *adored* Rukmini."

Do you think it passing strange that an Indian love-story of the long-long-ago enshrined in the immortal classic of the race—the *Bhagavata*—should have roused a warm discussion in the drab, prosaic, work-a-day world of ours? But the memory of Sri Krishna and his queenly consorts is ever fresh and fragrant even as the *Parijata* which he plucked from the garden of the gods and planted on earth, that it might fill the world with its perfume. Sri Krishna was indeed all things to all persons. And in the manner of their approach to him, was also the outflow of his beneficence and grace. In India, through the ages, men and women have poured forth the love of their hearts to Sri Krishna, the wonder-child, the player on the flute, the charioteer, and the giver of the *Geeta*.

But there are two relationships of his that have fascinated me above all else. I love to think of him as the comrade of Arjuna and the lover of Satya. These, unlike the rest, did not look up to him as God incarnate, as one to be placed on a pedestal and worshipped with reverent awe. Arjuna among men and Satya among women, cherished for him the purest and the most ardent love. Theirs was an intensely human fellowship. Imagine Sri Krishna stepping into the Court of the Pandavas. After the formal greetings are over, and the pressing problems of the hour are discussed, what would Sri Krishna long to do? What, except to take Arjuna aside, enfold him in a warm embrace and forget

the cares of state in the joy of re-union with the hero-prince? If Arjuna knew and felt that Sri Krishna was an Avatar, it was not as one far away in the clouds, but as one nearest his heart—a loving and beloved comrade.

So too with Satya. She felt for Sri Krishna little of the reverence of Rukmini or the self-effacing adoration of Radha. To Satya, Sri Krishna was ever the charming prince, the fond lover who, if he was guilty of transgressions, was certainly to be punished by an expression of her just resentment. Was it right, was it chivalrous that on great occasions and on small, Sri Krishna should slight her and seek to humiliate her in the presence of Rukmini and his other queens? Was it her fault that she came into Sri Krishna's life later than Rukmini, or that her marriage was in the nature of a diplomatic alliance¹, not a love match like that of Rukmini? Satya as depicted in the *Bhagavata* and in subsequent literature based on the epic, is not the mere conventional Hindu wife, devoted to her lord and always prepared to subordinate her will to his. She has, like Savitri and Draupadi, like Kaikeyi and Kunti, plenty of energy and initiative. She does not hesitate, on occasions, to stand up for her rights as woman and as wife. Alone of all the consorts of Sri Krishna, she follows him to the field of battle, fights by his side and vanquishes his foes. In beauty and in valour, in the graces and accomplishments of womanhood, she is indeed the leader of society in the city of Dwaraka. It is therefore round her that the allegory of the *Parijata* is woven.

II

It is a belief universal amongst Hindus that Sri Krishna was an Avatar (incarnation) of Vishnu, the Preserver—the second Entity in the Trinity, and that in glory and power his was a much fuller manifestation of the Lord than the other Avatars including Sri Ramachandra. But some scholars hold that the child Krishna

¹Satrajit, father of Satya, unjustly suspected Sri Krishna of having stolen a valuable gem of his. To make amends for this wrong, he presented Sri Krishna "the gem, and with it, this gem among maidens" as the Telugu *Bhagavata* puts it.)

of Brindavan, hero of the *Bhagavata* and friend of the Gopis, was an entirely different individual from Krishna, Prince of Dwaraka, leader of the confederate Kshatriya clans of the Andhakas, Vrishnis and Bhojas—the warrior and statesmen whose deeds are immortalised in the *Mahabharata*. Possibly they are right, and later tradition might have blended the two conceptions of Krishna into one. The Krishna of the *Mahabharata* must have lived his life on earth several centuries earlier than his namesake of the *Bhagavata*. When we speak of Krishna as a ‘complete Avatar’ the reference is nearly always, albeit unconsciously, to the later Krishna of Brindavan. The earlier Krishna, if he was an Avatar,—as I believe he was—must have been what is termed an *Avesa* Avatar, that is to say, a highly evolved individual on whom, at a certain stage in his career, the Spirit of the Lord descended in all Its glory and dwelt for a period, that, through him, the worlds might be blessed.

This conception of an *Avesa* Avatar is quite in consonance with Hindu tradition. We have been told that during the encounter between Parasu-Rama and Sri-Rama after the breaking of the Bow of Siva and the winning of King Janaka’s daughter, the Light of the Lord passed from Parasu-Rama and entered the body of Sri-Rama, the mighty bowman and Prince of Ayodhya. The great work that had to be achieved through Parasu-Rama was over, and young Sri-Rama, by reason of his valour and his attainments, was marked out as the ‘Man of the Age’—as the proper tabernacle for the indwelling of the Lord’s Spirit. Evidently, then, Sri-Rama was not *born* an Avatar like the child Krishna of the *Bhagavata*, but he *became* one after his encounter with Parasu-Rama. The Christian Gospels tell us that when Jesus was thirty years old, he one day bathed in the waters of the Jordan, and as he came out of the river, the Spirit of the Lord descended on him in the shape of a dove. It was then that Jesus became ‘the Christ’ and commenced his blessed ministry.

If such is the nature of an *Avesa* Avatar, is it possible for us to mark the exact point in the career of the Krishna

of the *Mahabharata* when he became an Avatar of Vishnu? Was it when he gave the great teaching of the *Geeta* to Arjuna on the fateful field of Kurukshetra, or was it much earlier, when he planted the *Parijata* tree on earth, for the love he bore Satya?

III

The story of the *Parijata* is one of the most picturesque in the Hindu *Puranas*. Narada the gifted singer and messenger of the Gods¹ visited Sri Krishna at Dwaraka, while he was in the palace of Rukmini, and presented him with a *Parijata* flower—the flower that blossomed only in the *Nandana vana*, garden of Indra, god of gods. Sri Krishna was charmed with the beauty and fragrance of the *Parijata* and, as a token of his love, bestowed it on Rukmini. Narada complimented Rukmini on being the fortunate recipient of this divine gift, and true to his nature as one that ever fed on strife, spoke slightly of Satya. This news was conveyed with lightning speed to Satya by one of her maids. And Satya, the beautiful and the accomplished, was filled with resentment that Krishna should have so openly showed his preference for Rukmini and—what in her view was a greater lapse from decorum—permitted Narada, without a word of protest, to speak the things that he did.² And then, the story is told, Krishna humbled himself before Satya, confessed his many and egregious faults, and at last appeased her anger by promising to plant the entire *Parijata* tree—and not a mere flower—in her own garden. For this purpose, Satya and Krishna invade the city of Indra, vanquish the heavenly hosts and come back triumphant to Dwaraka with the coveted *Parijata* tree.

A beautiful allegory—for what does the *Parijata* signify but the *Parijata* of Love, the heavenly gift which Sri Krishna, in his narrowness, bestowed on Rukmini alone?

¹The late Andhraratna Gopalakrishnaiya humourously styled Narada as the "Postmaster-General of all the worlds".

²The passage from the Telugu *Parijatapaharanam* translated by the young Associate Editor is a brilliant portrayal of the resentment of Satya on the occasion.

Krishna, before he became an Avatar, lavished his love on Rukmini and did not admit Satya into the innermost sanctuary of his heart. But she claimed his love, and won it too; through long years of devotion and the outpouring of a love that was wide as the heavens above, and deep as the ocean around. Thus she enabled him to attain his destiny as an Avatar. When Sri Krishna could love Satya as ardently as he did Rukmini, his love was that instant transmuted into the Love of the Lord—the Love that doth flood the Universe. That is what is meant when it is said that in company with Satya he planted the *Parijata* on earth, after snatching it from the gods.

And yet, the popular conception seems to be that Satya's love was somehow inferior to that of Rukmini or Radha and that Sri Krishna humiliated Satya for her own good, to enable her to attain that perfection of love which she lacked. In recent Telugu literature, and I believe in other Indian literatures too, poems and dramas have been written in pursuance of this idea. I have witnessed plays like the *Parijatapaharana* of Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham, the *Radha-Krishna* of P. Lakshminarasimha Rao and the *Thulabharam*—‘the weighing of Sri Krishna in the scales’—by the late lamented Professor Subba Rao. Everywhere Satya is made to look very small; her love for Sri Krishna is represented as intensely selfish and grasping, as “of the earth, earthy.” Playwright, actors, audience, all are satisfied that Satya deserved to be humiliated for her arrogance. Even talented actors like Mr. Sthanam Narasimha Rao in the rôle of Satya and B. Subba Rao as Sri Krishna in the *Thulabharam*, have not been able to do justice to the supremely noble nature of Satya. All this arises out of a false reading of the character of Satya and an utter incapacity to gauge the love of Satya for Krishna and of Krishna for Satya.

Satya's love was neither selfish nor grasping. In fact it was through her love that Sri Krishna became the Lover of all beings—worthy of his destiny as “Teacher of Gods and men”.

Reviews

[We shall be glad to review books in all Indian languages and in English, French and German. Books for Review should reach the office at least SIX WEEKS in advance of the day of publication of the Journal.]

Murugan, The Tiller : By K. S. VENKATARAMANI, M. A., B. L. ('Swetaranya Ashrama', Mylapore, Madras. Second Edition. Rs. 2.)

We welcome with delight a new edition of this charming tale of South Indian life from the pen of a South Indian of acknowledged literary eminence. *Murugan*, as an interpretation of Hindu life and ideals, deserves to rank with the late R. C. Dutt's *Lake of Palms* and Lal Behari Dey's *Benaul Peasant Life*. The first edition received unstinted praise from all quarters but 'Triveni' was not then in existence and we were denied the pleasure of noticing it.

Murugan, the hero, is the typical Indian peasant, humble and pious; unlettered but rich with the wisdom of the centuries behind him. Ramachandran and Kedari represent opposing ideals and pursue different paths in life. But they end by 'going back to the land' and drawing sustenance, physical as well as spiritual, by close communion with Mother Nature. They are, however, much more than mere types. We seem to be seeing Kedaris and Ramchandrans every day of our lives. Mr. Venkataramani, it is clear, has more of Ramachandran than of Kedari in him, though by an irony of fate, he is practising law like Kedari, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Kedari's Nadu Street and Tank Square. But Mr. Venkataramani's dreams of a life of *Vanaprastha* in the 'Swetaranya Ashrama' of the future may one day materialise. Meanwhile, we heartily congratulate him on the recognition he has gained and which he so richly merits. An excellent Tamil translation of *Murugan* has already appeared and we hear a Telugu edition is in progress. Other Indian languages ought to copy this example.

Mr. Venkataramani of the old Victoria Hostel days, winning prizes in *Bookman* competitions and—it was whispered amongst us with awe—actually corresponding with Prof. Saintsbury, has blossomed into an important literary figure. We rejoice that it is so, and look forward to more from this gifted writer.

K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO.

SRINIVASA AIYANGAR, P.T., *History of the Tamils, from the earliest times to 600 A.D.*, (1929, C. Coomaraswami Naidu & Sons, Madras, Rs. 5 nett).

The origin of Tamil culture has for decades been a subject of much speculation, but few have brought to bear ripe scholarship and discriminating judgment on a study of the problem. Caldwell took up the study as a philologist, but his conclusions stand vitiated by his ignorance of the development and the genius of Tamil literature. Kanakasabhai Pillai gave us a masterly presentment of Tamil culture as preserved in its literature, but he failed to interpret it for us. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar speculated on the ethnology of the Tamils and evolved theories which are remarkable for their crudity. The less said about Dr. G. Slater's views on the Dravidian problem the better. Mr T. R. Sesha Aiyangar brought together a miscellaneous assortment of views and successfully evaded a formulation of any conclusions of his own. Of casual contributions to the subject there is no end, but none of them is of any the least value.

Kanakasabhai Pillai started with the literary vestiges of early Tamil: the still earlier period of culture remained to be reconstructed and a picture drawn of the social and the intellectual conditions of the age. To a scholar of a very different type has fallen the task of reconstructing that earlier history. Kanakasabhai was deeply versed in Tamil literature, but he lacked the intellectual alertness, the omnivorous scholarship and the heretical zeal of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, to whom no subject is beyond his grasp and no belief is too sacred to be spared lightly. He was not nursed in the traditions of Tamil scholarship and he has come late to a study of it, but being an easy and consummate master in many of the domains of scholarship, he has been able to attain, in a remarkably short time, to a mastery of Tamil literature which none but *pandits* can lay claim to. For two generations Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar has enjoyed the reputation of being an intellectual giant, and, if proof of the reputation were wanted, it would be found in the remarkable work now before us. In its six-hundred and odd pages of close print we cannot find more than fifty pages which do not bear the imprint of original thinking: some six-hundred extracts from the Tamil classics have been rendered into English for the first time: many a novel theory is evolved with surprising clarity and enforced with abundant illustration. And this work, which another man would have taken a full twelve-month merely to fair-copy, was all thought out and set forth within a period of twelve months. The

surprise is all the greater as it follows close on the heels of his *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, which itself was a triumph of unremitting industry and illuminating exposition. He has always scorned to take either his facts or his conclusions at second-hand and he is too conscientious a literary man to be content with facts fished up for him by others. To get hold of ideas from more reticent scholars, to work them up into theses, to publish each of them in half a dozen periodicals and at last to gather them up in a collected edition are arts which he has never had need to practise. He is, indeed, the youngest of scholars in industry and in intellectual enterprise : at the same time, in the amplitude of many-sided learning he is the oldest of scholars. In him we have a happy blend of youth and age,—the industry and enterprise of youth and the ripeness and maturity of age.

The main basis of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's deductions as to the earliest culture of the Tamils is the literature of the so-called Sangam Age, including the *Porul-Aditharam* of the *Tol-Kappiyam*, accounted the earliest of the available Tamil grammars. His interpretation of Tamil culture is based on three central theories,—the effect of the geography of South India on its culture, the transition to a fireless cult, and the indigenous character of all the peoples and the cultures of India. That there is much of truth in Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's contentions can scarcely be denied, but it is open to question whether the three lines of argument advanced by him account adequately for all the cultural phenomena.

Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar traces much of the individuality of Tamil culture to the fact that the culture developed in five classes of habitable land, all of which lie in fairly close juxtaposition in the Tamil country,—the hills, the dry wastes, the woodlands, the deltas and the littoral. We do not agree with Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar in the determination of the factors governing the evolution of Tamil culture, but, it is this disagreement that makes us appreciate all the more the infinite resource with which he supports his position. He exhausts Sanskrit and Tamil literatures for appropriate illustrations; he adds instance to instance and piles quotation upon quotation in such profusion as almost to smother disagreement before it is born.

Having attempted to evaluate the culture of the periods for which there are no contemporary records, Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar passes down to the age of the early poems attributed to the Sangams or Academies. He discounts heavily the theory of three Academies and questions shrewdly the value of the poems for the purposes of history.

An interesting chapter deals with the history of the intercourse which the south of India had with the north and he seeks to show that the assumption that the south was an entity apart from the north is absolutely without foundation. That the Cheras were not unknown to the age of the *Taittiriya Aranyaka* is an interesting suggestion for which one would like to have evidence more cogent than is now traceable. In a series of chapters Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar gives a lively account of the foreign trade of South India in the first and the second millenniums before Christ. In a chapter on the *Ramayana* he would make out Valmiki to be a contemporary of Panini and the *Ramayana* as it stands now to be a composition of the period when the *agamas* had made the doctrine of *avataras* popular. Following Pargiter's suggestion, Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar postulates a succession of Agastyas: the first of them was, twenty generations earlier than Rama, the husband of a princess of Vidarbha, a kingdom south of the Vindhya, and had his *asrama* in the western part of the Satpura range: the second of them, a contemporary of Rama, was visited by him close to the banks of the Godavari: the third was a much later one who had his seat on the top of the Malaya hill, much further south, and the fourth was the author of the grammar which bears his name. This southward migration of 'Agastya' through the generations is said to be the symbol of the spread of the Aryan cults in the south. This is an alluring hypothesis and deserves considerable attention. An interesting chapter is devoted to chronicling the rise of the *agamas* and another to the growth of the schools of Baudhayana and Apastambha, and in both chapters an attempt is made to determine the extent to which the south and the north stood mutually indebted: Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's views on these questions are not only bold and uncompromising but also provocative of thought; further and prolonged research alone will establish whether he is wrong.

We reach next a succession of chapters in which the real character of early Tamil literature is laid bare. That that literature, as it now survives, is preserved mainly in anthologies has often been pointed out before, but no attempt was ever made to determine the course of its stratification. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar advances a very interesting theory that the *Tol-Kappiyam* and some poems of the *Puram* and *Aham* collections are among the earliest of that body of literature and that the *Kali-Tohai* is among the last: the theory deserves and will repay careful consideration. He discounts rightly the myths about the three Sangams and gives a picture of the development of the Sangam literature which is more natural

than any so far drawn by historians. In another series of chapters he traces the history of the three principal dynasties of the Tamil country, so far as that history can be reconstructed from the Sangam books: he does not go into the question with the thoroughness which characterises the rest of his work as he must have rightly recognised that an adequate study of the subject will entail the writing of a book fully as long as and much more detailed than the present one.

It will be recognised on all hands that the merit of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's work lies in the huge volume of evidence he has collected and marshalled and in the clarity with which he has argued out his conclusions. No reader of the work can lay it down without being impressed by the great erudition of the author and the close thinking which characterises every page of it. For decades this work will stand out as a monument of scholarship and as a beacon to voyagers in the yet uncharted seas of the early cultural history of our country.

The impression may be left in the minds of some readers that Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar has interpreted our cultural evolution to the advantage of the Tamilian and shown less than justice to the Aryan. Even if the impression be well-founded, we must not forget that Sanskritists have held the field so long and so obstinately that the Tamilian scholar who wants to wrest for his own culture what he considers to be its birthright cannot hope for success unless he bears down furiously on his antagonists and hits hard enough. In remote antiquity, Agastya strode forth southward to redress the injustice done to Tamil, and, if Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar now goes forth with equal rage it is because he has had equal provocation from the Sanskritists of modern times. We are confident that this new book of his will help to restore the balance and to reinstate Tamil in her lawful seat.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.

MARATHI

"*Lagnacha Bazaar*" or "The Marriage Market": By Mrs. Shanta Nasekhar, B.A.

[Publisher V. N. Marathi. The 'Grihalakshmi' Office, Dhummatkar House, 241, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.]

This is a new novel written by Mrs. Nasekhar and has for its theme the eternal problem of the Hindu marriage. This familiar subject forms the mainstay of her story: but she has also dwelt upon

the subtle tyranny of the present day social reformers, which takes a hundred shapes, as it often happens in the middle-class Hindu families.

For instance, Satyavati the daughter of a middle-class family, is married in her 19th year to Suresh, a civilian. Suresh's parents have squeezed out forty thousand rupees from Satyavati's father as a dowry. This sum is not exactly a dowry, but it is supposed to be paid towards expenses which Suresh incurred whilst studying for the I.C.S. in England. The first chapter of the story deals with this and incidentally reflects what modern girls have got to say about this most pernicious custom. The chapter itself is styled, "Marriage or Auction" a very suggestive title. But luckily Suresh is not the average type of youngman. He feels very disconsolate about his father's doings, and confesses to that effect to Sushila who is a great friend of Satyavati. One feels however Suresh would have been more of a real man if he had the courage to return that forty thousand instead of giving long-drawn apologies which he pours out to Sushila, his wife's friend. Meanwhile a certain amount of intimacy is the result of Suresh's communications to Sushila, and it is not strange that Suresh gets to like her more than Satyavati, with the result that a tragedy is worked out and Satyavati's life is ruined.

Mrs. Nasekkar deals out her story warily and one must congratulate her on the selection of characters which are so true to life. She deals with a good many problems in her own quaint way. The relationship of the married man with other married women is so well worked out in the gradually developing interest and intimacy which results between Sushila and Suresh. The character of Sadhu Anna, the heartless educated father who sells his daughter with forty thousand rupees is a good study too, and when later on the writer depicts the tragic end of the heroine Satyavati, and yet after the tragedy is worked out, she makes them the units of a better organised society, Mrs. Nasekkar shows a consummate skill in the study of human nature and its frailties, as well as its pathos.

When all is said, one feels however that it is an old old tale, this evil of misfits and the system of marriage in vogue in Hindu society. It was Mr. Apte who first made people conscious of their callous indifference to this very vital question in Maharashtra Society; and we must confess too that even after Mr. Hari Apte's attempts, we have not been able to evolve such a thing as right, healthy, public opinion about certain aspects of our customs.

But one feels the women are the worst sinners in this respect, for it is they who are so singularly instrumental in causing misfits and

tragic endings to what otherwise would have been normal healthy married lives! No grown-up girl is free from their criticism. If a girl goes to college, well, she must be criticised; if she stays at home, well, she must be talked of; and the 'dowry', that famous word! If only the women made up their minds when they married their daughters or sons, not to have anything to do with this system, what a reform would have been worked out!

These are some thoughts which arise from a perusal of Mrs. Nasokkar's very interesting work. The language is very simple, and easy, and it ought to appeal to the women of Maharashtra in particular.

The Golden Champak: Selected poems of Prof. S. N. Chaphekar, M.A., LL.B., I.F.S. [Deccan College, Poona.]

The name of Prof. S. N. Chaphekar is well known in Maharashtra. As a poet, dramatic critic, and familiarly known as Shree Krishna, Prof. Chaphekar holds a unique position. The volume under review is a collection of the professor's work of art and it fully justifies itself. It is a varied and interesting collection, where the reader will find verses and songs on everything that is beautiful in daily life. Here are a few lines at random. He sings about the golden dawn:

Nikata, Nikata, Khachita Yeta!
Subha Dinichi Suprabhata !!
Hoteela Jay Saphala Hatu!
Sakala Apule !!

(Swiftly comes the dawn of a brighter day—the golden dawn when our desires shall be fulfilled and we shall behold the glory),
 or when he sings of the old year that is a-dying:

Viserun ya ! Bhutakala !
Bhutanichich ti Masal !!
Tapa, Shoka, Bhayakara!, !
Smarana de teecheen !!

(Come let us forget the old year: with its dying embers and the dead hopes, and the fever of yesterday.)

It is this bright optimism that endears Prof. Chaphekar to his readers. Unlike many of his contemporaries who are content with sentimental forebodings and who try to imitate slavishly the poetry and the spirit of the West, Prof. Chaphekar has a genius of his own. Some of his lyrics are exquisite, as in the case of *Diwali*, *Dasara*, or *Pimpalpan*. He has got his own inimitable style of rendering into appropriate Marathi, some of the finest lines and thoughts of Shakespeare. Witness these lines:

" Shall I compare thee to a Summer's day? "

He says,

*Vasantantalya Tula Dinachee Upama Deun Kai ?
Adhika Ramyatara Adhika Sojvala Tyahuni Pari
Tava Kai ?*

The book is attractively got-up and priced one rupee.

R. L. RAU.

MALAYALAM

Velu Thampi Dalava : By Mr. K. M. Panikkar, M. A. (Oxon),
Barrister-at-Law.

These are fine verses written by one who is well known to Malayalam literature. There are eight pieces in this collection. (1) Anjali. (2) Velu Thampi Dalava (3) Paris (4) Gnanam (5) Sagarasthothram (6) Navavathsaram (7) In Spain (8) Parajayaganam.

The author has reputation and indeed he writes well. In the book under review, the author maintains his own traditions. These verses may not be quite novel to those of us who are acquainted with European literatures. But to the old school in Malayalam literature, some of them may be interesting, for instance, the verses on Spain and Paris. Perhaps they may not interest them at all for lack of historical knowledge. The author's reference to Napoleon in his poem on 'Paris' is not very happy nor relevant, and is inexcusable in an impartial student of history.

There are indeed some points for criticism which can be done best only in Malayalam. But I would point out two glaring instances of what I may call 'immaturity in a poetical aspirant.'

(1) "As Pranava to the Vedas, so is Paris to the historians of Europe—So do they (historians) merge in Paris". I would merely say that I fail to appreciate this 'alankara'.

(2) "Prowess equal to Karthikeya"—I cannot agree that Velu Thampi Dalava possessed 'Voeryam' which was equal to that of Sri Karthikeya. Our efforts at poetic exaggerations for the sake of strength of the 'alankara' fail when a mortal, though of the best of mankind, is compared and made equal to the Most High Power.

But the poems as a whole are of the highest order in versification. 'Velu Thampi Dalava' in particular is remarkable for its delightful symphony, terse expressions and noble sentiments of patriotic feelings that pervade the soliloquy, as it were, of that great soldier-minister of Travancore. The name 'Velu Thampi Dalava' has a significance to the people of Kerala which Cambronne, the last of the Old Guard at

Waterloo has created for his in the hearts of Frenchmen. Mr. Panikkar has unquestionably chosen the fittest hero to express feelings of patriotism that are mighty like French Revolutions, which only a Velu Thampi Dalava could feel and act up to. I offer Mr. Panikkar my most hearty congratulations on this piece.

P. NARAYANA KURUP.

KANNADA

Publications of the Adhyatma Karyalaya, Dharwar

The Adhyatma Karyalaya of Dharwar seeks to present the great principles incorporated in the ancient religious books of the Hindus to the Kanarese reading public in easy Kanarese. Its publications are finding a ready sale in the educated circles of Karnataka. The Karyalaya intends in future to expound the Hatha-Yoga, Raja-Yoga, Karma-Yoga, Bhakti-Yoga and Dnyana-Yoga, as also the spiritual Sadhana, Sidhi, Upadesha and the lives of Shri Krishna, Shri Ramakrishna, Buddha and others. The following are its publications till now :—

Upanishat-prakash—Parts 1 and 2. The first edition has already been sold and a second one issued. The two parts contain a simple translation of the Eesha, Kena, Katha, Mandukya, Prashna, Mundaka, Itareya and Taittiriya Upanishads as also their summary and clear explanation. The author is Mr. R. R. Diwakar, M.A., LL.B. Both parts together run to about 350 pages and are priced Rs. 1-8-0 only. The preface to the second part contains a clear exposition of the object and utility of the Vedanta Shastra.

Geeteya Gulta—by the same author as above. Pages 300. Price Re. 1 only. This is a popular attempt to carry the message of the Bhagavad-Geeta to every Kanarese home in a very simple and easy style. It also contains a lengthy preface in which various questions relating to the Geeta are dealt with in an exhaustive manner.

Upanishad-Rahasya.—This is a free Kanarese rendering of "A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy" by the celebrated scholar Mr. R. D. Ranade, now Professor of Philosophy at the Allahabad University. The translators, Messrs. R. R. Diwakar, D. R. Bendre and S. B. Joshi, have spared no pains to make the great principles adumbrated in the book easily intelligible to the ordinary Kanarese reader. It contains the exposition of 13 Upanishads that are considered to be the oldest, together with notes on Cosmology,

Psychology. Ethics, the Darsanas, the Absolute and Self-realization. Pages 406 Demy Octavo. Price Rs. 3. The printing and get-up of the book are quite up to the mark.

V. S. MIRAJI.

TELUGU

Mutyalasaramulu: By the late GURUJADA APPA RAO GARU (Published by his son Mr. G. V. Ramadas, Vizianagaram.)

The author of this slender volume is famous in the Andhra Desa for his '*Kanyasulkam*'. Some of his original poems along with two short stories in prose are here given posthumous publication.

Apparao Garu is, in the words of the Editor of this Journal, a 'Herald of the Dawn' of modern Andhra Renaissance. He is the precursor and founder of the new and rapidly growing school of lyrical poetry in contemporary Telugu literature. The title of this small book which may be rendered in English as 'Strings of Pearls' echoes the name by which the exquisite new metre created by him is immortalised. The verses contained in it are mostly composed in that same metre, and the very first poem, which is a defence of the school of freedom-loving poets hailing from the younger generation, goes under the title of '*Mutyalasaramulu*'. The poet herein sings in his vigorous and graceful metre :

'You scorn my verse?
Well, what loose I!
Your eye that appraises but wooden dolls
Is dull to the grace of damsels!'

At a time when the tyrannical classicists of Andhra were standing up against all innovations in the literary field, arming themselves with the mace of authority and traditional sanction, it was really heroic of Sri Apparao to have started his single-handed fight with this daring pronouncement upon the decadent taste of the orthodox party. The first poem which hacked the classicists with a graceful axe and defended the younger poets with a powerful shield was composed by the author about twenty years back, when any word of reform in any matter was a heresy, and any note of individual freedom, a new scandal in our province. It was then that Apparao, the seer, sung his fresh songs and wrote his fresh prose paving the path for a new literary life. He was a contemporary of the great Veeresalingam who wielded his wizard's pen in a no less heroic fashion for the cause of Social Reform. The war-conch of Veeresalingam in defence of young

widows roused the youth of Andhra; and we find the first great poet and dramatist of modern Telugu echo and re-echo the same note of the cause of widow re-marriage and of equality for the depressed classes, in his immortal drama '*Kanyasulkam*' and in his stirring poem '*Lavanaraju Kala*' or 'the dream of Lavanaraja'.

The latter poem is included in the book under review. This beautiful tale in verse narrates how King Lavana dreamed, and in his dream strayed among a segregated camp of the Panchamas (the untouchable class) who were living out of the pale of civilised society, but within the wise bounds of their own social laws and organised interests, working for the amelioration of their own fallen class; and in that dream-picture Lavanaraju, the idealist that he was, falls in love with a graceful Panchama virgin. He dreams of making her his queen, that daughter of the Panchamas, and of restoring their natural privilege of equality to her people who were put down by age-long tyranny. And slowly the noble dream passes off and the king wakes up to the realities of life.

Whatever the rest of the tale may be, this was the first instance when, in Telugu literature, a poet thought of picturing his generous and bold social ideals in his poetry in contrast to the stale treatment of erotic love of the heroes and heroines in the classics for the last two centuries. Thus was a new vista opened. The poets of our Telugu land could thenceforth sing of their ideals and aspirations, and be true poets of the Spirit, and not of mere form like the decadent Pra-bandha Poets. Apparao Garu, for the first time among Andhra poets, knew his noble message and gave it out to the world strongly and freely. He repeated in his themes what Shelley proclaimed that, 'Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world'; and even vindicated it in so far as he knew it his right and duty as a poet to regenerate and rejuvenate the dead ideals of our social and individual life.

As for pure literary excellence and elegance of sentiment, we may quote his *Kanyaka*, a ballad based upon the popular tradition about the 'Kanyaka-Paramesvari', the Vysya maiden who fell a prey to the burning pyre to baffle a tyrant who wanted to outrage her chastity and is still worshipped in South India as a Goddess. From the flaming altar of Death, the Virgin addresses her fellow-citizens in exhorting tones:

" If he be the King of the city,
Doth not God be the King of Kings!
Have not you the manliness
To save a virgin from the tyrant's hands?"

and then turning to the tyrant himself she sings her last song in triumph :

" Shame for your arrogance
O King of the city !
And for your evil desire.
Is there not a God above
To chastise even kings ?"

The important feature of Sri Apparao's poetry, in addition to the noble themes, is the innovation in the matter of style. He was also the first exponent of a new Telugu style, the style that appeals to and belongs to the masses, unlike the old one which was the exclusive property of literary aristocrats. In every line he has written, prose or poetry, he has shown a new genius and a new possibility. We may without controversy say that Apparao Garu is the idol, the path-finder worshipped and followed by all the younger writers of Andhra in spite of strong criticism of a reactionary type. The two short stories in prose that follow these verses are very charming with their simple and entertaining themes dressed in homely, artistic language.

We fail to see why the publisher had to write his preface in English to this book of Telugu verse ! Nevertheloss, Mr. G. V. Ramadas merits the compliments of all Telugu people with literary taste for bringing out this posthumous collection which has been long overdue, as well as for his promise to publish another volume compiled from the stray contributions and fragmentary writings of the author. It is a pleasure to the reviewer of this book to contemplate, through this accident, on the noble and idealistic life of the late Poet. We hope it will not be taken lightly by our literary public if we suggest that Poet Apparao gloriously merits a fitting memorial in admiration for his peerless pioneer work, say, in the form of organising an Academy in his name through which all the best productions of modern Telugu writers may be given publication in an adequate manner.

M. VISVESVARA RAO.

Current Topics

A SOUTH INDIAN PAINTER-ETCHER

Readers of this Journal might remember the fascinating study of the art of 'Mukul Dey : Painter-Etcher' by Mr. O. C. Gangoly in the May number of last year. It is now our privilege to introduce another Painter-Etcher, this time from the South of India. Young Rama Mohan Sastri, who received his early training at the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala, has won India-wide recognition as a talented painter in water colours. Art-critics like Dr. Stella Kramrisch and Dr. James H. Cousins, and connoisseurs like H. H. The Maharani of Cooch Behar and Mr. S. V. Ramaswami Mudaliar admired his productions, sent up to various art exhibitions all over India. Three of his works have also been exhibited in America and the continent of Europe and purchased by art-lovers. Of these, 'Comrades' represents young Sakuntala hanging on to her pet deer, loath to part from it. 'An Indian Tree' is a rendering of a huge, massive tree which stands against a sunset-sky, and looks like the Mathura temple in silhouette. 'Red Wine' illustrates a passage from Omar Khayyam where the poet sings :

"An Angel Shape bids me taste of it
.....Oh, it's the wine of love"

Of late, Mr. Sastri has developed a special talent for sketch portraiture. Sir C. V. Raman, Sjt. Nandalal Bose and Dr. Radhakrishnan, besides some distinguished Europeans, have sat to him. He has also devoted time and attention to a study of etching in its different aspects, his etchings being, in the words of Dr. Kramrisch, "forceful and original". He is, in addition, a most capable designer in the strict sense of the term. His beautiful design for the seal of the Andhra University is evidence of his talent in this direction.

This Painter-Etcher has kindly agreed to have some of his paintings and etchings reproduced in the pages of 'Triveni' and our readers may look forward to them in subsequent numbers of the Journal. We heartily commend the work of this South Indian artist, and trust that his example may serve as an inspiration to other young artists in this part of the country.

THE LATE KALAPRAPURNA

When 'Triveni' honoured itself by publishing a sketch of Sri Vedam Venkataraya Sastry Garu, we little dreamt that the end of the great Kalaprapurna was so near and that the very next number of the Journal would contain an obituary note about him. After long years of heroic struggle against adversity, the greatest of Telugu savants has passed away. His was a life literally dedicated to the cause of learning and his memory will ever be fresh in the hearts of his grateful countrymen. A suggestion has been put forward by the *Krishna Patrika* that a chair of Telugu Literature should be founded in his name by the Andhra University. This would certainly be far nobler than any memorials in bronze or marble. May the University have the wisdom—and the money—to carry out this splendid suggestion!

LABOUR AND INDIA

The Government of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald have taken the first step towards an enduring settlement with the Egyptian Nationalists by recalling that arch-bungler, Lord Lloyd. Naturally, speculation is rife as to what will or will not be done with regard to solving the problem of self-rule for India. The Free Press representative in London believes that attempts are being made to approach Gandhiji and Pandit Motilal. Mr. Shanmukham Chetty is positive that the Labour Secretary of State wishes to find a way out of the present *impasse*. If both sides are anxious for an amicable settlement, it ought not to be difficult to

arrive at one. So far as the Congress is concerned, it has never stood against any proposals of a peace with honour. The olive branch was offered at Calcutta so long ago as December of last year. Far from accepting it, the Bureaucracy has started a campaign of repression against political workers, deprived by a viceregal *fiat* the right of the electorates to pronounce a verdict on the Simon Commission, and curtailed the powers of the Legislative Assembly and its President. There is not the faintest trace of a 'change of heart'. All talk of peace under such circumstances is futile and, what is worse, likely to induce lassitude in the nation. As it so often turns out, preparedness for war—even a non-violent war like ours—is the best guarantee of an honourable peace. All efforts have therefore to be concentrated on the struggle for freedom which, in all likelihood, will be launched at Lahore on the last day of this year or the first day of the next.

“EVEN THE TALLEST”

The arrest, trial and conviction for 'sedition' of the revered Editor of *The Modern Review* reminds us of the poignant utterance of the late G. K. Gokhale that "even the tallest amongst us have to bend to the exigencies of the political situation". Fancy the premier journalist of India, ripe in age and in wisdom, being hauled up before a magistrate and sentenced like a common felon, just because he published in book-form a series of articles from a world-renowned publicist. The domination of one nation over another is an unqualified evil. It curseth the nation that rules as much as the nation that is ruled. Friends of humanity like Dr. Sunderland are concerned to point out that in the interests of world-peace and the cause of human progress, India ought to be freed from bondage. This is acclaimed as sedition. But for nearly three decades now, all sensible writers on the Indian problem, including eminent Englishmen, have pleaded for a change from other-rule to self-rule. The law of sedition is, however, so vague and so

liable to misconstruction that no honest Indian publicist is safe, no, not even avowed dissenters from the Non-co-operation creed like Ramananda Babu. Disaffection—not mere ‘absence of affection’—towards the ‘Government established by law’ is fostered even more by the panicky prosecutions launched by Local Administrations than the writings of well-meaning friends of progress like Dr. Sunderland. But cases like those of Ramananda Babu and Annapurniah are symptomatic of a grave disease in the body-politic. No ‘criminal intent’ can be attributed to these patriots—representatives of the older and younger generations in Indian public life, and yet the law says they are criminals.

K. R.

GANDHIJI AND THE PRESIDENTSHIP

Gandhiji told in clear and unmistakable terms that he would not adorn the presidential *gadi* and suggested that Jawaharlal might be installed in his stead. Young as he is, the honour is long overdue to Jawaharlal. There need be no niggardly bargaining for withholding the presidentship from him for one year or two years at the most. The charge of youthfulness cannot altogether vanish in a year or two. In spite of Gandhiji's definite utterances about the matter, the country wanted him and not his suggestions. And Gandhiji means what he says and does not swerve an inch from the path he chooses for himself. He repeated his refusal and also his suggestion. The matter now naturally passes into the hands of the A. I. C. C. But there seems to be a feeling in the country, founded upon a misconception of constitutional propriety, that the A. I. C. C. should support Sjt. Vallabhai Patel who, next to Gandhiji, was recommended by the largest number of Provincial Committees. But a simple logical truth should not be lost sight of in this connection. Had the committees that recommended the name of Gandhiji definitely known that he would refuse in spite of the united demand of the nation, who knows if they would not have recommended Jawaharlal himself or some one

other than either Jawaharlal or Vallabhai Patel? In passing on to the next best man, as determined by the recommendations of the P.C.C'S, we will not have consulted the wishes of a majority of the P.C.C's which nominated the Mahatma. So the question is brought back to the original stage. Our suggestion to the A.I.C.C. therefore is that they should enter into the question from the beginning and take no note of the superficial verdict of the P.C.C's in favour of Vallabhai. We do not suggest that Vallabhai should not be elected, but we only attempt to analyse the situation.

The eyes of the Government are turned against Jawaharlal who is the future hope of the country. Moreover the country is likely to adopt the creed of complete Independence on the 31st of December. In these circumstances the election of Jawaharlal to the presidential chair means that the country is deliberately moving towards a policy of complete Independence. To the Government it will prove that Jawaharlal has the whole country behind him. In electing him to the presidentship, we will have invested the undisputed leader of the youth with a peculiar prestige and dignity. We will have sounded a note of warning to Parliament that they cannot afford to postpone, much less refuse, the Indian demand for self-rule. Gandhiji will always be with us, and whosoever might happen to wear the Congress crown, Gandhiji will continue to wield the Field-Marshal's baton.

B. R. R.

Swaraj and Military Power

By GEORGE JOSEPH

In nearly all the current discussion about the attainment of Swaraj, there is a considerable gap. Whether Swaraj is conceived as Independence or on the basis of Dominion Status is a matter of little consequence. But neither Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar nor Pandit Motilal Nehru seems to have perceived or made allowance for the fundamental condition of all Government, *viz.*, the right relation between the Civil Government and the Armed Forces of the State through whom Government protects itself and its people against external invasion and internal rebellion. But it goes to the root of the whole matter, and unless it is examined carefully and definite conclusions arrived at, there is danger for the future.

I

For, consider the matter in its most simple elements. Assume for a minute that the Secretary of State for India introduces a Bill into Parliament by which a Representative Assembly is created in Delhi and a Government responsible to that Representative Assembly is put in charge of all the affairs of India. There will be a Cabinet with a number of Ministers, to whom the Civil departments of Government will be subordinate. The responsibility and the power will be real because the men who go into the Legislatures and who form the governments of the future belong to the same class from which come the officials and administrators of the Civil department. In one capital respect, however, their position will be difficult. The Army is not represented in the Legislature. The politicians are not acquainted with the temper of the Army or its mind. The Army in its turn is extremely suspicious of politicians, and we

had the other day in the Memoirs of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson a frank, and in places a cruel, exposure of the little regard in which politicians have been held by the fighting forces.

They are throughout referred to by the contemptible nickname of 'Frocks'. Especially is this so under Indian conditions and the consequence will be that the Army which is trained in the unlimited use of force for achieving its purposes, will not be inclined to accept the orders of the politicians. The intelligentsia, from which the politicians are drawn, does not furnish the leaders of the Armed forces of the Crown and there is complete lack of touch between them. If, therefore, under these circumstances, the Civil Government lays down policies and measures which the superior officers of the Army do not understand or approve of, the consequences will be disastrous. If their superior directing intelligences are wise and if they represent the public opinion more truly than the Legislature and the Government, the situation will resolve itself by the institution of a Military Dictatorship. If on the other hand, the Civil Government is overthrown by selfish soldiers and the country backs the Government, you will be faced with anarchy. In any event there is no assurance that the Army will automatically and inevitably be loyal to the Civil Government. The ordinary assumption that the Army will always obey the Civil Government is historically false and is based upon a misappreciation of the English constitution. History is full of instances where Civil Governments, monarchical or representative, were overthrown by revolution. Revolutions have succeeded only when the Army failed in its loyalty to Government. Modern military forces are so efficient and machine-guns and cannon so destructive, that there is very little chance of a Government being overthrown in the old fashioned ways of mob-risings. To take the most recent instances, the Czar and Amanullah Khan were overthrown because the Army failed in loyalty to both. Since the seventies of the last century, there had been a number of formidable risings against the Czardom, but they failed because

the Army continued to be faithful to the House of Romanoff. In 1916, however, the dynasty fell because the Army became disaffected. The case of Amanullah Khan is more recent and points to the same moral.

II

The case of the supremacy of the Civil Government over the Army in England is peculiar and easily susceptible of misunderstanding. The doctrine that the Civil Government is supreme over the Army is no doubt well established. But close analysis yields a surprising result. The representative of Civil Government and its most characteristic instrument is Parliament. Once you proceed, however, to analyse the civil elements constituting Parliament, a different picture presents itself. The lawyers are there right from the beginning of historical times; the land-owning classes have also been there. Besides these two (before the coming in of Labour), the most important group was composed of Army men. Even in the matter of this classification it has to be noted that the land-owning classes themselves have had vital and continuous relations with the Army. The military group, then, was partly professional soldiers who had retired, and partly men who had been trained in the Militia and Volunteer and Territorial organisations. These latter were scions of the old families and the natural leaders of the people in war and in peace. The consequence then was this: even though Parliament was essentially an instrument of the Civil Government, it was equally representative of the fighting elements in the community. The men who created the law and carried on Government were themselves leaders of the Army. The rank and file of the Army might not have been represented in Parliament but military discipline did not permit of any conflict between the Army and its officers. Consequently, if Parliament arrived at a decision, it was the decision of the whole community and the doctrine of the supremacy of the Civil Government over the Army did not create any fundamental

difficulty. But as it happens, there occurred in recent history an incident which strained the doctrine pretty drastically in England. In 1914, when political passions waxed high on the proposals of the Liberal Government to grant Home-Rule to Ireland, the supremacy of the Civil authorities was put to the test. Though the Army was supposed to have no concern with politics, the majority of officers belong to the great Conservative families or are themselves of a Conservative complexion in politics. There was the additional complication introduced by the fact that Ireland was dominantly Catholic and these Army Officers were mainly Protestants. As a result of these factors, there came into being a definite and serious cleavage of opinion between the Lawyer-Liberal elements in Parliament and the superior officers of the Army. General Gough who was at Curragh, as it now turns out, with the support of Sir Henry Wilson, in plain terms mutinied and declared that rather than permit himself to be used as an instrument for putting down the Ulster rebels headed by Lord Carson, he would resign his place in the Army. The seriousness of the situation arose from the fact that General Gough was representative of a considerable section of Army opinion and he was joined by a number of other officers in Curragh. The developments were grave enough to lead to the resignation of Col. Seely who was Minister of War and to the assumption of the Seals of the War Office by Mr. Asquith, the Premier. Fortunately or unfortunately, the ultimate danger to the British constitution from this conflict between the Civil authorities and the Army-forces did not develop itself to the ultimate consequence, because of the intervention of the Great War. If war had not intervened, it is quite on the cards that there might have been civil war in Ireland, a civil war in which sections of the British Army might have joined the rebels. Though the course of history was different, there was grave warning in the incident to statesmen and soldiers alike.

III

I mention this episode for the purpose of suggesting that the assumption ordinarily made that the Army is always bound to obey any Government with representative institutions is a little too easy and facile. Applied to Indian conditions, it is not merely facile, but also monstrous. If the Nehru constitution is accepted by Mr. Wedgewood Benn and is implemented in the terms of a Parliamentary Statute, it is highly likely that the forms of responsible Government would be observed and a Government might come into being. But the members of that Government will be lawyers, politicians of a purely peaceable type and without any kind of military experience. If orders are issued by such a Government to the Indian Army, they will have to be carried out by the officers, who are Englishmen, who are fighters, and who have an ill-disguised contempt for all politicians and the 'Babu-tribe'. It will be quite the easiest thing for our statesmen to misunderstand the military temper and lay down policies and measures, which may, for aught they know, be regarded as objectionable by the Army. If under these circumstances there is conflict between the Government and the Army, the whole scheme of Swaraj will break down and it will be quite the easiest thing for a rash Commander-in-Chief to walk into the Assembly Chamber with a platoon of soldiers and disperse the legislators, as Cromwell dispersed the Rump, and assume the business of Government. And in such a case, it will be little use looking to the Parliament of Great Britain to enforce the authority of the King as against these mutinous officers. Parliament might either refuse to interfere or agree to interfere. Refusal will be followed by anarchy or a Military Dictatorship. Agreement will be tantamount to the establishment of the English Government once more in this country.

This result, disastrous as it is, will be inevitable under existing conditions. There are no soldiers in the Legislature. At any rate the few there were like Col. Umar Hayat Khan

were regarded by their fellow members as impossibles and reactionaries. I cannot see any peaceful future for responsible Government unless the Civil organs of the State aspiring to supremacy manage to get among themselves representative elements from the Army. If in an assembly of 100 legislators, you have about 50 soldiers, the Civil Government will be able to function without serious peril of breaking down. These 50 will be there, not in their own capacity, but as indicative of the mood and spirit of the fighting elements of the population, who in the ultimate analysis will face the business of protecting Governments and peoples against slavery and tyranny.

Let it not be supposed that I suggest that the Army's representation in the Legislature should be by election. That is manifestly absurd. The Army should always be free from all political entanglements and it is important that the Army, which is the servant of the Government, should not be put in a position where it can compete for the ultimate loyalty with its own master. My proposal is different and more radical. What I want is that the intelligentsia which gives birth to politicians should have the opportunity of getting into close and intimate touch with the mood and realities of the fighters. The difficulty now is that the politicians, who come from the educated classes, legislate and carry on the Government, but since they are thoroughly ignorant of conditions of life in the Army, the Army has got a self-centred existence and it goes its way in utter contempt of the legislators. But if we can devise any means by which the educated classes can be made acquainted with the conditions of modern fighting and be put through the disciplines of military life, the gulf that now separates them from the Army will be bridged. As a result of such militarisation, the middle-classes will have the military atmosphere and they cannot go far wrong as to the relations that should exist between themselves as politicians and fighters. If under these conditions, the final danger of revolt by a professional Army against the considered decision of the State comes about, the task of

putting down such military mutiny will not be beyond the capacity of the intellegentsia—because the educated classes themselves will know how to fight and maintain their rights.

There is a second aspect of militarisation which should not be ignored. I do not know whether Swaraj is going to come straightaway or not, in the form of a Parliamentary Statute. My suspicion is that it is not going to come in as great a hurry as some people imagine and would have us believe. The Fabian temperament is in all things Anglo-Saxon, and in Anglo-Saxon politics more than in anything else. Even under the Nehru scheme, the authority for the Army is not to pass into the hands of the Indian Government at once. It is, therefore, worthy of note that the militarisation of the educated classes will be a guarantee not merely of a well-ordered constitutional Government in days to come, but also an assurance that the achievement of the ultimate goal of Swaraj would not be postponed through design or incompetence. The educated classes who aspire to govern will themselves in the interval be shaping the instrument, which will secure for them full responsible Government.

IV

My scheme will be something like this: In what I should call militarisation of the educated classes, I would for the time being leave the professional Army alone. It has got its traditions with which it may not be wise to interfere, but I would go in for the creation and vigorous expansion of a National Militia, as a second line of defence and for the training of youngmen in the art of National defence. There is the Territorial Army, the University Training Corps, and now the Urban Unit. The present figures are not satisfactory and my proposal will consist in creating facilities for the training of 5,000 men every year in each province. In the nine provinces then, we shall have about 45,000 men trained in the course of a year, not necessarily to be professional fighters, but to be trained to know the most

essential elements of National defence. Barring the essential minimum of trained instructors from the British Army, I would have the whole of these 45,000 composed of Indians belonging to the educated classes, officers and men alike. I would convert, if I can, the University Training Corps into Officers Training Corps, as in European Universities, a certain number of them going to the Territorial and Urban Units as officers, and a certain number trained to start as subalterns in the professional Army. If the scheme is faithfully carried out, we shall in the course of 10 years, have nearly half a million men more or less trained in the best features of Army discipline. At the end of 20 years, the number will be a million. But what is more important still, there will begin to trickle into the Legislatures at Delhi and in the provinces, men who will know what the Army means, something of its mood and with rich suggestion of its place in the Commonwealth. Not only the Legislatures, but the Government will also be composed of some of these men. The unity that will be postulated between the politician and the Army and the harmony necessary for the ordered system of Government will thus be achieved. The divorce between the Civil Government and the fighting men will be at an end. If at that time Parliament should entrust Indian politicians with the task of Government, we shall be able to go forward without misgiving and fairly certain that the machinery itself will not break down. The reaction on the Army by the slow percolation into it, as officers, of the representatives of the newly-militarised intelligentsia will be immense. The older officers will, by a series of adjustments to the new conditions, find it not a particularly hard thing to obey the orders of a Government composed at least partly of those who have fought by their side and learnt how to live and die.

Sculpture at its Best

BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN

III. KANKALA-MURTI¹

A medley of tales, perhaps put together haphazard, gives us the story of Kankala-murti. We have tales of Bhairava which are hard to disentangle from those of Siva, but the two sets of tales get mingled up in stories of which some are said to relate to Bhikshatana-murti and others to Kankala-murti.

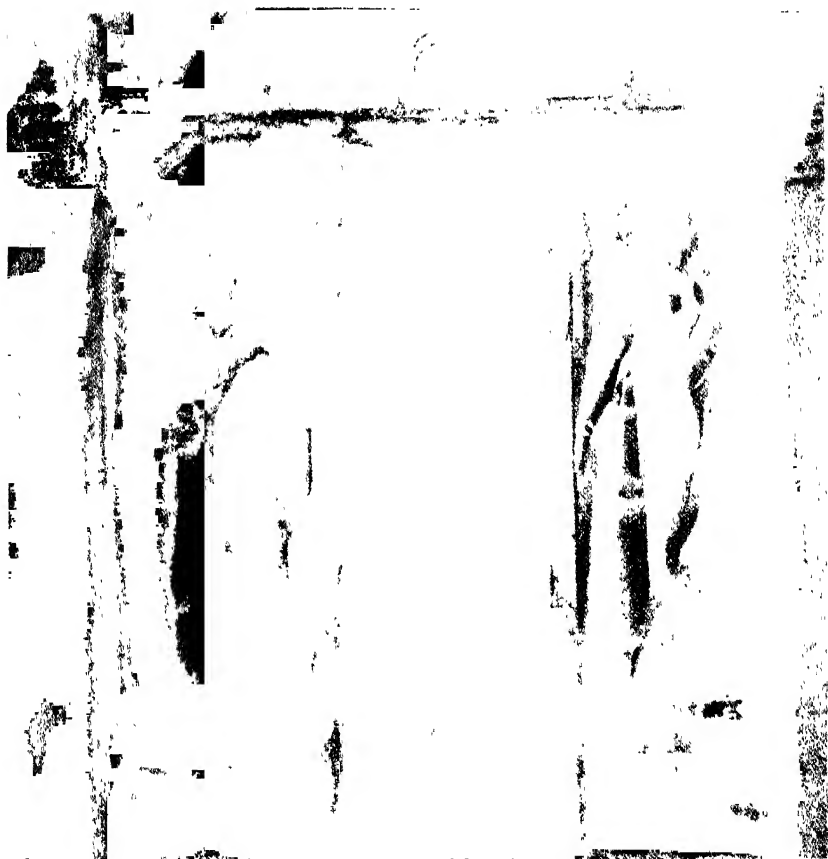
Bhairava, having nipped off the fifth head of Brahma, is asked to expiate the sin by going about begging for his food. In the joy of prospective liberation he goes round merrily: women fall in love with him and follow him in his wanderings. But neither begging nor the company of women admiring him having helped him to liberation, Bhairava marches up to Vishnu for advice, but, being stayed by Vishvaksena, the faithful guardian of the gate, grows furious and slays him on the spot. Outrage has thus been piled on outrage, and the need of expiation has grown all the greater. Bhairava is advised to go to Varanasi as at the sight of that holy city he would stand expiated. Joy comes to him once more and he starts again on a hopeful voyage, singing sweet songs. He bears on his shoulder a pole from the rear end of which hangs a bundle in which are stowed away the limbs of Vishvaksena, and he goes sounding a tiny drum, while an even larger throng of admiring women follows close on his heels. He has no more cares: he feels assured of liberation from his sins: his steps are light though his shoulder is oppressed, and his songs are merrier and sweeter. He reaches Varanasi and his sins flee.

Kankala-murti is an idolized Pilgrim whose Progress has

¹ See the frontispiece.

an interest far different from that which Bunyan's hero has been able to evoke. To understand him we should know his brother in spirit, Bhikshatana-murti. We shall say more of both when we publish, as we intend to shortly, a picture of Bhikshatana-murti.

The image we have illustrated belongs to the temple at the top of the rock in the centre of Trichinopoly.



Dvāra-pālakas (Gate-Keepers)



IV. ART OF THE DAYS OF MAHENDRAVARMAN

Up the rock in the centre of Trichinopoly are two caves, both of which seem to have been excavated in the days of Mahendravarman I, a Pallava King of the early years of the seventh century A.D., who plumed himself on his fastidious tastes and many-sided accomplishments. The upper of the two caves is a low hall of unpretentious dimensions, but it contains some sculpture which is notable for its excellence. At one end of the hall is a deep niche,—really a shrine,—in which once stood an idol of Siva and a statue of the King. On either side of the entrance to this little shrine stands a door-keeper whose lineaments are now much damaged by weather and hard usage. Though too little remains of the sculptures to help us to judge of the finished figures, enough still remains to give us a clear idea of the pose. The *dvarapalakas* stand on duty, but at ease,—not stiff and wooden,—in the calm confidence that no contingency would arise for them to use their heavy clubs. The assurance of perfect watchfulness and sleepless alacrity cannot be expressed in fewer strokes.

At the other end of the hall is sculptured a panel depicting the story of how Siva became Gangadhara ('The Wearer of the Ganges'). At the foot is a platform, the front of which is fashioned on the model of the railings which we see among the sculptures of Amaravati. On this platform is staged a tableau the principal figure of which is Siva who, planting his left foot firm, has leant forward to receive on his head the furious onrush of the Ganga as she is proudly descending to the earth in response to the prayers of Bhagiratha, and having received her on his head made her wind her way through the maze of his matted locks till she wearied of her journey, lost the pride and the fury of her pace and sighed for the freedom

of the fresh air. Having thus broken her spirit and saved the earth from the impact of her onrush, Siva allows her to issue from his matted locks in a stream, thin of volume and sluggish in flow, and so she goes her way to the earth, where she purifies the bones of the tribe of Sagara and carries plenty and purity to all the land she waters. On one side kneels Bhagiratha whose austerities were severe enough to bring Ganga down to earth but not powerful enough to stay the mad rush of the torrent. The other figures in the tableau are *rishis* and other companions of Bhagiratha, and all of them offer prayer and adulation to the merciful Siva.

This group deviates in some respects from the directions contained in the works on sculpture, but the result does certainly justify the deviation. As in all Indian Art, it is the central figure that evokes admiration: if examined part by part, the figure is by no means striking; but so skilful is the composition that the figure emerges almost as a masterpiece. For strength and firmness one may wander far and not easily find its like. It is true that this panel cannot stand comparison with the magnificent group at Elephanta dealing with the same theme, though on a different conception of it: none the less, this piece of sculpture reduces the events to the merest essentials and keeps Siva in the forefront. For serenity of pose and expression it is hard to find a parallel, either earlier or later.¹

¹ The three illustrations to this article are from photographs specially taken under my direction for the Government Museum, Madras. I am indebted to Dr. F. H. Gravely, Superintendent of the Museum, for permission to reproduce them.

The Stranger

BY GAJANAN KATHARDEKAR

He loves me, my brave and noble husband! He has told me this so often. When he smokes his earthen pipe between his working hours, he thinks of me. My poor innocent! Little does he know the caprice of a woman's heart.

But we are honest folk—my husband and I. My parents were care-takers of a house among the hills. The gallant fort of Sinhgarh has today a few miserable houses at the top and my father kept watch over one of these. He had a few cattle too; and when we were married, my husband and I looked after the cattle. The poor animals always took care of themselves and we took care of each other.

One foggy day, when one could hardly see the trees down the slope, my husband and I slipped away towards the little pool, where the gold-fish have their sport, and we sat beside it, singing together "the song of the mountain breeze", so favourite of my husband. As I sang into the mysterious void around me I thought of a hundred things, of my father and the cattle—of the one that ate nothing and looked so sad; and of the little calf that came to this world on that very day, of his tender white skin, and his bright, bright eyes—oh, he was such a baby!

"You sing so well,—and my word! you are so pretty, my girl!" came the faltering words of my husband as he took my hands in his.

For shame, I looked down. I was pretty, he said, and lo! there was my reflection in the clear waters below.—Perhaps I *was* pretty!

* * *

That was long ago. It had rained heavily for months

and there were little brooks all over the hills. We had wandered far that day and I was feeling tired. When we came to the stream that sang merrily as it jumped from rock to rock, I thought I would not cross it. But before I knew what I had thought, my husband had picked me up and he was already in the mid-stream.

My heart beat as it never beat before: I must have blushed. He felt something too—a richer blood must have tingled in his veins, his sinews must have been enlivened to a new strength; I do not know. But he said as he took me across and laid me down: “I am a big boy now: I am a man. I am not for grazing cows any more. I will run down to yonder village and make money. I will cover you with gold, my darling; and when the rain sets in again, you will sing a song to your new babe. . . .” And as I looked up into his big black eyes, I loved him with all my heart.

That night he brought great tidings. He had secured a job in a village that lay ten miles away. He was to take care of a garden and he liked such work. It was not up to his ambitions but it was enough to begin with. He had to go early in the morning, before the sun ascended the sky, to return only after dark. For some days I missed him terribly. How could I walk over the hill, every part of which haunted me with sacred memories? I wept and wept. The trees and the brooks taunted me with their mirth and my heart was full of pain. But as the evening came, my thoughts were full of him who toiled away in a garden, all for my own sake. We had enough for our modest needs—why did he labour so hard, all alone? But he said he would bring me ornaments to enrich my God-given grace. I was a growing girl, in the prime of my youth and the thought grew on me: that I was beautiful.

I dressed with eager care when evening approached. My beauty and my youth were his. I merely carried them for him, just as when he brought me roses from his garden, I wore them for him.

"I get so jealous when everybody smells the roses of my garden," he said.

"But you can't prevent the fragrance from reaching them!" I told him. "After all, is not the beauty of the rose for all eyes that rest on it? Can any one imprison the fragrance of the flower that grows so lustily upon the mountain air?"

* * * *

An year has gone by. Things have now changed for us. We have sold our cattle. Poor father died last month. My mother and I look after the house. I am now a mother and my time is spent in nursing the child who is growing into such a healthy kid. The rogue! He gives me no rest at all.

Besides this, I have no work. That gives me time—to think of myself. In fact I realise that I am thinking—too much of myself. I am growing vain—otherwise, why did I fall into such disgrace, only the other day?

It was this way. I was singing to my baby "the song of the mountain breeze." It was raining heavily and the birds lay snugly in their cosy nests, afraid to stir out. I was wondering what they would eat and how they would feed their little ones. Just then some one called for me from the side verandah. He must have been calling for long. I could not hear because I was singing to the beating sound of rain.

"I want shelter;—yes—and now, please, I will have some water," he said. I brought him water; many visitors come this way—I do not think much of them. They are usually good people and they leave us some money before they go.

As I gave him water, I noticed that he was looking intently at my hands. Infinite care has made them tender, I know. He then looked up at me with such wonderful, frank eyes and asked me: "Won't you sing the song you were singing? Please do!" My heart fluttered. He was a young man of high birth. His brown eyes looked sad and his face seemed to be full of a rare charm. I gave in, in a moment. I sang to him my sweetest songs. He said he loved music and wrote

it for people to sing. He taught me a few songs of his own. His voice was so soft and sweet. I loved him for all my worth. He was so kind and noble. . . .

He left a silver coin in my hand and went his way. He may never come again but he has left his magic spell behind. Idly I toyed with the coin; it was no use—I could not help my tears I told my mother what had happened. She said, to love a stranger is a sin and God would punish me for it.

I do not know where God resides : but if he resides in a world where the birds sing their twittering tunes, where the rose blossoms for all, where the clouds hang so mysteriously, onwrapping the beauteous mountain peaks and where the river heedlessly rushes into the blue depths of the sea, He will understand me and know that this child of nature is no sinner, but a lily that lightly holds its head to the passing breeze of the mountains.

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A Poem

BY J. KRISHNAMURTI

In the choicest of valleys
There is moaning and lamentation,
In the great thoroughfares of men
There is the laughter of changing sadness,
In the melodious song
There is the emptiness of fulfilled desire,
Upon the lofty mountain
There awaits the stillness of death.

Wave upon wave
Comes the action of men
To break lonely upon the shores of vain glory.
The whirlwind of young love
Grows sad within the fold of a single day.
Thought conquers the great regions of time,
Only to return to the bondage
Of a deceiving mind.

Ah, desire is as young as the first ray of dawn
And sad as the procession of death to the grave :

Struggle, the pursuit of fleeting pleasure,
Toil, the dull pain of easy ambition,
Gain, the gathering of the peculiar treasures of the rich,
Domination, the cry of perverted judgment that holds the heart
of the oppressor,
Greed, the cruelty of privation that corrupts the growth
of life,
Fear, the eager search after shelters of comfort,
Worship, the deep forgetfulness from the confusion of many
desires.

To the music of the distant flute
Flows the wide, ancient river,
Fresh with young waters.

Many chants are sung in praise of happiness,
Many gods are invoked as guides to happiness,
Many heavens are glorified as enticements to happiness,
Many altars are built to happiness,
Many rites are performed as offerings to happiness,
Many benedictions are asked as protection for happiness,
Many truths are extolled in anguish for happiness,
Many virtues are sought in fear for happiness,
Many possessions are gathered in hope of happiness,
Many desires are gratified in expectation of happiness,
Many sacrifices are made in quest of happiness.
Many austerities are imposed in longing for happiness.

Deep in the mire the seed of the lotus is in travail,
The soft fragrance lies hid in the heart of the flower.

To the Ideal

BY HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

I know you will not come to me again
But I am grateful for the holy pain
That you have left to me: this gift of flame
To me who now to you am but a name.

I thank you for this fiery gift of tears—
My lonely garden of the coming years
Will blossom into one last tree of light
Watered by tears shed at the dead of night.

Lo! I am of the dead! I am a tomb
Heavy with the deepest solitude and gloom,
But should you pass me by one sudden hour
The tomb will break for you into a flower.

Illusion

BY A. F. KHABARDAR

I

When man comes down from his heavenly home
On earth through the cloudy screen,
He still half dreams of his starry flowers
And his moon-faced fairy queen :
A dear little light and a queer little dark,
And a smile and a cry between.

II

And his screen gets thicker and thicker here ;
Less bright do his dreams now come ;
His stars are his grapes and his acid-drops,
His moon is his little drum :
A sweet little prattle, a sweet little lisp ;
And a tumble completes his sum.

III

And the screen gets thicker and thicker still,
And he starts with his waxing weight ;
His stars are his playing marbles now,
His moon is his rimless slate ;
And he rubs his eyes, and looks to the skies,
All the world to penetrate.

IV

No more does he dream of his garden now :
New glories appear on the field ;
His stars are his gleaming arrow-heads,
His moon is his trusty shield.
O the glorious flood of his full warm blood,
That even to gods would not yield !

And a new-heaven dream fills his pulsing heart,
And he leads a new fairy home :

His stars are her bright enchanting eyes,
His moon is his rich honeycomb;
And launching his boat on the wide sea afloat,
He sails out thro' splash and foam.

VI

Ah, the screen is thickest before him now—
He has learnt to lie and hate;
His stars are his sparkling gold-dust stored,
His moon is his silver plate; —
A good deal of pride, and a step go-wide,
And a pose like a deity great.

VII

But lo! he has verged to his sunset-land,
And at last there breaks the spell:
His stars are now his rosary-beads,
His moon is his temple bell;
And he sees again with a twin-edged pain
His dreams of heaven and hell!

“In Tune with the Infinite”

BY V. V. CHINTAMANI

In incarnations of a dream
Bird-like I flew with wings endowed
And heard a cage-bird's pliant scream
To whom the gift of flight I vowed,
 So we may roam eternally
 And be in tune with nature free.

“My wings have dropped thus confined,
My cries of importunity
Have made my music unrefined.
To sing with you in harmony
 Or roam with you above the cloud
 Alas, were I by fate allowed.”

We'll combat fate with delicate love
Till soon thy wings with freedom rise;
Attuning songs to storms above
We'll dance with thunders of the skies
 And drink the sunset's golden wine
 Or milk of streams where moon-beams shine.

I'll weave thee star-white jasmine crowns
And paint with rain-bow streaks thy wings,
This earthly cage we shall renounce,
And bathe in sparkling Helican springs,
 And free with nature re-unite
 To be in tune with th' infinite.

Freedom's Battle : Gandhi, the Charioteer

BY B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

Ten years ago, the political atmosphere of our country was surcharged to a degree with feelings of indignation, resentment and expectancy. Behind the month of October 1919, there was the tragedy of the Amritsar massacre, the studied secrecy maintained about the holocaust of Jalianwalabagh, the humiliations to which the men, women and children of the Punjab were subjected by Messrs. Smith and Thompson, Colonel Johnson and General Dyer, the encaging of barristers-at-law in a public street, the whipping of a bridal party in a marriage procession, the crawling of passers-by in a gulli, the showering of bombs on innocent villagers, the proclamation of Martial Law and the resignation of Sir Sankaran Nair. In front of it lay the prospect of the Reform Bill, the emerging of the monster Dyarchy into human shape masquerading as Self-Government or a counterfeit thereof, the amnesty of political prisoners which was bound to follow a Royal proclamation, the warfare between Responsive Co-operation espoused by the Lokamanya and the rejection of the Reforms advocated by Chittaranjan Das. All this sounds as some chapter of ancient history, but one touch of bureaucracy links together the epochs of eternity by the one tie of common suffering. Today we have almost the same prospect and retrospect. Indian Nationalism, seemingly beaten and balked of its hopes and plans, is asserting itself once again with redoubled vigour, though, being in the midst of this renaissance we are not able to analyse its contents and visualise its features before our

mind's eye. By a strange turn of the whirligig of time Sir Sankaran Nair, who won his laurels ten years ago by resigning his membership of the Executive Council of the Government of India on the issue of the continuance of Martial Law in the Punjab, is recovering from the pitfall of the Central Committee into which he had let himself drop and holding at bay as usual his colleagues and his masters. The Punjab is again the storm-centre of politics and public life, in which the Congress is to be held in Lahore. At Amritsar Dr. Satyapal is again in jail to-day as he was in 1919, though his companion, Dr. Kitchlew, is free. They were then together. Now they are in opposite camps, not indeed hostile to national aspirations, but in campaigns ridden by internal factiousness. Gandhi swayed the destinies of the Congress and the country in 1919, though he was not in the lime-light and though he had emerged just then from an avalanche of abuse and execration for his Satyagraha movement.

A decade has not weakened his hold on the cult of truth and non-violence and today once again, though he is not in the lime-light, he is the one man to whom the people look for guidance and salvation. At Amritsar Pandit Motilal presided in 1919. At Lahore his son will preside in 1929. But more than all these, India gave proofs of hard determination to win Swaraj in 1919 by sacrificing hundreds of her sons in the Punjab on the 10th of April that year. They were however mowed down by the dastardly cruelty of General Dyer then. Now in 1929 the flower of India's sons are proving to the world that they can make willing sacrifices of themselves, yea, sacrifice themselves inch by inch and minute by minute, cell by cell and limb by limb as much as they can hold themselves as food for cannon or dynamite. India's expectancy at the present moment is not less keen or less buoyant than it was ten years ago and every day new reports bring new hopes and augur new disappointments.

Ten years ago, Gandhi wrenched the leadership, not as a

personal prize but through a new philosophy, from the hands of his elders. Of them there was Dr. Besant who was the har-binger of the Reforms of that era, the Messiah whose atonement had brought salvation to mankind. She was ignored, set aside and superseded. She had already herself supplanted earlier leaders like Surendranath Banerjea, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Bhupendranath Basu, Lala Lajpat Rai and others of that category. She had inaugurated a whirlwind programme, a tearing, raging campaign of agitation which left no breathing time to the British and brought them down to her feet. But Gandhi's agitation came actually to choke Britain. The self-complacent dictum of Lord Chelmsford that the Non-co-operation movement would die of its own inanition proved a false political prophecy and it was Gandhi's initiative in boycotting the Hunter Commission, organizing an Indian Enquiry Committee into the Punjab wrongs, and publishing the impartial verdict of the nation, that was responsible for the resolution at Amritsar asking for the recall of Lord Chelmsford. That was soon followed up by the declaration of the principle of Non-co-operation in April 1920 and this nucleus gathered a whole protoplasm by September that year and began to bud and multiply by December. Like Cæsar of old, Gandhi came, saw and conquered. Here was Bepin Babu palpably jealous of this pigmy, shorter, smaller and younger than himself. There was Malaviya 'perplexed and puzzled' over the ovations that greeted Gandhi everywhere which were never his. Elsewhere was Lajpat Rai saturated with Western experiences, American and English, who could not for the ghost of him understand what this Non-co-operation was and would be. Away was C.R. Das fighting the new movement with his wealth, voice and vote. All were foiled before this inscrutable small man, this philosopher-statesman, this mystic, this idealist, this man of business, this little *Bania Rishi*. How should such a man, who by his irresistible moral uplift, swept away before him his elders and his compeers and

installed himself on the *gadi* of power, allow himself in turn to be submerged by the rising tide of youthful invasions, enthusiasm and readiness to sacrifice? He sees all around him the youth of the nation hungering for freedom, thirsting for liberty, yearning to lay down their lives before the altar of the Mother, and he, at any rate, is not the man to stand between a patriot and his cherished object. Patriarchs of old have always ennobled themselves by singling out their successors and installing them on the throne of power. He who lingers to the end, long after his time is up, is neither wise, nor discerning, nor even patriotic: but he, who in his own day watches the pulse and knows the warmth of the blood surging beneath his fingers, can measure the strength of the throb within and knows how to adjust himself to the rising pressure and temperature. This, Gandhi has done in nominating Jawaharlal to the chair at Lahore. The charioteer bears even perhaps a greater responsibility in the conduct of a campaign than the warrior himself that wields the weapons. We know how *Nara Narayana* fought the battle of Kurukshetra on to a successful end. Which was the greater of the two? Arjuna was overcome with doubt; his courage failed him; his impetuosity at one moment yielded place to vacillation, at the next. Through all these vicissitudes, it was Krishna that put heart into him and guided him to victory; and Arjuna himself put a like spirit and a like courage in Uttarakumara in the great feat of *Gograhana*. Today, Gandhi standing by Jawaharlal in the great battle that is to come is not a puzzle to those that have the vision, but fulfils the prophecies of the epics.

Whether it be in professions or in politics, the duty of the elder generation is clearly to take in hand the rising members of the younger and guide them along paths of rectitude and leadership. It is only when this is done that unity is established, rather continuity is ensured between the streams of life that are conventionally termed the past, the present and the future. These are but the

halting stations in our march to eternity and fatuous is the man that thinks he must wipe out all these from the map of time. The uninitiated have doubtless cavilled at one another, the old at the young and the young at the old; but old and young, age and youth, past and present, leaders and following, all make up one united whole, one harmonious blend, which would be imperfect without either the one or the other in its composition. So palpable a proposition as this is little understood and less realised by the common run of politicians. But there are qualities and attributes in human nature which mark the prophet from the politician, even as they draw the line between the engineer and the architect, the photographer and the painter, the mechanic and the scientist, the preacher and the *paigambar*. All of us do not possess such qualities, but it is up to all of us to cultivate our minds so as to be able to recognise these qualities where they exist and realise the greatness and the glory which they betoken. Not all may be Gandhis, but let us not lose the opportunity of knowing in our own day and realising in our own experience what Gandhi stands for.

Some Verses of Sarvajna

I

Who made the peacock's feathers thousand-eyed ?
Who made the sky as wondrous as it is ?
Who made the leaves, the flowers, wondrous-dyed ?
Bow down, vain man ! for all these works are His !

II

Who made the rose and filled it with perfume ?
Who deposited water nectar-sweet
In the soft heart of palm ? Bow down ! Bow down !
He made all things and made the *Kokil* sing.

III

Look to your Lord who lives and moves ov'r all ;
Nev'r in His net of faint illusions fall ;
Women are fleeting shadows, wealth a dream,
Truth doth with constant light through ages beam.

IV

God bid the melon rest upon the ground ;
The banyan fruit grows on the giant tree ;
For every thing a fit place has He found
That man may rest in peace and happy be.

V

He who doth contemplate with steady mind
Upon his Lord is no worse at his home
Than in a temple ; but he who doth find
His way to temples with a wandering mind
Is better in his home than in a dome.

VI

Can there be fire from the peaceful moon ?
Can ever ocean dry and feed no cloud ?
A world-famed warrior turns a coward soon—
Than a devotee lose his faith in God.

VII

Be calm and wise nor let the body free
To kill itself; for ever dwell on good;
Bar with high barriers that disastrous flood
Of dark temptations,—live but to be free!

VIII

He has no shape; but He is as the sky
Majestic, invisible, infinite,
Lives hidden from the mortal eyes that try
To see His face, blind with His flood of light.

IX

Great God who lives in mouldering shapes of clay,
In images bare to the eye of day,
In pictures growing indistinct and wan:—
How can he *not* live in the heart of man?

Translated from KANNADA by

V. K. GOKAK.

“Little Bird, Little Bird”

BY THE REV. NARAYAN WAMAN TILAK¹

Little bird, little bird, will you return to me?
Little bird, little bird, will you not remember
The little pleasant autumn hour?
Little bird, little bird, will you not remember
My breath which has mingled with the wind?
No, no, my little one, you will fly away I know;
You will fly away with the first coming of the summer wind
And disappear from my poor forsaken world.
Stay awhile, therefore, little thing; for once
Let me look at you.
See this little scar you made on my wrist when you
First came to me, little bird . . . ?
The scar will remain : but you will be away.
Forget me, little bird, in the great wide world
And fly away.
But stay awhile, and accept this tearful farewell
Little bird . . .

Translated from MARATHI by

R. L. RAU.

¹ The Rev. Narayan Waman Tilak was a very popular poet of Maharashtra and a great writer of verse and devotional literature. Most of his poems are set to music and the above sad refrain is sung in every cultured home in Maharashtra.

The Madness of Manini¹

BY THE REV. NARAYAN WAMAN TILAK

Dear one, your touch has set me a-weeping,
And the tears stream down.
With these very tears did I nurture a little plant,
And the little plant grew and flowered.
Lovingly I held these flowers at my breast ;
And alas ! one day I crushed them :
Crushed them through my pride.
Sadly I plucked them—these withered faded ones, the ones
that I had crushed.
And gazed at the ruin.
Lo ! I beheld the fires I myself had lit
Into which I had consigned my offering.
The ashes I smeared on me in despair
And went a-crying out into the
World: 'I was mine own enemy'.

Translated from MARATHI by

R. L. RAU.

¹ Manini, in a fit, sends her lover away. She is proud and sensitive and does not want to call him back again to her. And then come regrets, longings and the inevitable madness.

Bitter and Sweet

BY VISWANATHA SATYANARAYANA, M.A.

Beloved, in thy nature I often do find, the waves of the wildest whirlwind ; but, for the ineffable coolness of the *Malaya* breeze that doth abide in thee, I gladly bear with them.

Beloved, in thy nature I often do find, the whirlpools that surge and stifle ; but, for the gentle spray of the tiny rivulet dancing in thy heart, I gladly bear with them.

Beloved, in thy nature I often do find, the scorching hot-winds of the angry Sun ; but, for the refreshing shade of the tender mango-blossoms deep down in thy heart, I gladly bear with them.

Beloved, in thy nature I often do find, oceans of brine that parch the tongue ; but, for thy nectar-seas of unimagined sweetness, I gladly bear with them.

Translated from TELUGU by

“BITTER-SWEET.”

Book Production

BY K. S. VENKATARAMANI

The West is now under a deluge of books. The annual output in Europe and America is amazing, running to several thousands of new books every year. Book production has now become a highly organised Industry. It has reached its present state of enormous quantity and poor quality, because of over-specialisation and the application of mass production methods. Division of labour is healthy when a broad, natural need dictates it. But specialisation to a very high degree merely for money or trade convenience is a fateful attraction, and this is just what has been going on in the book trade. There are too many middle-men, and like an inter-leaved book, the bulk is only discomfort without adding to the value. The result is overlapping and conflict, leading to the creation of several alien minor vested interests. The health of books is being slowly undermined. A kind of obesity lowers the vitality, while it increases the bulk.

The remedy is simple but needs courage and self-denial. The publisher is an anomaly even in a world which has well reduced everything to market-values. You have made your publisher a speculator in a commodity which has the least affinity with grains and pulses. The author goes on writing novels of standard length whose value does not depend on their intrinsic worth but on the intrepidity and resourcefulness of his publisher in forging a market. The work is unreal and the methods are speculative, and the fruits are random and mixed. The result is a deluge of books which carries with it to the waste of the sea even the occasional particles of gold-dust which crumbling rocks have slowly yielded to the wooing of many monsoons.

Small measures will do no good. Lift book production

from the base ethics and economics of a trade with the false coin crowding the market and keeping out the true. A publishing house which need publish one hundred books a year to cover at least their 'over-head' charges cannot afford to have scruples about the quality of production. And there is not one house but tens of hundreds. Every unemployed is an author and his dug-outs crowd the channels. Book writing, like printing and binding, has become a profession.

The ideal condition is to combine all in one, the author to be his own bookseller and publisher. For one thing, he would not have the heart or the time to go on thoughtlessly producing two books a year, tempted by a cheque. No one should advance money to produce another's book, and put up for sale at his risk the brain product of another and thus forge the first links of commerce. One who has earned nothing to pay for the production of his own books, is not likely to know much of life of which he pretends to write with sympathy and insight.

Nowadays everything is turned into a profession. Literature, like religion, can never be a profession. The curse of the professional is now choking the throat of the song-maker. Literature is a personal expression of experience caught in rare and sunny moods of intimacy and communion with the All. The very rarity of their occurrence is the very test of their genuineness. An adventurous and busy publisher wants to make money, and in his attempt he does not scruple to reduce the art of writing to a profession, like rope-making, so many hundred feet per hour.

Some sincere attempts should be made to preserve writing at a level somewhat higher than book-binding, and rescue literature from the importunities of paper merchants, printers and publishers—all eager to make money rapidly, while good writing requires leisure, peace and inspiration. At this rate, I am sure that humanity will die some day of ignorance amidst a plethora of books, even as the ship-wrecked mariner of thirst, on his lonely plank, amidst the endless and lapping waters of the salt sea.

East and West

BY PROF. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)

One hears so much nowadays of the spiritual civilization of the East and of the materialistic civilization of the West, of the possibility of a conflict in the immediate future between this spiritual and this materialistic civilization, between the East and the West, between the white and the coloured nations of the world. We hear also of the collapse of the Western civilization, of a Pan-Asiatic League and of Europe coming and sitting at the feet of Asia as 'Chelas' to learn wisdom.

True civilization is neither spiritual alone nor materialistic alone. There is no exact division possible between matter and spirit. They are not two opposing factors in the Universe. They are not two mutually destructive forces in this world. Matter and spirit are the two aspects in which Truth manifests itself. They intersperse each other and function in co-operation with each other to fulfil the great Purpose. To set matter and spirit, one against the other, is to corrupt philosophy and religion with the 'diplomats' design of 'divide and rule'.

The assumption of two such distinct forces is a fallacy. To associate each with East and West is a further fallacy. The Chinese civilization of the Far East, the Chaldean civilization of the Middle East and the ancient civilization of the Near East, in which Jesus Christ was born, not one of them can be called more spiritual than the modern civilization of Europe. The civilization of India as seen in the 'Vedas,' in the 'Puranas' and in the Classical Sanskrit Literature, is not less materialistic in tone than the modern civilization. When we think of Veda-Vyasa who codified the Hindu culture, of Vasishtha and other sages who lived for the welfare of the less evolved members of the

human race, when we think of kings like Rama, Yudhishtira and Harischandra, when we think of philosophers and reformers like Sankara and Ramanuja, we must not forget the sage Kasyapa who allowed himself to be bribed with gold and who left the great king Sri Parikshit to die a miserable death; we must not forget the voluptuous life in Courts and cities corrupted by gambling, wine and women; we must not forget the superstitions and cruelties glorified under the name of religion.

When we condemn European civilization with its long-range guns, poison gas, bombs and submarines, with its competition in industry and deadly rivalry in commerce, with its ultra-nationalism and mutual jealousy and distrust, with its false economic theories which compel a large number of innocent human beings to groan under poverty and misery, when articles of use lie rotten for want of purchasers; when we think of European civilization in this way, we must not forget the earnest desire of statesmen to put an end to the atrocities of war, to bring industry more and more under popular control and to make commerce free, to bring in an atmosphere of internationalism so that jealousy and distrust vanish, to correct the false economic theories of the last century by making consumption and not profit the aim of production. We must also think of the abolition of slavery, of the emancipation of women, of lifting politics above religions and creeds; we must also think of the large number of humanitarian movements for the relief of the dumb and the poor and the suffering; we must also think of the missionary and other organisations within the Christian Church whose members go out into the far regions in the outside world, and at great personal danger and subject to the oppressions of climatic conditions exposed to diseases, spend whole lives in bringing the light of knowledge to the savage nations of the jungles and the deserts, or in attending to the poor persons suffering from very loathsome diseases; we must also think of the many educational institutions and many hospitals and orphanages run by the philanthropy of individuals and

societies; we must also think of scientists who dedicate their whole life to the discovery of Truth with no thought of any personal gain, and who through their labours have helped so much man's spiritual progress by bringing in the forces of nature as an aid to man, by bringing men closer and closer to one another through improved ways of communication and mutual understanding, and thus creating a real consciousness of unity and brotherhood of man; we must also think of the great achievements of modern science—the Atlantic Liners, the air-ships, wireless and X-ray marvels, the attempts at the solution scientifically and by experiments of the nature and constitution of the Universe, and of the origin and nature of life and matter, the thrills of the Polar expeditions and of the conquest of the Everest, solving the mysteries of the stars in the skies, and all that science promises to achieve. All this shows a very high stage of spiritual evolution in the modern man, and all this is a contribution from Europe; if Asia is contributing anything or has contributed anything to the modern civilization, it is mainly towards militarism, nationalism, competition, jealousy and rivalry. The true fact is that Asia has long lost her culture and civilization, which is as much an advance in material things as in things spiritual, and she is now trying to console herself with the boast that matter is base and destructive, and that she is the custodian of the intangible and incomprehensible spirit.

Civilization cannot exist by itself, independent of the life of a nation; it has to be revealed through the life of the people—through so many forms and conventions. There may be no inherent and inseparable relation between the true spirit of a civilization and the forms and conventions prevalent among the people who develop that civilization; at best there may be merely a sort of concomitance. Still people associate civilization and these forms as inalienable factors, and they consider persons who do not conform to these forms as lacking in civilization. Indians have their own forms and conventions—the

particular way in which their homes are arranged, their way of cooking and eating and dressing, their etiquette and manners. Indians consider these forms and conventions as the soul of India's civilization, and any one who strays away from these non-essentials is branded as denationalised. Indians have the reputation of being a nation of philosophers. Still they cannot understand that they can remain essentially Indian, steeped in an essentially Indian civilization, even if they speak another language, even if they change their ways of dressing, eating, mode of arranging their homes, their etiquette and manners. They do not separate the real from the non-real, the essential from the casual.

Europe has a civilization of her own. The East may not recognise it as a high civilization and some people may even question its title to be called a civilization, just as the West on the whole does not recognise a thing called an Oriental civilization. But no one can convince a Westerner that he has no civilization and no one can deny him the right to have his own convictions. Europe has a civilization of her own. That civilization manifests itself in the life of the European nations, now spread throughout the world, a life clothed in many forms and conventions. A European associates these forms and conventions with civilization as inextricable factors.

If you place your feet on the shining brass fenders round the fire-place, if you eat oranges and spit the seeds into the fire, if you drop the cigarette ashes on the carpet, if you keep the end of a lighted match stick on the mantel-piece, or your cigarette-end on the table, if you eat a banana and throw the skin out into the public road or into the garden through the window, if you soil the table-cloth with drops of tea, if you do not handle the instruments with ease and grace at dinner, if you do not conform to some decorum, to some prescribed conventions in the little affairs of ordinary life, a European, just like an Indian, considers you as uncivilised. You may be the greatest Oriental, a great artist and poet, philosopher and thinker; but

these qualities are beyond the comprehension of the normal people and you are judged by the extent to which you conform to the forms and conventions recognised within a particular civilization.

There is really no colour problem. There is only a lack of mutual understanding due to the diversity in forms and conventions in social life. An Oriental, if he can behave properly, if he can adapt himself to the forms and conventions of the West, is ever welcome to an English home. Few Englishmen in England examine the colour of your skin. He does not care for it. He is particular only about your polished shoes and clean nails. A well-behaved (from the Western point of view) Indian is welcome to an English home, but not an Englishman or Englishwoman who is an organ grinder in the public street or a hawker in boot-lace and match boxes, or who hangs about street corners for immoral purposes. If any colour problem is present in the life of a nation, it is in India. A Brahmin, whether he is a beggar or a leper, can enter the innermost sanctum in a Hindu temple; he is quite welcome in a Brahmin house. But an Englishman, though belonging to a very aristocratic family, though his family may have been very famous for centuries and may have produced many eminent persons, if he enters even the outer walls of a temple or the first portal in a Brahmin house, he defiles the place. No such colour and race prejudice exists anywhere in England.

Civilization is essentially the same, whether it is ancient or modern, whether it is Eastern or Western. It consists in man's quest after Truth, man's struggle against the limitations of the physical life. There must be an aspect of matter and an aspect of spirit in all civilizations. The differences are in the forms and conventions, and these are the non-essentials of civilization. East and West are in a state of conflict with each other, not because there is anything conflicting in their civilizations, but because the outward forms are different; they are in this militant attitude, not in defence of culture but in defence of

forms. If only East and West will understand that these forms are non-essential and of secondary importance, that they can alter these forms without doing any harm to civilization, so much misunderstanding can be avoided. If East and West can slightly alter their forms in life, if they can come to some sort of adjustment, it will be found that they have a common civilization.

Pessimists are never tired of saying that the days of Western civilization can now be counted, that the civilization will soon collapse. Neither history nor experience supports such a hypothesis. A four years' war, a slight dislocation of industry and commerce, the collapse of an empire or two, the extinction of a royal house, these events are very trivial in the history of a civilization. The fears regarding the imminent collapse of modern civilization are no more seriously to be taken notice of than the fears of an old woman, who as soon as her husband sneezes once, gets into a fit and calls a lawyer to make his will.

There are several persons who expect that in the near future Europe will have to sit at the feet of Asia to listen to the latter's sermons of wisdom. That is a day which might never come, and which should not come. If it is unfortunate that Asia should have been dominated by Europe, it is equally unfortunate that Asia should dominate over Europe. The unfortunate thing is aggression, and it matters little who the aggressor is. The attempt of all well-wishers of humanity should be to see that the whole world lives like one civilised nation, dropping off all labels of East and West, coloured and white, spiritual and materialistic. By throwing off all our forms and conventions—the merely external aspects of civilization—and by saturating the minds of Indians with a little more of the essential spirit of Oriental civilization, we shall be able to make an easier approach to the West; and it is the duty of Asia,—being more spiritual and philosophical as is claimed, and hence less scrupulous of the mere externalities,—it is the duty of Asia to make that approach and thus to hasten the day when Europe and Asia will live side by side in greater harmony.

Nature-Cult in Romantic Poetry: A Modern Study

BY DR. P. GUHA-THAKURTA, M.A., Ph.D.

‘Return to Nature’ was the slogan of the Romantic Movement. It implied a new romantic attitude towards both external and human nature, but this attitude was only a part of the larger naturalistic movement that manifested itself as a reaction against the superfluous conventions and artificialities in the life, art and literature, of the pseudo-classical age. Romanticism surely meant, if it meant anything at all, a widening of the imaginative outlook, a sharpening of emotional sensibility and a greater intellectual freedom of ideas and beliefs; but unfortunately it took those who felt its first spell into strange by-paths of feeling and imagination from the broad highway of ordinary, normal, human experience. The newly awakened free spirit led the romanticists into either vagueness and obscurity of thought, or fantastic exuberance of imagination or even into indolent, morbid dreaming and reverie. So the new feeling towards Nature, as a part of the Romantic Movement, shared the effects of the general confusion. The subject of poetic interpretation of Nature by the English and Continental Romantic poets unmistakably offers many interesting questions of psychology and aesthetics to the modern age, which, however, it would be impossible to discuss at length within the limits of this paper. Nor would it be possible to make any comprehensive and exhaustive treatment of the various ways in which Nature has been utilized by the chief Romantic poets, because the subject itself is too complex to admit of any exact classification. Moreover, one kind of nature-poetry ostensibly merges itself into other kinds;

different kinds will be found side by side or overlapping each other or blended, not only in the work of a single poet but often in the same poem or passage. We shall only attempt to find out here the poet's general attitude or feeling towards Nature, his individual reaction to all the phenomena of the external world, and his dominating tendencies in laying Nature under contribution for his poetry

Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, Shelley, Byron and Keats, are all poets of Nature, all equally exemplifying the outstanding features of the Romantic Movement in England, but each was also very decidedly distinct from the others in many ways. Broadly speaking, the interpretation of Nature has been fundamentally a matter of individual temperament and mood. The degree of imagination involved in these different methods of treatment is also variable. In fact, the essentially genuine romantic quality of all nature-poetry is the power and quality of the poet's creative imagination, either working objectively or subjectively. Indeed, nothing in the entire realm of Nature is really too trivial for poetic treatment, if it is properly and artistically handled with fitness and propriety. An ordinary sunset, a cluster of spring flowers, the wild west-wind, or the simple song of a nightingale, can be transfigured into poetry by a real creative artist, if his imagination and inner balance do not fail him. But the romantic cult of Nature, with all its subtle sense of mystery and mysticism and all its primitivistic instinct for the elemental simplicities of life, gradually became a real obsession with the poets when they began to ignore the everyday realities of normal human life and experience. So it would be dangerous to assume that anything believed or set up as a reaction to neo-classicism was genuinely romantic. For, when the poet's subjective attitude towards Nature became too temperamental, his ego became an obtrusive element; and when his objective outlook on the external world happened to be too fantastic and wild, imagination no longer remained the creative and transforming power in his poetry. We must not forget that the

whole Romantic Movement, of which the attitude towards Nature constitutes only one single phase, had very distinct limitations of its own. Little attempt was made by its protagonists to apply their new ideas and theories to concrete problems of the day in the light of universal truths and standards. Romanticism harped on Man rather than Men, sought the way of escape from the existing conditions of life rather than a reconstruction of that life in its reaction against the town or 'boudoir' literature of the previous age; too readily accepted what was primitive, wild, strange and picturesque, as the only essential glories of life. Among all its exponents, we always notice the tendency to exalt the merely bizarre and to replace the old conventions of 'correctness' by extravagances at all costs. Perhaps some of it was inevitable. No great movement in the history of mankind ever took place without obscuring for the time being the important and vital aspects of human life and consciousness. In the over-zealous enthusiasm for fresh air, some windows were bound to be broken, as Lowell remarked. It is not our intention here to criticise Romanticism as a philosophy of life or religion. But it should be clearly understood that whenever the romanticist sought to erect upon his poetry a philosophy of life or conduct, he invariably failed. True Art does not admit of either metaphysics or undisciplined imagination. The chief thing to remember is that fresh air was badly wanted and that literature and life needed a real synthesis of principles in every way, and the Romanticists only partially succeeded in achieving it.

Before attempting to analyze the specific romantic tendencies in the treatment of Nature by the principal English poets of the period, let us see how each one felt towards Nature and interpreted Nature, and how one differs from the other in temperament and spirit. Wordsworth may be regarded as the chief representative of the new romantic feeling towards Nature. The stages in the growth and development of his love of Nature are clearly marked out in his

'Tintern Abbey' lines, which only state briefly what is set forth at greater length in the 'Prelude.' From a healthy boy's delight in the freedom of outdoor life and open air, it passes on to a sensuous, animal love of external beauties, and from it finally to an ardent, 'spiritual' devotion to Nature. The spiritual meaning was not only added to natural beauty but even substituted for it. It was because of an essential kinship between the spiritual faculty in man and the 'indwelling Soul' of the Universe, and also because 'the External World' and 'the Mind' are exquisitely fitted to each other (see lines 62-71, Introduction: 'Excursion') that Wordsworth felt human communion with Nature was possible and through such communion alone, he found, as Mr. Myers puts it—"an opening, if indeed there be an opening, into the transcendent world." To grasp this point is to get the key to Wordsworth's interpretation of Nature. Wordsworth further believed that this communion with Nature was possible only when the poet went to her in the right mood—the mood not of analysis and intellectual speculation but of receptivity and religious meditation. It is perfectly obvious that Wordsworth's receptivity became a sheer, wanton abandonment, and religious meditation was nothing but a pantheistic reverie. This, indeed, is the serene, blessed mood—the mood of mystical raptures when the burden of thought is lifted and the power is granted to 'see into the light of things'. One moment of such mood 'may give us more than ages of toiling reason'. Thus Wordsworth carries his claims on behalf of Nature to the verge of ridiculous paradox when he says,

"One impulse from a vernal wood
Will teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can."

Thoroughly anti-scientific and anti-rationalistic in temper, he is in radical opposition to all kinds of philosophy which assume that intellect is the only organ of Truth. This is brought out

most clearly in his short poem, entitled 'A Poet's Epitaph'. Special emphasis is laid by him again and again upon the fundamental need of a right relationship with Nature—sometimes one 'of a wise passiveness' ('Expostulation and Reply'), and often one 'of a heart that watches and receives,' ('The Tables Turned'). Aubrey de Vere ("On the personal character of Wordsworth's poetry": Wordsworthiana, p. 147) points out that Wordsworth looked at Nature "as the mystic of old perused the pages of Holy Writ, making little of the letter, but passing through it to the spiritual interpretation." This statement, though a little misleading, contains an element of truth. To Wordsworth, a rock, a flower, a sunset, a mountain torrent, are only the varying manifestations of the one great principle that he discovers as underlying the external universe. The primrose or daffodil is a symbol to him of Nature's message to man; a sunrise for Wordsworth is not simply a glorious pageant of color, but it signifies a moment of spiritual consecration. The poet, in this height of mystical and pantheistic mood, becomes 'a dedicated spirit'.

Wordsworth and Shelley, unlike their other contemporaries, have this point in common, that they both tried to spiritualize Nature. This 'spiritualization' of Nature was only a continuation of Rousseau's naturalistic philosophy and implied an 'imaginative melting of man into outer nature' in a mood of superlative ecstasy. So Wordsworth and Shelley were not merely poets of Nature, but they became prophets of Nature. They were concerned less to depict than to explain; less to marvel at her beauty than to exult in her inner significance. They were always moving in this manner from the concrete external fact to the idea. Shelley's way of achieving such an end is, however, sufficiently distinctive from Wordsworth's. There is very little of the restless visionary in Wordsworth's pantheistic reveries. Shelley's mind is constantly overhung with wonderful visions of an Arcadian dream-land, where 'Love' is the panacea for all the evils of the world. Shelley's method is therefore more diffusive and

expansive. Wordsworth's pantheistic ecstasy over Nature has more depth and concentration than Shelley's intensely exuberant rhapsodies. It is always so fatally easy for a romantic mysticism of this kind to slip unconsciously into a parochial moralizing or a 'passion for reforming the world'. One deplores the didacticism of Wordsworth all the more, because, in several instances, he does show his capacity for expressing most artistically the delights that are derived from the world of Nature. Wordsworth can take a pleasure fully as keen in the placid lake:

"The calm
And dead still water lay upon my mind
Even with a weight of pleasure, and the sky,
Never before so beautiful, sank down
Into my heart and held me like a dream."

Wordsworth can, if he chooses, throw the very spirit of June into a couplet:

"Flaunting summer when he throws
His soul into a briar rose."

Wordsworth can awaken, as Shelley has remarked, 'a kind of thought in sense,' when he writes:

"The wind, that would be howling at all hours
And are upgathered now like sleeping flowers."

Shelley, without Wordsworth's quasi-philosophic grounds for the Nature-cult, held at the root almost the same idea that Wordsworth held, -- that the external Universe was alive. He represents 'this vast Being' in his 'Asia' of 'Prometheus Unbound.' He calls her 'Life of Life.' She is Shelley's personification of the vital spirit which pervades both animate and inanimate Nature. Wordsworth conceived this vital spirit in Nature as Thought evolving in life, Shelley conceived it as Love,—"Love whose smile kindles the universe". This 'Love' in Shelley's Nature-cult becomes the transcendental force, 'kindling all things into beauty'—which he indefinitely pursues in his 'Alastor' or 'Ephipsyichidion' and which always eludes

and baffles him. Evidently, in Shelley's interpretation of Nature, we hardly find the homeliness of Wordsworth's steady affection or even the concrete sensuous touches of Keats. Shelley's dream-pictures float away, like exquisite bubbles, which melt even as we watch them. The weakness of Shelley's Nature-poetry lies in the fact that his idealism and warm human sympathies are clad in shadowy fantasies. Thought and feeling, emotion and imagination, are etherealized. He is the Oberon of poets; and even in the most universal of his impassioned songs—in such matchless little lyrics as 'The world's great age begins anew', where our rough guttural speech breaks into a lyric cry—even there, it seems as if he were only lamenting the lives and inequalities of mankind. Shelley's reciprocity with Nature often reaches a condition where the landscape itself merges readily into the state of his soul. The spirit of the west-wind becomes identical with Shelley's own and so the 'Ode to the West Wind' no longer remains a mere simile but becomes an interfusion of landscape and the poet's spirit. 'The Cloud' and 'The Skylark' also reach the same point of a blending together of the poet's spirit and natural phenomena.

Coleridge, sympathizing as he did intellectually with Wordsworth's transcendental cult of Nature, is, however, far more readily influenced by the sensuous appeal in Nature. To him Nature was not separate from man, but Nature was 'ourselves'. The visible world seemed to him only the image of human thoughts and feelings. Man alone gives life to Nature. When he is dull and dead of heart, he gets no response:

"I may not hope from outward forms to win
The passion and the life, whose fountains are within."

This specific attitude of Coleridge towards Nature finds emphatic expression in his 'Dejection: An Ode.' Coleridge holds that Nature can give nothing to those who do not come to receive. Seldom has the hopeless, desponding, misanthropic mood of a Romantic poet in England found such tragic utterance as in Coleridge's 'Dejection' ode.

The mediævalism of Scott is blended with his passionate love of the Earth. His Nature-cult was more the nature of Earth-worship than Nature-worship and the Earth in particular of special localities, endeared to him by a hundred associations. This qualification differentiates his Earth-worship from that of Meredith, which is general, cosmic, not specific or humanized. He loved his country's soil, as a child loves, for its associations; and he told Washington Irving that if he did not see the heather once a year, he thought he would die. But Scott's sense of beauty in Nature was inextricably mixed with mediæval or historical associations. "Show me an old castle and a field of battle and I was at home with it." To Wordsworth, the pageant of the Middle Ages was only a dream of ancient strivings that stirred the imagination and touched him as another chord of that 'still, sad music of humanity' which came to him from a distance while he sat in philosophic aloofness. He would ruminate vaguely over 'old, unhappy far-off things and battles long ago', but to Scott the unhappiness concerned him far less than the variety and excitement, and battles for him were never 'long ago' but 'exhilarating actualities' close at hand. That nebulous atmosphere of dateless climes loved by some Romantic poets, Coleridge, for instance, in his 'Christabel' or Keats in his 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci', was to some extent alien to Scott's nature. Yet Scott was not without his romantic love of wildness and isolation from humanity. Provided that no man should intrude on his isolation, he could be content to spend time indefinitely in the solitude of Nature, as he does in 'The Lady of the Lake' or 'Rokeby'. In this particular attitude of lonely delight in the wilderness, or retreat to Nature as an escape from work-a-day world, Scott resembles Byron. Nature intoxicates Byron with an almost heady delight:

"To sit on rocks, to muse o'er flood and fell,
To slowly trace the forest's shady scene,
Where things that own not man's dominion dwell,
And mortal foot had ne'er or rarely been."

To climb the trackless mountains all unsoen
 With the wild flock that never needs a fold,
 Alone o'er steep and foaming falls to lean
 This is not solitude: 'tis but to hold
 (Converse with Nature's charms, and view her stores unroll'd."

In this love of Nature, there is very little pantheistic musing or sense of subtle mystery but only a live sense of the wildness and solitary wonders of Nature. Byron takes 'the pleasure in the pathless woods' and learns 'the language of another world' in 'the dim and solitary loveliness' of Nature. This solitary pleasure, this romantic longing for 'another world' and misanthropic melancholy are the only things left to Manfred, who loves to talk with the 'witch of the torrent' when he most hates to talk with man. Byron again does not share Wordsworth's belief in the restorative power of Nature to soften and subdue the ills of life. Nature has not enabled, Byron writes in his Journal of 1816, "to lose my own wretched identity in the majesty, and the power, and the glory, around, above and beneath me". Byron revels rather in Nature's grand and awe-inspiring aspects, in the vast space of silent heaven, in the boundless expanse of ocean, in the gloom of dark forests or in the more terrifying manifestations of tempest, thunder and avalanche.

As for Keats, he had no theory of universal Love or universal Thought pervading the external world; he had little sense of those mystical mysteries which speak to the 'contemplative' soul out of the external show of things. His was a simple, direct passion for natural beauty just for its own sake—the beauty of forest and field, of flower and sky and sea. Haydon speaks of him: "He was in his glory in the fields. The humming of the bee, the sight of a flower, the glitter of the sun, seemed to make his nature tremble; then his eyes flashed, his cheeks glowed and his mouth quivered." It was this intense, wholehearted sensuous love of all forms of natural beauty which inspired and incited Keats. Another aspect of his love of Nature is found in his belief that

the whole material world is peopled by living beings who speak out of the waves of the sea and the trees of the wood or the mountain and the stream. This may be described as what has been called Keats' 'Greek-god fellowship with Nature'. His 'Ode to Nightingale' throws out Nature in sharp contrast with the life of man and the pathetic brevity and littleness of human life is emphasized. The Nightingale is the 'Immortal Bird' with which the tiny space of personal existence or of the passing generations vanishes into nothingness. Similar sentiments find expression in other poets also, as in Matthew Arnold's 'Youth of Nature': "They are dust, they are changed, they are gone. I remain." This romantic tendency of contrast led poets to ascribe indifference or cruelty to Nature. Tennyson saw nature 'red in tooth and claw' and another Victorian poet dwelt on the modern scientific conception of Nature as a further argument in favour of his romantic pessimism and melancholy:

" I find no hint throughout the Universe
Of good or ill, of blessing or of curse ;
I find alone Necessity Supreme !"

(James Thomson : 'The City of Dreadful Night', XIV). Moreover, Keats' 'Nightingale' Ode embodying as it does the very stuff and spirit of mediæval romance, is voluptuous and intensely passionate in its emotion. At times, the emotion threatens to overpower the poet and a hysterical euphuism here and there jars on the reader. This romantic emotion though considerably focussed and controlled in such lines as the very often quoted

" . . . magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn "

breaks out now and again in a wistful, Arcadian longing and pensive retreat, when the poet wants to,

" Fade far away, dissolve, and quite forget
What thou among the leaves hast never known,
The weariness, the fever, and the fret

Here, where men sit and hear each other groan—
Where but to think is to be full of sorrow
And leaden-ey'd despairs."

The naturalism of Wordsworth is blended in Keats with a hypersensitive æstheticism:

"A little noiseless noise among the leaves,
Born of the very sigh that silence breathes."

His well-known lines in the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn'

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty—that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

simply suggest the æsthetic symbolism of Schelling or Shaftesbury. This identification of truth and beauty as a prominent misleading factor of romanticism has been at the root of Ruskin's philosophy, Pater's æstheticism, Oscar Wilde's doctrines of creative criticism, Morris' social gospels and Benedetto Croce's 'impressionism' in art.

Not to carry our discussion too far, we may note that the romantic treatment of Nature has been, for the most part, steeped deeply in the poet's own personal feeling or mood. It seems as if to see or describe any external object in Nature, without reference to temperamental joy or grief, was absolutely impossible with romanticists. This subjective animation of Nature feeling was not a new thing in European Romantic poetry. Rousseau more than others emphasised this particular phase of Nature-cult. M. Masson says that "the Nature that Jean Jacques worships is only a projection of Jean Jacques". Speaking of some external objects of Nature, Rousseau himself exclaims: "Unfeeling and dead things, this charm is not in you; it could not be there. It is in my own heart which wishes to refer back everything to itself." So Nature was what Rousseau and Coleridge could put there. Tieck asks: "Do you think we are really able to describe Nature as it is? Every eye must see in it a certain connection with the heart, else we do not see anything, at least nothing that would please us, if told in verse." (*Kritische Schriften*, Vol. I, p. 82). We could not find anywhere any better

elucidation of this particular phase of the cult of Nature. Thus the poet himself becomes the predominating factor in his intercourse with Nature. Nature is made the plaything of his varying mood. Another German romanticist, Herder, said: "I rustle with the wind and become alive—give life, inspire, inhale fragrance and exhale it with flowers, dissolve in water; float in the blue sky; feel all these feelings." This kind of exultant liberation of the poetic ego is adequately represented by Byron and Shelley in England. Novalis had ample justification in giving a warning to his friend Tieck: "The poet must give life to Nature, but he must not play with his moods. Poetry must be carried on as a serious art.....A poet must not roam about idly the livelong day in search of images and sentiments". (Meissner: Novalis' works: vol. III, pp. 59-60). Strongly allied with this romantic ego is the romantic melancholy, and the longing for Arcadian companionship with the wilderness. Byron's entire Nature-cult as exemplified in 'Childe Harold,' 'Manfred' and 'Don Juan' is an admixture of the romantic ego, romantic misanthropy and romantic worship of wild Nature. The other important phase of the romanticist's attitude towards Nature is the pantheistic feeling—the idea of a spirit greater than man's spirit residing even in the tiniest of external objects, such as the little 'flower in the crannied wall'. Among the chief romantic protagonists, Shelley and Wordsworth in their highest moods of exaltation held the belief that God was in Nature and God was revealed in Nature. This aspiration of the poet towards the infinite as identified with God merely intensified his pantheistic feeling and such a tendency of looking at Nature invariably produced an irresponsible, leisurely reverie and indeterminate vagabondage of the emotions. So instead of producing any real sound basis for religious or meditative life, the Romantic poets broke out time and again only in 'inarticulate ecstasies over the wonders of Nature'. The poet as an interpreter of Nature then ceased to be a poet; he became a theologian, a metaphysician, a mystic or

a dreamer of dreams. Tennyson ostensibly begged an answer from all the high-priests of naturalistic philosophy when he wrote :

“ Little flower –if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is.”

Who could answer ?

Jane Austen

BY SRIMATHI K. SAVITRI

If the whole group of successful English novelists may be divided into two main classes, two figures will stand out more remarkable than others, in the representation of their kind to the fullest detail. Between these two, the rest of the writers, with the exception perhaps of Sir Walter Scott, may be said to range themselves. As distant as the poles, they present quite a striking contrast to each other in their mode of writing and ways of thought. For, indeed, no two persons could be actuated by such wholly divergent impulses and influences as Charles Dickens and Miss Austen were. Literature owes much to them both, for the creation of the most fresh and original kind of novel-writing.

The works of Charles Dickens, more numerous than any other writer's, reveal to us too plainly that the man is nothing but all soul and heart. He had eyes only for the poor and the miserable. The silent, suffering humanity whose feeble voice, if raised at all, is utterly lost amidst the joyous shouts of the vain and the prosperous, touched every fibre of his inmost being, and he heard the voice too distinctly to shut his ears against it. Charles Dickens created a world for himself, which was exclusively full of the weird and pathetic creatures he drew in an astonishing variety. He saw and heard deeper with a heart overcharged with feelings of an acute nature, and these he poured forth in his novels without any reservation. His men and women, grotesque and vulgar as they are, awaken the pity of the hardest, and deliberately move us often to tears.

The emotional kind of novel is the field where Dickens is held as the undisputed master, save, perhaps, the eminent French novelist, Victor Hugo, who unites a very lofty imagination with a

heart tender as a flower and large as the Universe. For, who but himself could conceive of a Gilliat that paid so mute a self-sacrifice at the altar of his love, or a Jean Valjean, or even an Ursus? Victor Hugo created such grand characters that simple mortals could only stand awe-struck before them.

When we turn with our hearts torn to pieces by the deep pathos that is too full in these novels to Jane Austen, we seem indeed 'to have dropped suddenly, as it were, through a hole into her world,' which is altogether different. Poverty and misery are no more for us, and there is the peaceful country-side with scarcely other than ordinary, middle-class people. Unlike Dickens and Victor Hugo, Jane Austen saw only with her eyes, and derived her materials chiefly from what appealed to her intellect. Hence, no novel is more singularly free from any kind of fancy or play of emotions than those she has written. Verily, she seems a person whose head is all active, while the heart remains unusually calm in its place. The art, too, which she employs, is quite characteristic of her. For it is not upon a full, broad canvas that she works, nor with a bold brush in her hand, from where the free lines and touches could speak out eloquently for the extraordinary range and sweep of the worker's imagination. The material on which Miss Austen works with such finished skill is, as she herself says so aptly, 'a little bit of ivory two inches wide on which I paint with the finest brush'.

The effect produced by this unique craft is something so rare, that only a class of mind can grasp the details in all their delicacy and fullness and enjoy them. Utterly devoid of pathos and any sense of emotion as her novels are, they still have a peculiar hold on our intellectual perception. None who is able to divine the presence of genius, can help feeling the profoundest admiration for the uncommon skill she displays in taking all her characters from those around her, and drawing them just as they are. 'Three or four families in a village is the very thing to work on, and to make

full use of them while they are favourably arranged.' Such is her method as she herself observes, and accordingly her novels have but one common theme which she makes no attempt to vary. It is, however, no mean attribute of her literary excellence that she could make her characters reveal themselves in the course of their daily life, and on those trivial occasions when humanity does not take the trouble to act a part. With misery, sorrow and exalted feelings, she seldom seeks to concern herself. No sooner do we come to her than we are at once taken into her surroundings, and thrown there quite at home with the keenest enjoyment of the mind. The magic influence which, in her sphere, she is able to wield over us makes us indeed care very little sometimes even for those books, where the workings of the mind and heart are brought forward and dwelt upon.

If minds endowed with a rich imagination like Sir Walter Scott's could be induced to say in admiration for her art and style, "the big bow-vow strain I can do myself like any now going, but the exquisite touch which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting from the truth of the description and the sentiment is denied to me," we make no doubt as to what renders Jane Austen so perfect within her own range. Her whole greatness lies in her power of making her characters live. As we read about them, they emerge more and more from the cold print, and engage us in a warm, living companionship.

If the height of literary excellence is best achieved only by the writer's revelation of self as little as possible in his works, one may state without hesitation that few authors have shown a less obtrusive personality than Jane Austen. Like Shakespeare, she has made her characters speak for themselves, and take each a distinct shape and individuality after the fashion of God's own creation. Seeing Miss Austen's novels differ neither in manner nor in treatment, who will not have expected them to be monotonous and insipid? But no such

thing! To those who have learnt to relish them they remain a joy for ever.

Again, the inimitable satire that characterises her style in writing about those whom she ridicules, and the fine sense of humour that is revealed in the delineation of characters like Miss Bates, John Dashwood and Mr. Collins, invest her, in a sense, with a greater degree of fascination than any other author possesses. It is at once peculiar and remarkable of her rare genius that, though she has almost scrupulously avoided indulging in any feeling and tender love-passages, the reader nevertheless receives, with the lovers of the story, the sweet thrill of pleasure of 'the supreme moment'. What true delight we feel at the love of Darcy and Elizabeth, and how far more real and faithful to nature it appears than the high, romantic passions told with a wealth of feeling and art!

Few authors have tried to portray such ordinary characters as she has, yet they are all in fact 'as perfectly discriminated as if they were the most eccentric of human beings'. It is a gift which belongs to none but Miss Austen. What reader is not charmed at the fine distinction made between Sense and Sensibility, all by means of dialogue, and the beautiful and complete pictures therefrom of Elinor and Marianne? Elinor is all sense, and Marianne is nothing if not the high sensibility that she betrays from beginning to end. Nothing can be so felicitous as the extremely light and sparkling vein in which Emma with her blunders in match-making is conceived. The most unhumorous of persons can hardly fail to be affected by the lively humour that is never absent in this delightful book. Yet all this is done by touches so delicate that they elude analysis, and defy the power of criticism. And when thus much might be freely said of a writer, does not one feel the greatest praise has been paid?

Studies in Rajput Painting

BY G. VENKATACHALAM

III. ÆSTHETICAL AND TECHNICAL

The term 'Rajput Painting' was first coined by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, the well-known Indian scholar and critic, for this class of Hindu pictorial art of Mediæval India and to distinguish it from its later development under the influence and patronage of the Timrud Kings, which is known by the name of 'Moghal Painting'. There was a constant confusion of criticism with regard to both these schools of painting, and often some of the best examples of Rajput art were mistaken for Moghal pictures and under that name they were collected and catalogued by the early European connoisseurs. It was left to Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy not only to draw the attention of the world to the great æsthetical and pictorial values of this vernacular folk-art of the Hindu India of the Middle Ages but also to point out the main differences between the various schools of Rajput painting and the court art of the Grand Moghals. Moghal art, so-called, was not an exotic plant transported into India from elsewhere, but an indigenous art developed and enriched by the Persian culture of the Moghal Court. Rarely in the history of the world have two great cultures, rich and significant in their own ways, fused and blended so harmoniously and so wonderfully as in the case of Moghal India.

The Hellenistic influence and the so-called cultural conquest of India by Greece was a failure; its nett result being the hybrid art of Gandharan sculptures and architecture. The commercial and political conquest of India by the European nations that followed the decline of the Moghal Empire, resulted in the national degeneracy of her people and the decay of her arts.

Moghal India, culturally speaking, was a glorious period in Indian history; and especially from the standpoint of Indian art, it was a period of considerable enrichment of national heritage. Indian architecture, Indian music, Indian painting, Indian textiles and crafts, Indian dress and food, all these were greatly influenced and enriched by the Moghal conquest of India and yet they remained distinctly Indian. It was, therefore, no wonder that early collectors and connoisseurs of old paintings were not able easily to distinguish the early indigenous Hindu art from its later development, the Moghal art.

It is now nearly over two decades since Dr. Coomaraswamy called the attention of the world to the significance of these miniature paintings, both as works of art and from the point of view of the history of Indian culture. In his *Indian Drawings*, Volume II, and later, in his most valuable and exhaustive work, *Rajput Painting*, he attempted a thorough analysis of the subject and discussed at length, with profuse illustrations, the æsthetical values of these paintings. He has since been followed by other students and critics, notable among whom are Dr. Goetz of Germany, Percy Brown of the Indian Educational Service, Laurence Binyon of London and O. C. Gangoly of Calcutta. Mr. Gangoly's latest portfolio, *Some Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*, with explanatory notes, is, perhaps, the most up-to-date and informative work on the subject.

Nothing saddens a lover of Indian art so much as the fact that some of the finest examples of this art are outside India, in the private collections of connoisseurs in Europe and in the museums of the West. The collections of Johnston, French, Rothenstien, Binyon and others in England are at least exhibited now and then for public view, and are reproduced and written about in journals, so that one does not get the feeling of their having been lost, but what about those other rare paintings that are in the private possession of unknown individuals and rich millionaires, which do not see the light of day? Some of the choicest and rarest pictures are in the Boston

Museum under the care of Dr. Coomaraswamy, and in the museums of London and Berlin. In India the best private collections are those of Parsanis of Satara, Manuk of Patna, Gazdar of Bombay, the Tagore Collection in Calcutta and the collections of the Rampur State and Jaipur Palace. The Calcutta School of Arts, the Tata collection in the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay, the galleries at the Baroda and Lahore Museums, the Bharat Kala Parishad of Benares and the Bharata Itihasa Mandali of Poona also have some rare collections of Rajput and Moghal paintings for public view. It is by a close and careful study of some of these paintings that one can get a fair idea of the æsthetical and technical qualities of this art.

"The Rajput School" writes Mr. O. C. Gangoly in his introduction to his *Some Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*, "forms one of the most characteristic and fascinating chapters of Indian Painting and is of great æsthetic and spiritual significance." There are critics who object to the word 'Rajput' and would prefer to call it 'Hindu' School of Painting, on the ground that the appellation 'Rajput' or 'Rajasthani' connotes restricted geographical area and therefore misleading, as this art was spread all over Northern India from the deserts of Rajputana to the lower valleys of the Himalayas. However misleading the name may be topographically, culturally speaking it is a significant term, and a happy term at that, to be associated with this style of painting. The name has come to stay and it is best known all over the world by that name. There is another class of critics that refuses to see anything 'æsthetical' in this art, and considers it merely as a primitive folk-art, and what to them is pictorially intelligible in it, they trace to the influence of Persian art introduced into India by the Moghals. Fortunately, further researches made by scholars like Goetz, Ananda Coomaraswamy, Binyon, Havell, Gangoly and others, based on the styles and mannerisms of the pictures, technical treatment, dress and other significant

motifs, have once for all established its indigenous character and its pictorial excellence.

Though there is much dearth of materials for a proper study of the art of painting in India between the closing years of the seventh century A. D., which saw the completion of the last of the Ajanta *Viharas* and its immortal frescoes and the opening years of the sixteenth century, when blossomed this exquisite Rajput art of India, yet from the few fragments of illuminated manuscripts of Jains of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and from the Gujerati illustrated manuscript, *Vasanta-Vilasa*, of the fifteenth century, one can easily estimate their pictorial values and discover the conventions and traditions of Rajput art. In fact, there is little difference either in the technical features of both these arts or in their style or mannerisms. The general tone about these early folk-paintings is weak, there is a lack of sincerity and depth of conviction and also a poverty of strength which is emphasized by the muddy colour schemes, in contrast with the joyous note of the blaze of colour in Rajput Miniatures. Otherwise, the general features are the same. On these early Indian paintings of the fifteenth century, my friend, Nanalal Mehta, of the Indian Civil Service, a good critic of Indian Art, has a very interesting note, which throws additional light on the origin of Rajput Painting and reveals identical methods of treatment and technique. "The pictures," writes Mr. Mehta, referring to the illustration of the manuscript *Vasanta-Vilasa*, "are not by way of illustrations of the verses, but may be regarded as a sort of pictorial interpretation of the perennial themes of Love and Spring. . . . They are painted with all the directness, vigour and concentrated intensity of primitive art. . . . The figures are bound by bold and definite lines; the colour scheme is extremely simple, and there is a preponderance of yellow, red and blue. . . . Shading, foreshortening, perspective, are conspicuous only by their absence." The Rajput painting, of course, is not one of pure draughtsmanship; the pictures are

mere compositions in colours, harmonious and balanced. As contrasted with the primitive folk-art of the fifteenth century, the sixteenth-century Rajasthani Painting is a more developed, cultured and refined art.

"The whole composition," writes Mr. O. C. Gangoly, "is architecturally built up by the bold juxtaposition of masses of severely defined colours. There is not much drawing and the whole design is expressed in colours. They are characterized by unconventionality and originality of design . . . Trees, flowers and clouds in the background are introduced not for their own sake, but as significant *motifs*; nothing is introduced which is irrelevant to the expression of the theme. In Indian Art there is a remarkable fusion of form and substance. And if we forget for a moment the subject-matter of these pictures, their plastic and chromatic qualities cast the spell of their magic, and we are embarrassed to choose between the variegated claims of their appeal, their sensitive drawing and luminous colouring, the graceful curves of the figure, the magic rhythm, the sinuous grace of the flowing lines of their drapery, and above all the charming ensemble of their decorative composition. In the types they create, in the manner of presentation and in the peculiar vision in which the spiritual and humanistic outlook are skillfully fused, the Rajput Schools introduced new value into the history of pictorial art. Indeed, they do add something new to the world of art, and this something is indescribably precious."

This style of painting became widespread in India, with local variations and peculiarities, and extended from the Himalayan valleys of Kangra, Basholi, Jammu, Chamba in the North to the fertile plains of the Vijayanagar, Tanjore and Mysore kingdoms in the South, and from the deserts of Rajputana to the Gangetic valley of Bengal. In the hill schools of Kangra and Garhwal, myths and legends of Shiva became popular subjects for painting, and in the plains of Rajputana, Krishna and his *Leelas* were the favourite themes,

The representation of *Ragas* and *Raginis* (melody-moulds), lyrical love scenes, erotics and Nature's moods were other characteristic features of this school of painting.

IV. HISTORICAL

It is but natural that, for the purposes of a correct estimate and proper study of so vast a subject as Indian Art, covering over a period of two thousand years and more, and comprising as many styles, schools, types and expressions of art as it is possible to conceive, students and critics divide it into definite eras or periods; but in this, there is always a fear of being too rigid and dogmatic. These divisions, as all students will admit, are only arbitrary, and are based on scholars' speculations and researches and archaeologists' finds. Pre-Buddhistic period, Buddhistic period, Kushan period, Mauriyan and Post-Mauriyan periods, Gupta period, Mathura School, Gandharan School, Sanchi-Barhut styles, all these indicate to the student of Indian Art a rough outline of the development of the Fine Arts in this country. In most cases, the names were given arbitrarily by the first researcher or the pioneer in the field, and the name sticks to them in spite of its wrong application or connotation, as further investigations disclose. There is really nothing final in the statements that critics make, and the last word can never be said with regard to the past history of the arts of any country, much less with regard to those of India. Though the superstition that 'India is country without a history' is knocked on the head by the researches of epigraphists, archaeologists and students of Indian Art, yet our knowledge of India's past will always remain fragmentary, one-sided, meagre and confusing, considering its vast antiquity and the mass of materials available, which are too overwhelming to be easily disposed of. Indian Art has suffered much for want of this understanding on the part of its early students, who ever emphasized the 'formal' side of India's artistic expression and often missed its inner or vital life-expression. The one great message that India has

ever given right down the ages, through her religions, philosophies, arts and sciences, has been that stupendous truth, the Unity of Life, and therefore, the unity of her arts; and it is strange that almost all the early European scholars, who did such magnificent work to interpret India to the West, managed to miss that fundamental fabric of India's thought and life. It is only the latter-day students like Goetz, Havell, Cousins and others who were able to sense and intuit this great secret of India.

The above preliminary remarks are necessary for a correct and proper estimation of the subject under study. The Rajput School of Painting is one of the most significant and outstanding artistic achievements of Mediaeval India, but it is not an isolated achievement of a particular period in Indian history. Whatever may be the originality and the peculiarity of a work of art, it is rarely an isolated work: it is explained by anterior works, and is justified by the contemporary ones. The Hindu art of Rajput Painting is a direct descendant of the Buddhist art of Ajanta, and in spite of the seeming differences in mannerisms, style, size and expression, the underlying unity of both these arts is the same. It is true that the art of Ajanta is more highly developed, more naturalistic and richer in composition than the sixteenth-century art of Rajputana and of the Punjab and foothills of the Himalayas, which is primitive in style. But, nevertheless, both styles are nearly the same; the difference in expression need not belie their common genus. Even the art of Ajanta was not an isolated factor. It had its antecedent, and is the direct outcome of the creative genius of the Guptas. The Gupta Empire was most powerful then, reigning over the greater part of India, whose cultural rule expanded over the whole of the known world, to China and Japan, to Turkestan and Rome, to Cambodia and Java. It was the Golden Age of India. Its greatest poets were Kalidas, Dandi, Amaru and Bhartrihari. Its special achievements were in sculpture and painting. Ajanta was the epitome of that culture. Its last great king was Harshavardhana;

and with his death, India soon fell into decay and degeneracy, and her greatness vanished for many, many centuries. The whole of Northern and Middle India fell into the hands of less cultured but more warlike dynasties, and new kingdoms were founded in the Punjab, in Gujerat, in Rajasthan, in Bengal and along the lower valleys of the Himalayas. These were the ancestors of the Rajput clans. The history of Mediaeval India, from the twelfth century to the eighteenth, is a history of the struggles, wars, achievements and cultural conquests of these races. The ideals, thoughts, aspirations and feelings of a people are best reflected in their arts, and we find in the arts of this time, a new development, a new tendency, a new expression, but fundamentally Indian in character and genius. The painting of this period imitates the marvellous frescoes of Ajanta, but while the latter were large wall paintings of rich composition, here, during this period, they were done in miniatures and for book-illustrations. The art was not so much religious as courtly. When the Thakurs and the Ranas became more and more independent, and firmly established themselves as powerful rulers, the art was filled with a new vitality and feeling. Though the primitive style remained, the colourings became more fine and harmonious, and the human figures were more delicate, refined and sensitive. These were the days of romance, chivalry and heroism, of Padmini, Rupinati, Mira and others. Rajasthan was a world of castles and hill-forts, a world of knighthood and chivalry. And just as the Knights of Europe worshipped their Ladies, so the Rajputs plighted their word of honour to protect, help, shield, fight and die for the women who had given them the *Rakhi* (bracelet). Woman became one of the *motifs* of their art, and soon 'Worship of woman' became almost an artistic cult. Women inspired the art of Ajanta as well, but they were women of a sensuous type and mundane feeling. In the languorous poses of their bodies, in the coquettish looks in their eyes, in the fascinating gestures of their hands, in the well-developed busts and

slender waists, in the confusion of curls and flowers round the faces, in the jewellery, modelled out of many little filigree-links, in the extremely fine texture of the dresses that revealed their beauty and grace, and in their enchanting smiles, you recognize the grand amouresses of the women of Ajanta. Nothing vile, seductive and immoral, but frivolous, sentimental and charming. Those were the morals of the Gupta times. But in the art of the sixteenth century, woman was depicted as a tender, delicate, innocent but proud heroine. She is painted as an ideal type "with round moon-face seen in a bewitching profile, with large sensitive eyes, graced by eyebrows which rival the bow of Cupid, whose dark raven hair ends in the fairest curls and whose fully-developed bosoms throbbed with love longing in their hearts". Their dresses were long gowns down to the knees or even the ankles, in simple, great lines, and sometimes also trousers.

"The Schools of Rajput Art," writes Mr. O. C. Gangoly, "embody a whole cycle of Hindu culture, chiefly covered by mediæval Vaishnavism, with its doctrine of Love and Faith. Though rooted in the old Sanskrit classic culture, it takes the form of a vernacular folk-art, the pictorial analogue to the great body of Hindu literature, inspired by the renaissance of the Puranic Hindu religion. The most absorbing themes for painting are furnished by the cult of Krishna, idealized in a series of religious mysteries, the *Gopis* being the symbols of the souls yearning for the Divine."

The Message of Carlyle

BY PROF. T. VIRABHADRU, M.A.

Thomas Carlyle is a great force in the field of nineteenth-century English literature. His character and personality and his theories and doctrines are unique in the life and literature of Victorian England. His contribution to the literature of the time is many-sided and the service rendered by him to the several departments of prose-writing is remarkable. As a biographer and historian and as a critic of literature, his achievement stands by itself and he shines in English literature as one of its great prose-poets. His style, like his temper and doctrines, is peculiar, and affords a typical example of the truth of the saying 'Style is the Man'. He is heroic in many ways and what he says about Great Men or Heroes applies very well to him. According to him, the Hero must be original and sincere. His main purpose in life must be to reveal the God-like in man and in nature. He must study life deeply and try his best 'to pluck out the heart of its mystery'. He must have a lofty ideal and dedicate his life to the fulfilment of that ideal. There is no doubt Carlyle affords a good illustration of such heroism. He is a great thinker and a most zealous preacher. He is never tired of repeating his doctrines or elaborating them, and his books, which are in several volumes, are an example of the same ideas explained in different ways, examined from different stand-points, applied to different conditions or illustrated with reference to different personalities. He is a *God-missioned* man; the great prophet of modern England who delivered his message to 'a perverse and gainsaying generation'. By many he is neglected as a mere dreamer; but it is interesting to note that similar points of view regarding human progress and civilization are being championed with great force by some of

the most famous and heroic personalities of the world at the present time.

. Carlyle was the great apostle of German culture in the nineteenth century. He often said that his main purpose in life was to enable his countrymen to have access to the ideals, thoughts and aspirations of Germany. In his works he often explains how he drew his inspiration from Goethe and the other German Masters and how the touch of German influence transformed him into a new man and put him on the road to the solution of the knotty problem of human existence. Like several thinking men, Carlyle had once his mental troubles; he was for a time in the region of unbelief. "The hot fever of anarchy and misery raging within his breast", he could not be reconciled to life. "Doubt had led him to Denial and he wandered aimlessly in this world with no tidings of a higher one." He could not be at peace with himself, for, loss of faith in God meant loss of everything to him. He could not seek for any solace from the conditions of his time; for, as he puts it, "The more you have, the greater the discontent". Lord Byron had the advantages of birth and wealth but was always dissatisfied with life and was always complaining of something or other. Man is never happy and if you give him more, he will ask for more and hence Carlyle exclaims in words which anticipate Mahatma Gandhi's teaching in the present age :

"Well did the wisest of our time write: It is only with Renunciation that life may be said to begin."

Therefore, he advises those who wish to be happy not to ask for more and more food but to close their *Byron* and open their *Goethe*. It was this great German Philosopher who developed the God-like in him, persuaded him to love God in preference to pleasure and installed belief on the throne of his heart. Thus Carlyle after wading through agony, doubt and scepticism, finally emerged from the Slough of Despond—The Everlasting

Nay—and alighted on the land of belief—The Everlasting Yea—“wherein all contradiction is solved”. Truly, as a great critic has said, if Carlyle was the revealer of Germany to England, “Germany revealed Carlyle to himself!”

Carlyle was a great reactionary in England in the nineteenth century. The age was famous in its own way, but, to a mind like that of Carlyle's, England was looking at life from the wrong end. It was an age which aimed at wealth and one which was suffering from lack of spiritual ideals. The achievements of the age may be summed up in three words: Science, Democracy and Commercialism. In the opinion of Carlyle, great as these achievements were, not a little damage was done to national growth and prosperity. Love of money and, with it, selfishness grew by leaps and bounds, and sympathy for man was at the lowest ebb. Men were satisfied with the life around them and would not bestow any thought on what would happen to man in the next world. The fountains of religion, the fountains of belief, were completely exhausted. Society was supposed to be improving but while the rich became richer, the poor were becoming poorer day by day. In the opinion of Carlyle, the age of scientific inventions and democratic spirit has no doubt caused a tremendous increase in man's comfort but its moral effects are far-reaching. The Utilitarianism, Mammonism, Agnosticism, Positivism, Chartism, and the various other *isms* that were the offspring of this age were the evils of English society and several of the writers who could rise above the surface condemned it in unmistakable terms and Carlyle was the most vehement of them all. One of them tried his best to open the eyes of his contemporaries to the seamy side of the London poor man's life. Another pleaded very strongly for a revival of the emotional religion of the Middle Ages by pointing out how completely the springs of religion were dried up in his own day. Two others proclaimed most courageously how the social and economic life of the time degraded the poor and demoralised

the rich and how economic bankruptcy and spiritual bankruptcy went together. A few others regretted how scientific inquiry and absolute realism would not quench the thirst of the poet's heart and showed how a poet could be happy in the world of the Mediæval or Hellenic past. Thus the citadel of science and utilitarianism was being bombarded on all sides. The humanitarianism of Dickens, the transcendentalism of Carlyle and Ruskin, the Catholicism of Newman and the Æstheticism of the Pre-Raphaelites were the various aspects of the attack on the spirit of the nineteenth century by some of its own best men. It was a great scientist who declared that action and reaction are equal and opposite and what is true of the laws of motion is equally true of the laws of society.

Thus Carlyle was a great reactionary and led a crusade against the Mammon-worship of the time. Mammonism was according to him the bane of English civilisation. He could really have no sympathy for an epoch in which "The Upholsterer is a Pontiff and the Drawing-room a Temple". The science of political economy is a *dismal science* for, "in the midst of plethoric plenty the people perish". There is wealth in the country but it is 'Midas-eared Mammonism', since the poor cannot touch it. "The people are all a flock of dumb sheep whom we are all agreed to shear." All acts of the Commonwealth are useless notwithstanding the noise they make. Our laws and regulations which are often advertised as promoting national interests are but 'the rudder and spigot of taxation'. The poor man, in Carlyle's opinion, is not anxious for our theories and constitutions or philosophy and poetry but is anxious for only *one* thing: how to keep the wolf from the door. An exactly similar sentiment was expressed by Mahatma Gandhi when he said that even the best poems from Kabir are of no avail with an empty stomach which can be lulled to sleep by only one song—invigorating food. According to Carlyle our politicians often miss the purpose for which they are intended. They are busy with their theories and doctrines.

"They are playing a game of chess (whereof the pawns are men) while two-legged animals without feathers are lying in horizontal positions....."

He therefore asks:

"When such is the state, is it a wonder that a general over-turn like the one we witnessed in 1789 will be produced? Our King-Do-Nothings and Eat-Alls will in course of time be the parents of Meal-Mobs and Dull-Drudgery and the Monster, Many-headed Fire-breathing Sanscoluttism, will eventually devour up the whole system."

In his opinion this is but the logical sequence of our great 'Profit and Loss theory' and 'Machine-theory of the Universe': that is, this is the natural product of an age of utilitarian industrialism and scientific logic. Matters can be set right only when we believe that the world is not a mere lifeless mechanism, but that it has a force behind—the Supreme will of the Creator who is above all science, whose sympathy is our solace, and whose vision we have to see not with the help of our *logic-spectacles* such as the ones we have used up-till-now but with the God-given eye of the human heart!

Carlyle's message to his contemporaries, therefore, is that they should remember that life is not a sport but a stern reality. It is an 'Unfathomable Somewhat'. It is an 'open secret', open to all but seen by none. He means that life yields pleasure to us if we understand it aright and are able to solve its problem; otherwise it will make us miserable. In *Past and Present* he says:

"Such a spinx is our life—very attractive with the claws of a lioness."

The human being must think about life and pursue a lofty ideal. Carlyle feels that Ben Jonson is right when he says:

"A certain degree of soul is indispensable to keep the very body from destruction of the frightfullest sort; to

save us the expense of salt; otherwise even salt will not save us."

and what Ben Jonson says about individuals applies very well to nations. Carlyle's opinion is that we are liable to temptations of several kinds and unless we have a goal before us which we have it as our ambition to reach, we are likely to be lost in the mire of our ordinary lives. The most important thing in life is belief, and absence of belief is irreligion: a state of mind which is ugly and unnatural. The word *Church* speaks volumes to him. It is a symbol of belief and hence a mighty force. He reveals his enthusiasm when he exclaims:

"The church: what a word was there; richer than Golconda and the treasures of the world!"

—*French Revolution.*

These symbols, which the modern rationalist treats with contempt, are a reality. They are the Finite shape which the Infinite assumes for the benefit of mankind. But science by bringing in a spirit of inquiry has destroyed wonder (the basis of all worship) and in its stead substituted *measurement* and *numeration*. In this connection Carlyle mentions "there is one thing remarkable in Indian character—the Hindoo Passivity". Carlyle appreciates those who consider all matter as a manifestation of the spirit and treat every object as sacred. He sincerely thinks that man is a miracle of miracles and one must study man or nature with veneration. Thought without reverence does not stay long and,

"The man who cannot wonder, who does not habitually wonder (and worship), were he the greatest scientist of the modern time, is but a pair of spectacles behind which there is no eye. Let those who have eyes look through them and they may be useful."

Carlyle's sympathy for the poor and down-trodden is unbounded and is the offspring of his belief in the oneness of

things. He has a contempt for those who despise people in the humbler walks of life. To him the spinner and the weaver, the carpenter and the road-maker, are objects of study and imitation. He indignantly asks,

"That manly man in the Ragged coat, Did you Reverence him? Did you know he was a manly man till his coat grew better?"

He finds poetry in "the poorest Ox-Goad and the dirtiest Gipsy-Blanket", for, he believes "there is only one temple in the Universe and that is the body of man". He says:

"What is it we cannot love since all is created by God?"

The man that is untaught, uncomforted and unfed has a claim to recognition; he is not a separate individual standing by himself but a part of the spirit that flows through the whole Universe, and his attitude is best expressed in the following passage from *Sartor Resartus*:

"That little fire where the sooty smith bends over his anvil,—and thou hopest to replace thy lost horse-shoe, is it a detached, separated speck, cut off from the whole Universe; or indissolubly joined to the whole? Thou fool, that smithy fire was (primarily) kindled at the sun; is fed by air that circulates from before Noah's Deluge, from beyond the Dog Star; Detached, separated! I say there is no such separation; Rightly viewed no meanest object is insignificant; all objects are as windows, through which the philosophic eye looks into Infinitude itself."

Carlyle thinks that Nature with its manifold productions and destructions is but the reflex of our own inward Force, 'the phantasy of our Dream,' and the view of Goethe that the Universe is the living visible garment of God is full of meaning. He is very fond of quoting the remark of the Earth-Spirit,

"I weave for God the Garment thou seest him by."

The highest state of a man's mind according to one system of Hindu philosophy is when the human being can realise that the Universe is not separate from him, but that it is only an image of himself, or when he is conscious that he is the Universe and the God we are all seeking for is within himself. In other words, in this, as in many other points, Carlyle comes nearest the Eastern mind, for, in his famous expression 'Me the only reality', we find an echo of the Hindu sentiment *Aham Brahma* (The Creator is in me).

Another great contribution that Carlyle has made to nineteenth-century thought is what he calls 'the Gospel of Work'. To him work is sacred however humble it may be. Work is religion and even road-making or drawing out water from the puddles is noble. All work is worship. Our doubts and troubles—the Everlasting No's—will all disappear, when we are on the path of duty. Doubts can never be removed except by action and so he exhorts mankind thus:

"Do the Duty which lies nearest thee, which thou knowest to be a Duty! Thy second Duty will already have become clearer. . . . Produce! Produce! Were it but the pitifullest infinitesimal fraction of a Product, produce it, in God's name! It is the utmost thou hast in thee: out with it, then. Up, up! whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy whole might. Work while it is called To-day: for the Night cometh, wherein no man can work." (*Sartor Resartus*.)

He believes that even cotton-spinning is a holy task! He emphatically says:

"There are only two men who deserve honour: one who works for daily bread, the physically indispensable, another who toils for food and also gives us light—the spiritually indispensable. Sublimar in this world know i nothing than a Peasant saint, could any such now anywhere be met with. Such a one will take thee back to Nazareth itself."

Is it not lucky for us that after a long lapse of about twenty centuries, the world has been able to discover in India a worthy companion to the Carpenter of Nazareth in the Weaver of Sabarmati ?

Carlyle's theory of Great Men is his most famous contribution to English thought in the Victorian Era. He has implicit faith in great men and in his opinion biography is the most instructive branch of human knowledge. His doctrine of great men seems to have its origin in his distrust of Democracy. Though he shows great sympathy for the poor and oppressed, Democracy, in his opinion, is Mobocracy and one of his disciples, Ruskin, went so far as to say "No King means no government". He believes that there are a few wise men in each age who should be chosen and placed at the head of the State to guide its affairs. It is the duty of the nation to choose members from this great Aristocracy of Talent and follow them through thick and thin. To select these men is by no means an easy task and to imitate them is very difficult. But the nation can reach its destination only when it acts according to the advice of these wise men who are therefore the makers of the history of that nation in that particular epoch. This view seems an extreme view to many of us, especially to those to whom society is a matter of scientific progress and the so-called great men are only ripples on the surface. Many of us may find it impossible to say whether the great man is absolutely the creator or creature of his age, but one thing is clear. At certain stages in the history of a nation, it often happens that an individual is born who towers aloft, who sees the wrongs from which his country suffers in social life, religion or politics, who realises fully well the limitations of his nation and who dedicates his life to its uplift. He sees the vision of his country's future and tries his utmost to show his countrymen a far-off goal which they have to reach by dint of honest and courageous effort. His duty is to place them on the path leading to the goal and from time to time pour

enthusiasm into them lest any Fainthearts should falter on the way. He has to exhibit all his strength and courage and push on uncorrupted by bribes or undaunted by threats. He is a Hero and his history is practically the history of the nation in that particular epoch. Carlyle believes that 'the Sovereign is the wise man' and that these heroes rule the world as priests, warriors, kings or poets. He has no sympathy for those who inquire *scientifically* into the conditions of the age and begin 'to account for these great men'. He admits that every great man is a creature of the age in a way but is careful to add that there are some periods in the world's history when the maker of history is born—'the Indispensable saviour of the epoch'—whose position, 'that of the hero in a drama,' should not be lost sight of by the historian. Odin the God, Mahommed the prophet, Cromwell the politician, Shakespeare the poet, and Johnson the man of letters, every one of them is a Hero and creator of history. Moreover such great men are the epitomes of their several epochs, for, the spirit of the age is embodied in them and its various struggles are summed up in the struggles of the individual. In Carlyle's opinion, these great men have not only a reason to be admired, but have also a right to govern mankind; and it is the privilege of mortals to admire them. He says:

"Moreover it is the joy of man's heart to admire another and worship him . . . Does not every man feel he is made higher by reverencing one who is great? It is the most vivifying influence in man's life, heart-felt prostrate admiration, submission of oneself to another, burning zeal for a God-like form of man." (This form of worship still exists in India *e.g.* *Namaskar*=bowing down).

In one age it is the prophet, in another it is the warrior, in a third it is the poet, in a fourth it is the statesman, but there is hero-worship in some form or other in all epochs of human civilisation. In fine, society is based on hero-worship and hero-worship endures for ever while man endures.

Carlyle's Heroes or Makers of History have qualities peculiar to themselves and common to all of them—a social reformer, a religious preacher, a Puritan politician, a dramatic poet and an original critic. All of these are inspired. Sincerity is the soul of their moral being. Above all every one of them is silent. Carlyle's doctrine of silence is peculiar—as peculiar as are other doctrines preached by him. A man who could keep silent for a day finds himself happier and more elevated the next day. The Empire of silence is vast and these Heroes are the monarchs of that region. He admits speech is silvern but undoubtedly silence is golden. The history of the Oak tree is in his opinion a mighty truth. When the seed was sown, how it grew nobody knows. In its life-time the tree did silent service for a thousand years and when it was felled it produced a thunder and everybody marked its fall. The great dramatist of Elizabethan England performed miracles during his time and is still a potent force with many of us; still his birth was silent and his career was silent. Great men do not proclaim themselves from house-tops, but they do steady silent work, till at last they are able to capture the whole world. Also they do more of thinking and acting than of speaking. Their religion is silence, for,

“If speech be Time, silence is Eternity.”

Another quality characteristic of these great men is that they are versatile. “A Hero is a Hero at all points.” Understanding or the faculty of thinking is not a mere tool but is a hand which can handle any tool and whatever may be the department of human activity to which it is applied, it certainly produces wonders. But the most important feature of these Heroes is they are all *unconscious*. The greatest dramatist of England is so great, is able to exercise such eminent influence on the world, because he is unconscious. Carlyle believes that a great man never “engraves truth on his watch-seal”. He is able to do such mighty things in life because he is inspired. When we

happen to have a great soul (*e.g.* M. K. Gandhi) amidst us, whose work is mighty or miraculous, our admiration for him is so great that we style him a Saint, a Prophet, an Angel, or an Incarnation; but if we approached him—were he the greatest man of the world—with such opinions, he would certainly surprise us by saying, “I am a mortal such as you are. If you prick me, shall I not bleed?” In Carlyle’s opinion “the unconscious is alone the complete,” and it is also true to a great extent. Very often in life we find that the imperfect often pretend to be perfect while the perfect still feel they are imperfect. Carlyle’s enthusiasm for these Heroes is so strong that he considers them—prophets, statesmen or poets—messengers of God coming down from Heaven to uplift humanity. He says:

“They are Inspired Texts in the Divine Book of Revelation whereof a chapter is completed from Epoch to Epoch and named History.”

They are the shapes which God assumes in the various periods of world’s history, in order to redeem mankind from their wrongs. This is certainly a very sublime and spiritual conception of great men and their task. It reminds a Hindu of what Lord Sri Krishna said in the *Gita*:

“For the protection of the righteous, for the destruction of the unrighteous, for the establishment of *Dharma* (Right) in the world, I appear in the world from time to time.”

Carlyle’s enthusiasm for great men is so characteristic of him that he thinks there is no science in the world which is not based on the doctrine of Hero-worship. History, which is to us the story of the rise and fall of a large collection of individuals, is to him ‘the essence of innumerable biographies’ and the history of the world is no more than the history of its great men. Goethe is right when he says that we know nothing of the past

except a few details of some of the great men of past times. The most surprising statement of all is when Carlyle—himself a historian—emphatically declares,

“In history we do not find what is done but what is misdone; and hence those people are lucky whose annals are vacant.”

At a time when people were devoting their lives to the study of documents and collection of facts, Carlyle had the boldness, we might call it audacity, to proclaim,

“Foolish History ever more or less, is the written epitomised synopsis of Rumour.”

This does not mean that Carlyle does not believe in the usefulness of history. History, in his opinion, is the most ancient of all branches of knowledge. To write history is a sacred task. “It is a prophetic manuscript in which several letters have not been deciphered so far.” It is a mighty task to which most of us are unequal. The historian must not confine his attention to battles and wars, charters and constitutions but must present to us life beyond these limits: the thoughts and ideals of the people and the problems which puzzled their minds and must detail to us the efforts of those who by toiling hard days and nights have contributed in no small way to the comfort and success of mankind. The historian must reveal the spirit of the age. He must at the same time select the heroes of the epoch—the makers of history—present to us their ideals, their joys and sorrows and elevate us by giving us the clue to the solution of some problem relating to his time or to human kind in general. This means Carlyle wants history must not only be scientific but must also be biographical, philosophical and dramatic. Really Carlyle was not the proper man to write history or criticise it; he was a preacher and transcendentalist whose sole aim in life was to teach men to realise the one among the many, to pass from the finite to the infinite.

When we turn from Carlyle's treatment of history to his criticism of literature, we find the same attitude, that of the transcendental preacher. He was not a professional critic or a mere man of letters. He was a philosopher and prophet whose doctrines and outlook on life colour his views on everything (poetry included) and hence it is no wonder that his views on individual works and authors are unique. When he examines a poet, the first thing he looks for is sincerity. In his opinion poetry without love (*i.e.*, genuine feeling) is an impossibility. Dante the great poet of Italy is so great because he is deeply sincere. "His poetry has all been as if molten, in the hottest furnace of his soul. He is world-great not because he is world-wide but because he is world-deep." It is Dante's inmost feelings that have taken the shape of the *Divine Comedy*. Carlyle often speaks enthusiastically of one of the most remarkable books of the East, the sacred book of Islam, for, in his opinion, "if anything come from the heart of man, it will contrive to reach other hearts; all art and authorcraft are of small amount to that freedom from cant." The *Al Quran* is sacred because its author had a sincerity—"an unconscious sincerity"—and was 'deep-hearted'. Another quality that Carlyle seeks for in poetry is that the poet must not restrict himself to the real. The poet must tell us of the ideal and must take us through the finite to the edge of the infinite. Moreover poetry is not a quality which can be separated from or super-added to the human system in any way we like. It is an index of general harmony in the human mind, the music of the language being a result of the music of the heart. Another thing about poetry is that "a poet in word is a poet in act" and to write a heroic poem, the poet must make his life itself a heroic poem. Life is a great battle with pleasure and temptation, evil and doubt, and unless the poet comes out victorious in this fight, *i.e.* unless he has strength of heart and is finally reconciled to life, his works will not elevate us at all. Therefore the author of every great poem is a warrior or a hero

and similarly the heroic struggles and achievements of any individual, recorded in however plain and simple a language, form a heroic poem. Thus Boswell's *Life of Johnson* is the most valuable heroic poem of the age. It is the *Johnsoniad* (unrhymed, however) of the eighteenth century. Also Carlyle says it is impossible for any poetry to make an appeal unless the poet first passed through all those emotional stages which he associates with his characters. He asks: "How could a man delineate a Hamlet, a Coriolanus, a Macbeth, and so many suffering heroic hearts, if his own heroic heart had never suffered?"

These are the reasons why poetry is sacred and the poet a benefactor of the human race. His enthusiasm for poets can be excellently illustrated from the following tribute to Shakespeare:

"He is the grandest thing we have yet done. Consider now, if they asked us, Will you give up your Indian Empire, or your Shakespeare, you English; never have had any Indian Empire, or never had had any Shakespeare? Really it were a grave question. Official persons would answer doubtless in official language; but, we for our part too, should not we be forced to answer: Indian Empire or no Indian Empire; we cannot do without Shakespeare. Indian Empire will go, at any rate, some day; but this Shakespeare does not go, he lasts for ever with us; we cannot give up our Shakespeare!"

(*Heroes and Hero-Worship.*)

In conclusion, it may be said that Carlyle's great message to his countrymen was that they should not be contented with the world around them but must think of the Great Beyond, and that Mammon-worship must yield place to God-worship. All scepticism will disappear when men take to their work, and work is the solution to evils individual or national. But to fulfil this ideal the human being must lean on the example of some great man, *i.e.* he must be a hero-worshipper. Thus the message of spirituality, the gospel of work and the doctrine of hero-worship—these words sum up Carlyle's contribution to

nineteenth-century thought and the same message is delivered in some shape or other whatever the name of the book may be. In his love of spirituality, in his mysticism, in his belief in the oneness of things and in his enthusiasm for heroes of the past, Carlyle is in the company of the thinkers of the East. Like all transcendentalists he looks at life from on high. He thinks that all branches of knowledge aim at the same thing. To the average man Philosophy, History, Biography and Poetry are separate departments or water-tight compartments. The philosopher gives abstract generalisations on life and dry discussions of moral truths. The historian deals with facts relating to the progress of a nation in politics. The biographer records in prose the thoughts and sayings, and the successes and failures of some one distinguished individual. The poet resorts to fiction and makes the natural supernatural and the supernatural natural. Carlyle feels that all these branches perform one and the same function and have to adopt one and the same method. "History is the essence of innumerable biographies." Also, "History is Philosophy teaching by experience", thus in history the general and the particular are combined, so that history is the same as literature. Again he says poetry is at best a biography, for there is no great poem in any language which is not at bottom a biography and at the same time there is no biography of a great man which is not a good epic poem. Thus history is philosophy, poetry is philosophy and both these are to be treated biographically. To the man who walks in the street one man is different from another and one house is distinct from another; but for one who is seated on a rock, it is not easy to distinguish between man and man or house and house. The average individual feels that science is one thing and religion is another and their ideals necessarily clash. But to the great scientist of the modern time, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, both science and religion teach only one thing: that there is unity amidst diversity. Therefore in Carlyle's opinion, all sciences deliver the same message: that amidst these Specialities, we

should not forget the great Generality. This can be achieved only when we study the life of a great hero whose life gives us the key to the solution of one or other of the problems of man. Thus the great prophet of Victorian England toiled hard for a whole life-time to preach a message which reminds us how we can "make our lives sublime" and leave "footprints on the sands of time".

The Northern Circars and The First Committee of Circuit

BY LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., F.R.Econ.S. (London)

THE COMMITTEE OF REVENUE

The Regulating Act of 1773 was responsible for a marked change in the conduct of the administration of the affairs of the East India Company. It made it obligatory on the part of the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay to lay before the authorities at home a detailed analysis of their respective revenues. Not long after the receipt of orders from the Court of Directors, the President and Council at Madras resolved¹ that "it appears that some inconveniences have arisen from blending . . . ['the business of revenue'] with other proceedings of the Civil Department, that connection being frequently broken and interrupted, it is often necessary before a subject can be thoroughly understood, to make a great number of references which not only create trouble and loss of time, but it sometimes happens, notwithstanding the greatest care, that many little circumstances escape notice and occasion omissions which might be easily prevented by a more regular and connected method of conducting business". It was further resolved that the revenue business be conducted by a 'Board of Revenue'² and the Proceedings be entitled 'Proceedings of the Board of Revenue'. To facilitate the smooth and efficient working of this scheme, a Committee of Four was elected by ballot and appointed to meet once a month or oftener to conduct

¹ *Rev. Cons.* 18th August 1774, Vol. 17. p. 1.

² This Board must not be confused with the Board of Revenue as such created on 1st August 1786 during the administration of Sir Archibald Campbell

the business of this department and to maintain an 'Account Current Book'¹ in order that the amounts of balances arising out of the transactions between the Company on the one hand and the Zemindars and renters on the other might be clearly exhibited. Henceforward, a continuity of policy and thoroughness of revenue administration with the attendant benefits to the renters and cultivators as were so far unknown might be expected.

The efforts of the Madras Council at this stage were beset with great difficulties. With a view to clear the ground for the Committee of Four, they reviewed the existing position of revenue affairs in the Northern Circars.² The Company's possessions comprising of lands 'held by them in absolute right' were found to consist of the *haveli* lands, approximating to a certain extent to the ancient royal demesne and of Zemindari lands held by individuals with varying rights and status. In both these cases the Company entered into agreements with them on a mixed tributary and lease basis and as such no direct contact between the former and the actual cultivators was possible. The Zemindars were found to be of a puzzling type. Some of them were 'hereditary landowners', tracing their origin to comparatively remote periods. Others were self-created territorial proprietors who came into existence during the troublous times that followed the break up of the Bahamani Kingdom and the Mughal Empire. But both these classes were equally obstinate and "often refused obedience until compelled by force" which at times resulted in their expulsion from their Zemindaries. "The Government found the attachment of the people to the Zemindars so strong that they could seldom collect any part of the revenues and in general they rather chose to give the lands to one of the family than to annex them to the Crown." Forcible occupation was never contemplated. All that was done was to 'secure a reasonable tribute' settled with the individual Zemindars and the renters in general. The

¹ *Idem.* 26th August. p. 5.

² *Idem.* pp. 5—25.

system of leases, generally for periods of three or five years, more often the former, was found convenient. A principle of gradation of annual payments in the ascending order was unconsciously adopted, and the 'medium'¹ was generally recognised as the standard for revenue transactions. This system, presumably, worked smoothly as far as it obtained, inasmuch as the lower initial payment was capable of being augmented considerably by the time the leases expired, on account of the possibility of an increased attention to and grasp of detail by the contracting parties of the agricultural conditions. This feature led to the unavoidable presence of balances outstanding in the Company's accounts, while the principle of continuity of management as seen in the convenient re-appointment of a renter was gradually instituted. The tentative arrangements recognising Hussain Ali Khan as the chief renter of the Company's southern possessions and allowing Sitarama Razu to mediate for the revenues of the Chicacole Zemindars were given up, and "the Board² thought it expedient to try the mode of settling with the Zemindars without the intervention of a renter, and the experiment succeeded beyond all expectations".

Paucity of material, in spite of the accounts of the subordinate settlements, hampered the activities of the Company "to prevent the people from being oppressed and to secure to them all their just rights and privileges, for industry is the natural effect of security". To obviate this difficulty, the duties of the Committee of Four were clearly defined. They were to meet as frequently as occasion demanded. Something like an agricultural census was to be attempted. The Committee were directed to ascertain the value of the lands, their capacity for improvement, the mode of division of crops and the realisation

¹ The medium finds its parallel in Akbar's *mahsul*. See the present writer's brochure, *Mughal Land Revenue System*, p. 25. The Bashoor Muslim Library, Woking, England 1929.

² The Board here referred to is the Madras Council which was customarily called by that name.

of the assessment, and to "draw out an account of the several divisions of the home farms",¹ specifying the chief towns and villages dependent on the various *cusbas* or chiefships, the number of houses, the nature of the soil, whether watered by tanks or *pikotas*,² the number of tanks and water courses, the expenses required to put them into proper condition, the prospective advantages to be derived from such constructive undertakings, the proportion of cultivated to uncultivated land, and the like. Likewise was an industrial census enjoined with a view to facilitate the commercial activities of the Company. Further, the Committee were asked to make an historical inquiry into the position of the *srotriam* and *inam* lands. A minute investigation was cautiously avoided, but the Chiefs and Councils of the subordinate settlements were instructed to furnish detailed accounts-current of revenue, with their views on the probable effects of a fragmentation of individual holdings under the management of renters from whose 'want of responsibility' the Company 'frequently suffered'. Particular emphasis was laid upon the independent 'further enquiries' of the Company's servants in supplying this information explanatory to the accounts of the *sheristadars*, *mujumdars*, *deshmukhs* and the *deshpandyas*. All this was anticipatory of the terms of reference to the Committee of Circuit which was appointed a year later.

The Committee submitted its first report on 1st December 1774, which dealt with the accounts-current of the various districts belonging to the Company.³ After carefully comparing their information with the oral and written evidence and accounts of the Zemindars and renters, the Committee dilated upon the imperfections in the dealings of various subordinate

¹ Corresponding to the *Khalsa* of the Muhammadan regime. Same as the *haveli*.

² *Pikota* is one of the principal instruments in lift irrigation. See Maclean. *S. V.* Vol. III. p. 682.

³ *Idem.* pp. 169—177.

Chiefs and Councils with the farmers of revenue in general. Extracts from this report were sent to the chiefships concerned for their explanation. This may be regarded as the first instance of a system of audit of the revenue accounts fully developed in the Madras Presidency at a considerably later date.

The inquiry, rather the survey ordered by the Madras Council occasioned a lot of suspicion on the part of the renters as well as the cultivators. The Committee were not satisfied with the accounts supplied by the Chief and Council of Masulipatam and deemed them "insufficient to enable us to judge of their real value,"¹ while they expressed their surprise at the fears of the inhabitants who "appear to be so much interested in every kind of improvement of the lands, that we cannot conceive why an enquiry of this kind should afford them any real grounds of suspicion."² At this stage, George Mackay, a member of the Madras Council, submitted a reasoned minute deprecating short leases.³ He raised seven points dealing with the advisability of adopting a system of long leases, encouraging the Company's servants to rent lands, bringing Zemindari agreements into assonance with those relating to the *haveli* lands, and synchronising both for purposes of administrative convenience, prohibiting the acceptance of *nazars* on pain of suspension from office, issuing public advertisements in English and Telugu while calling in revenue offers scraping up inland duties and finally appointing a committee to circuit the Company's *jagir*⁴ and the Northern Circars. All these proposals

¹ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 18th April 1775. *Rev. Cons.* 3rd May, Vol. 17-A. pp. 162—163. Again, Masulipatam wrote that "on account of the intricacy and excessive tediousness of the Elloreaccounts . . . it would not be in our power to perfect the enquiry you have directed" *Same to same*, 7th August, *idem.* 18th August, pp. 418.

² *Idem.* pp. 171—172.

³ *Idem.* pp. 167—170.

⁴ At this period the *jagir* consisted of the lands round Madras forming part of the present Chingleput District.

were approved with the exception of the last for which the existing conditions were deemed unpropitious.¹ "Upon a comparative view of the affairs. . . the Board observe with concern that the offers for five years fall short of the late rents upwards of 7,000 pagodas per annum, and they observe also that the offers upon the increased term of eight and ten years even do not come up to those rents." This is evidently due to the reflex effects of the stir caused by the proposed inquiry. "The offers are in general inadequate to the value of the farms" and all except three, of which one was that of an European renter, were rejected. At the same time the farms for which the proposals were rejected were to be managed "immediately on . . . [the Company's] own account," until the results of the survey ordered to be conducted by Mr. Scott of the Masulipatam farms became available.

The Committee submitted its second report on 21st July 1775.² As far as the Northern Circars were concerned, the findings of the Committee indicated a very unfavourable situation. Large balances were outstanding in the Company's accounts. Most of the renters and Zemindars under Vizagapatam who owed them were dispossessed of their lands. The balances under Masulipatam "appear to us very considerable and we therefore represent them to you that you may issue such orders as may appear to you necessary upon the occasion.

. . . For the regular keeping of the books account-current of the Zemindars and renters, it is necessary that it be the province of one person." The Madras Council circularised the Chiefs and Councils of Vizagapatam and Masulipatam with the above findings, while Mr. Hoissard was appointed to the charge of the accounts-current with the Zemindars and renters.

THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF CIRCUIT

The appointment of the Committee of Circuit is memorable in more ways than one. So far, matters relating to revenue

¹ *Rev. Cons.* 6th June ; *Idem.* pp. 200—218.

² *Rev. Cons.* 21st July *idem.* pp. 340—43.

were dealt with in the most casual manner possible. The subordinate chiefships conducted the revenue business at first in the public consultations and then in the military consultations and sometimes in both. It was not till 1774 that the revenue business was clearly separated from the military and commercial undertakings, and a series of revenue consultations started. The appointment of the Circuit Committee resulted in accelerating this attempt for a departmental organisation of the ever-increasing volume of the revenue business and not only provided for continuity of policy but also systematised the revenue methods.

Previous to the appointment of the Circuit Committee, the Chiefs and Councils of the subordinate settlements had not access to detailed and authentic local information necessary to give them a regular, definite and real grasp of the position of the agriculturists and the capacity of the country to yield an adequate and reasonable revenue for which there was an ever-growing demand on the part of the Company with their increased responsibility and enlarged field of activities. No wonder that they were at the mercy of the few who understood the English language and were entitled to their confidence. It was essentially an age of *dubash* tyranny. The cases of Kandregula Jogi Pantulu, Venkata Rayulu and Jaggappa on the one hand and of Bala Krishna Naidu on the other are instances in point. Next to these 'interpreters' came the select group of the landed aristocracy who had the wherewithal to parade their capacity to rent lands for a consideration. What the Company at this period wanted was an adequate security for the regular payment of the much needed revenue, and this the mixed type of landed proprietors, otherwise indifferently called Zemindars, were seen to provide most often with the collateral security of *soucar* bills. But the *dubash*, by the nature of his appointment which was often coupled with that of a renter of the Company's *haveli* lands, was a potential instrument for double-dealing and oppression, while the

demonstrations of some of the prospective renters were frequently deceptive. The latter fact may be illustrated by the enormous balances invariably remaining in the credit columns of the Company's accounts. Even the large estates, say of Vizianagaram and Pithapuram, were not sufficient guarantees for the regular payment of the Company's dues. The period prior to this important event was essentially one of revenue speculation, both on the part of the Company's servants and the prospective renters, inasmuch as neither of them had the means or the social standing sufficient to inspire confidence and obtain a specific knowledge of the condition of the husbandmen, the capacity of the land, the state of irrigational facilities, the effect of the seasons on the crops and the like, not to speak of the question of land tenures. The situation was worsened by the fact that most of the renters were privateers in the good books of the Company without possessing any local knowledge. What was looked for was the assurance of an agreement for an appreciable amount of revenue reinforced by a guarantee for its punctual payment. Obviously, such a variable mode of revenue speculation could not have produced a just system of revenue assessment and collection. The orders for the appointment of the Circuit Committee were conceived to relieve the disastrous effects of such a process susceptible of modulation from year to year.

The appointment of the Circuit Committee was ordered by the Court of Directors in their dispatch of 12th April 1775.¹ It was to consist of 'a committee of our Council', meaning thereby the Madras Council, which was "to acquire a compleat knowledge of the territories which have been granted to the Company on the Coast of Coramandel and to establish a judicious and

¹ *Madras Dispatches*, Vol. 6. pp. 372-98. It is quite probable that this measure of the Court of Directors was prompted by the decision of the Madras Council in appointing the Committee of Four, as there was sufficient time for the former to receive the Madras advices announcing the same before they proceeded with the appointment of the Circuit Committee.

permanent system for their future management". They were to "ascertain with all possible exactness the produce of the countries, the number of inhabitants, the state of manufactures, the fortified places, the gross amount of the revenues, the articles from which they arose, and the mode by which they are collected, the charges of collection, the specific proportion usually received by the Rajah or Zemindar, and that which custom or usage has allotted to the cultivator as reward of his labor . . . They are particularly to enquire what security . . . [the latter] has for his property, what courts there are for the administration of justice and how far similar regulations to those lately established at Bengal by our President and Council [there] may with propriety be introduced into the Northern Circars." "The impropriety of suffering any Zemindar to become a formidable neighbour or too powerful cannot admit of a doubt. . . . In order to enable us to strike at the root of this evil, the Committee of Circuit must take the most effectual means for ascertaining the strength of each Rajah, Zemindar or landholder in the Circars, the expense of his household and that of his troops, the means he may have of defraying such expenses, and the number of regular troops which it will be necessary for us to maintain in the respective districts in order to keep them in due subjection. . . . [to maintain which, the] tribute remitted to our treasury at Fort St. George be nevertheless considerably increased. We are therefore resolved that every military man in the Circars shall be absolutely under our own command, obliged to serve us whenever he may be wanted." If any of the Zemindars "relinquish their hereditary claims, we have no objection to allow them such stipends as shall be found reasonable in lieu of the benefits arising from their Zemindaries". "It is by no means our wish to deprive the hereditary Rajahs or Zemindars of their annual incomes ; on the contrary, we mean to secure it to them without the necessity of keeping up an armed force to compel payment thereof and it is our earnest desire to deliver the

inhabitants, so far as may be in our power, from undue exaction and oppression." Finally, the Committee were to lease out the lands for a period of years, at their own discretion, on the expiry of the existing agreements.

The unfortunate administration of Lord Pigot, which resulted in his ultimate imprisonment by the majority of the Madras Council, impeded the immediate appointment of the Circuit Committee so definitely insisted upon by the Court of Directors. Notwithstanding the spirited protest of Sir Robert Fletcher,¹ the obstinacy of Lord Pigot who pleaded the urgency of the Tanjore affairs and the impossibility of sparing senior servants to serve on the Committee, protracted the quarrels among the members of the Madras Council to a disgusting extent. During the course of this unfortunate affair,² Francis Jourdan, a senior member of the Council who saw service to the northward, minuted³: "I know of no other circumstance in the present situation of our affairs that can justify longer delay in carrying on these orders of the Company for the Circuit into execution; on the contrary, the rents of the farms are continued for one year and the mode tends evidently to distress the inhabitants in those districts. The Zemindars likewise must be managed in the same manner. The Zemindars will be discouraged from improvement in the apprehension of an increase of tribute and this mode, injurious as it may be, cannot be altered until the Committee obtain full and perfect information of the real value of the lands. The Circars are capable of great improvement.

¹ *Rev. Cons.* 28th June 1776. Vol. 18. p. 162.

² See *idem.* 26th July, 1st August, 2nd August, 5th August and 9th August *idem.* pp. 180-82; 206; 213; 217-218; 223-26; and 257-68 respectively. For a vivid narrative of Lord Pigot's career, see Love: *Vestiges*. III. pp. 84-122. For a narrative of the personal animosities between the members of the Madras Council see *Lord Pigot's Narrative of the late Revolution in the Government of Madras*, with marginal notes by Alexander Dalrymple. India Office Library. No. 4. D. 20.

³ *Rev. Cons.* 26th July. Vol. 18. pp. 180-82.

. . . These are the objects of Government (*sic*) and which if well attended to will give confidence, wealth and happiness to the people and increase the revenues of the Government, and these are the objects entrusted to the care of the Committee." Spurred to action by this spirited minute, the majority in Council,¹ appointed the Committee of Circuit on 11th October 1776.² Consisting of Samuel Johnson, Charles Floyer, John Hollond, Peter Perring and Quintin Craufurd, the Committee were ordered to investigate in the first instance the revenues of the Chicacole *pargana*.³

DUTIES OF THE CIRCUIT COMMITTEE

Early during the disagreement between the members of the Madras Council, attempts were made to define the scope of the work of the Circuit Committee on the basis of the instructions of the Court of Directors. Alexander Dalrymple, the future author of the *Oriental Repertory*, then a member of the Council, prepared an elaborate list of the duties of, and the procedure to be adopted by, the Committee.⁴ His clear enunciation of the *modus vivendi* to be profitably adopted, which consisted of the detailing of individual members of the Committee assisted by junior servants to localise their investigations in the

¹ The majority minute was signed by George Stratton, Sir Thomas Fletcher, Charles Floyer, Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay.

² *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 11th October. *idem*. p. 356.

³ The Committee originally named by the Court of Directors consisted of George Dawson, Claud Russel, Alexander Dalrymple, Samuel Johnson and George Mackay. See *Madras Dispatches*, (Revenue) 12 April 1775, para 35. Vol. 6. p. 397. But owing to official and personal difficulties, the original Committee as such could not proceed as a body. It is significant to note that the appointment of junior servants was mostly disastrous. Almost all of them were found guilty of peculation during later investigations. It is equally conspicuous to note that the members of the original Committee were exactly of the opposite character.

⁴ *Rev. Cons.* 29th July. Vol. 18. pp. 191 ff.

different parts of the Circars and after collating their work in committee to proceed with the leasing out of the lands, did not evoke the consideration it merited. Lord Pigot was suspended on 25th August 1776, and instructions were issued to the Circuit Committee on 31st October¹ under the signature of George Stratton who was elected President by the majority in Council.

Put briefly, the Circuit Committee were ordered to investigate the best possible way of increasing the Company's revenues.² To supply authentic and detailed information about the state of the existing affairs was a secondary charge. Not even a single point was missed. From the examination of the position of the formidable military strength of the Raja of Vizianagaram to an enquiry into the necessity of building a residence for the Paymaster of Aska, the Committee were to concern themselves with everything. Sufficient latitude of action was given to them and they were urged to conduct the inquiry "in the most expeditious and effectual manner possible". All the records of the Company's subordinate settlements were put at their disposal, and the persons employed in the survey of the lands were detailed to assist them in every way.

The Committee were asked to examine into the validity of the claims for an abatement of revenue by Jagannadha Razu and Jaggabandhu Chaudhari, renters of the Company's *haveli* lands in the Chicacole and Ichchapur *parganas* respectively and by Sitaraina Razu *diwan* to and elder brother of the Raja of Vizianagaram. They were further to report on the advisability of converting the smaller and heavily encumbered

¹ *Madras to Circuit Committee*, 31st October. *Idem*. pp. 375-82.

² For a clear account of the duties of the Circuit Committee see *Madras Letters Received* (Revenue) 14th October 1775 (Wynch). Vol. 7. Complaining of the chaotic condition of the revenue affairs in the Circars, to rectify which the Circuit Committee were appointed, Madras wrote home: "The rights of the Government have been sacrificed and the privileges of the inhabitants violently encroached upon." *Idem*, para 5.

Zemindaries into the Company's *haveli* with suitable *jagirs* provided for the maintenance of the sequestered Zemindari families. But, "we do not mean upon any account to take away from the Zemindars their hereditary rights." Means were to be recommended for reducing the price of salt. Octroi and other Zemindari duties which were harmful to industry and commerce were to be minutely inquired into with a view to their total abolition, as well as the validity of the innumerable grants for lands in the possession of cultivators which exempted them from paying rent to the Company in some way or other. This practically amounted to an historical inquiry into the question of land tenures. Finally, the instructions were rounded off with the following remarkable passage¹: "The increase of cultivation and of population, the increase of the wealth of individuals and of revenue to Government are so connected with each other, that in the investigation entrusted to you, every day will throw new light upon the information of the preceding day. We rely upon the exertion of your endeavours in the execution of this important business, and we shall therefore only add that much will depend on impressing the minds of the people with confidence in our Government and securing to the industrious the produce of their labour."

The appointment of the Circuit Committee did not immediately secure the avowed objects of the majority of the Council which shortly after arrested and imprisoned Lord Pigot, as they at once proceeded to abandon the principles on which they had appeared to fight. On the recommendation of the Masulipatam Council,² they let the lands for a term of two years

¹ Para 21 of the instructions *Idem*.

² *Masulipatam to Madras*, 21st November 1776. *Rev. Cons.* 4th December. *Idem*. pp. 430ff. Charles Ployer who was a member of the Circuit Committee and who later became notorious for his acts of misappropriation of public revenues, was the Chief of Masulipatam at this time. See also, *Madras Letters Received* (Revenue) 6th February 1777. 4. (Stratton). Vol. 8, pp. 244—45.

under the impression that such an act would not only allay popular apprehensions but also facilitate the Circuit Committee's work, and thus within less than a fortnight of the revolution, the policy which they so vigorously enunciated was completely reversed.

After the completion of preliminary investigations of the Vizagapatam records, the Circuit Committee requested¹ for a copy of the report of the Bengal Committee of Circuit, which was appointed considerably earlier,² with a view to inquire into precedents and assess their applicability to the conditions prevailing in the Northern Circars. The original Committee of Four still continued to function, and on 14th January 1777 they furnished a report³ based on a detailed analysis of the Company's revenues from the various *parganas* of the Northern Circars. This curious parallelism in the functions and investigations of the two Committees is not clearly explicable.

REPORTS OF THE CIRCUIT COMMITTEE

The Circuit Committee were compelled to plunge at once into the tangled morass of Vizianagaram politics which came to a climax at this period. The fraternal jealousies between Vizarama Razu, the Raja of Vizianagaram, and his aggrieved elder brother, Sitarama Razu, whose claims to the Zemindari had been overlooked, reached the point at which no orderly government of the vast tracts of land under their joint control was possible. Jagannadha Razu, the *diwan* of Vizarama Razu and the renter of the Company's *haveli* lands in the Chicacole Circar, was imprisoned by the Vizagapatam Council for his alleged contumacy in aiding Rajanna Dora, a rebel chief in the

¹ *Circuit Committee to Madras*, 20th December. *Idem* 31st December. p. 495.

² The Bengal Report was not at all supplied to the Circuit Committee. See *Report of the Circuit Committee* 10th September 1777. para 24. *Rev. Cons.* 18th November. *Idem*. p. 653.

³ Interim Report signed by Brooke and Jourdon dated Fort St. George 14th January 1777. *Rev. Cons.* 17th January. Vol. 19. pp 14-17.

West Godavari District.¹ The Madras Government took strong exception to this and wrote to Vizagapatam²: "As we have already recommended to the Chiefs and Councils in the Circars to keep upon the best terms possible with the several Zemindars and to maintain them in their respective rights and privileges, we are much concerned at the steps you had taken to confine Jaggernautrauze without the charge being proved against him. For being Duan to Vizarama Razu he should have been imprisoned through him for the claim laid to his charge." Vizarama Razu protested at this obvious encroachment of his just rights and refused to proceed to Madras as was ordered by the Vizagapatam Council.³ Instead, he rescued Jagannadha Razu from the custody of the Company's troops, and not only made him a prisoner for a second time but also abetted his brother Sitarama Razu in imprisoning and torturing Jagga Rao, the Company's interpreter at Vizagapatam.⁴ Notwithstanding the protests of the Circuit Committee⁵ and the demand by the Madras Council for the release of Jagannadha Razu,⁶ he put Vizianagaram in a

¹ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 27th February 1777. *Milit. Cons.* 10th March. Vol. 83. pp. 319—28. In this Jagannadha Razu was supposed to have had the support of his erstwhile enemy Sitarama Razu. The records for this period dealing with the Vizianagaram family seem to be very much confused. It was the same Jagannadha Razu who was later recommended by the Circuit Committee to the *Muzumdari* of the Chicacole Circar. See *Infra*, p. 28.

² *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 2nd May. *Idem.* pp. 655—56.

³ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 17th April. *Milit. Cons.* 28th April. Vol. 83. p. 635 and Vol. 84. p. 636.

⁴ *Same to Same*. 30th June and 1st July. *Milit. Cons.* 14th July. Vol. 84. pp. 995—98 and 999 respectively; see also *same to same* 5th June and 30th June. *Rev. Cons.* 17th July. Vol. 19. pp. 285-305.; See further, *Madras Letters Received*, 18th September 1777 (Whitehill). paras 9-11. Vol. 8. pp. 363-65.

⁵ *Circuit Committee to Vizarama Razu*, dated Chicacole 28th June in *Circuit Committee to Madras*, 5th July. *Rev. Cons.* 1st August. Vol. 19. pp. 480-82.

⁶ *Madras to Vizagapatam*, (military). 14th July. Vol 84. pp. 1013-14.

state of defence and collecting 25,000 troops threatened hostilities with a view to openly assert his rights.¹ He was further believed to be in league with the Maharattas.² The disputes between the Vizagapatam Council and Capt. Murphy, the officer commanding the Company's troops in the Chicacole Circar, unnecessarily dragged on till 19th July 1777,³ when at the request of the former, reinforcements were sent under Capt. Collins from Masulipatam and Capt. Cheshyre from Ganjam.⁴ Roused at last to a sense of the gravity of the situation the incapable Viziarama Razu recalled the detachment of a thousand troops sent to the aid of Rajanna Dora, sent in *teeps* for Rs. 1,22,666 and promised to pay off the remaining balance to the Company in a short time. But Jagannadha Razu's life was still in danger, since by this time the ascendancy of Sitarama Razu over his weakling brother was supreme. Samuel Johnson, Chief of Vizagapatam, deputed Quintin Craufurd, a member of his Council, and the Company's *dubash* to conclude a speedy settlement with Viziarama Razu.⁵ Madras condemned this proceeding as calculated "to degrade the authority of the Company"⁶ while the mission itself failed in that Viziarama Razu refused to deliver Jagannadha Razu into the custody of the Company.⁷

Even though Jagannadha Razu was released almost immediately afterwards,⁸ Sir Edward Hughes was asked to

¹ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 8 and 9 July. *Milit. Cons.* 21 July. *Idem.* pp. 1030-32.

² *Idem*

³ For the correspondence between the Vizagapatam Council and Capt. Murphy, over the powers of the Company's military officers in relation to those of the civil servants, see *Milit. Cons.* 21 July. *Idem.* pp. 1033-50.

⁴ See correspondence in *Milit. Cons.* 5th August. *Idem.* pp. 1139-60.

⁵ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 23 July. *Milit. Cons.* 5 August. *Idem.* pp. 1160 to 63.

⁶ *Madras to Vizagapatam* 5 August. *Idem.* pp. 1163 to 66.

⁷ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 28 July. *Milit. Cons.* 8 August. *Idem.* pp. 1178 to 80 and the enclosures pp. 1180 to 85.

⁸ *Same to same*, (supplemental) 28 July. *Idem.* p. 1186.

provide two ships to carry troops and stores to Vizagapatam,¹ and on the minute of General Stuart the Madras Council resolved to garrison the fort of Vizianagaram.² Jagannadha Razu still remained at large³, and ran the risk of being again kidnapped.⁴ Further reinforcements were ordered to Vizagapatam,⁵ Masulipatam was directed to defray the expenses of the expedition,⁶ and Col. Braithwaite placed in charge of the operations⁷. Viziarana Razu was ordered⁸ to remove all his effects from Vizianagaram, to look to Madras for future instructions, to account for the "indignity and insult [offered] to this Government and for the impediments thrown in the way of the Circuit Committee,"⁹ to appoint with the consent of Sitarama Razu an heir to the Zemindari, to deliver the fort of Vizianagaram

¹ *Idem.* p. 1188.

² He was supported by the President George Stratton, Charles Floyer and Francis Jourdan. Charles Mackay, who was former Chief of Vizagapatam, requested in vain for an inquiry into the conduct of the Vizagapatam Council and into the intrigues of a John Douglas and his *dubash* (who was recently appointed the Company *dubash* at Vizagapatam in succession to Jugga Rao) in fomenting dissensions between the Vizagapatam Council and Viziarana Razu, and thus give the Raja an opportunity to justify his conduct. See, *Milit. Cons.* 11th August. *Idem.* pp. 1192 to 1204. Strangely enough, the Court of Directors approved the conduct of General Stuart. See *Madras Dispatches*. 14th April 1779. Vol. 8. pp. 368-77.

³ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 19th July. *Milit. Con.* 11th August. Vol. 84. pp. 1209-12.

⁴ *Vizagapatam to Madras* (supplemental) 29th July, and of 31st July *Milit. Cons.* 11th August. Vol. 84. pp. 1212-18.

⁵ *Madras to Sir Edward Hughes*, 11th August. *Idem.* pp. 1119-20.

⁶ *Milit. Cons.* 12th August. pp. 1121-22. Mackay again vainly pleaded for the postponement of aggressive measures.

⁷ *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 15th August. *Idem.* pp. 1225-31, and instructions Col. Braithwaite, *Idem.* pp. 1231-37.

⁸ *Madras to Vizurama Razu*, *Idem.* pp. 1237-41.

⁹ The Circuit Committee strongly complained of the impediments thrown in the way of their inquiries by Viziarana Razu who refused them access to the village accountants. See *Circuit Committee to Madras*, 5th July. *Rec. Cons.* 1st August. Vol. 19. pp. 480-82.

to Col. Braithwaite within twenty-four hours' notice; and, finally, to proceed to Madras for a new revenue settlement. Viziarama Razu protested in vain against his ill-treatment by the Vizagapatam Council,¹ and surrendered on 17th August 1777.² Sitarama Razu fled from Vizianagaram the very next day, and the Vizagapatam Council recommended his imprisonment inasmuch as his flight with his family effects constituted an act of criminality and as "his ambition [could] only be equalled by his avarice".³ Communicating the whole transaction to Warren Hastings, the Whitehill Government observed⁴ that the preceding Stratton Government had taken such severe steps "thinking this a favourable opportunity for reducing the increased power of Vizieramrauze which has long been an object of jealousy to the Company".

It is clear from the preceding narrative that the action of

¹ *Viziarama Razu to Madras in Milit. Cons.* 18th August. Vol. 85 p. 1274. The Razu's letter was not dated.

² *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 20th August. *Idem.* 4th September pp. 1340-43, and enclosures, pp. 1344-57. A narrative of the incidents was supplied in *same to same* of 30th August. *Idem.* 9th September, pp. 1382-93, and the numerous enclosures which constitute Braithwaite's correspondence with the Vizagapatam council and contain copies of the *sanads* given by Viziarama Razu to Jagannadha Razu are to be found in pp. 1394-1427.

"In justice to Vizieramrauze", the Madras Government wrote home that he formally submitted to the Chief of Vizagapatam before the arrival of the European detachments. See *Madras Letters Received*, 15th October, para 3. (Whitehill). Vol. 8. pp. 432-33.

³ *Loc. Cit.*

⁴ *Madras to Bengal (military)* 19th September. *Idem* pp. 1446-69.

The Whitehill Government further wrote to the Court of Directors :

"Vizieramrauze's power appears long to have been an object of apprehension to this Government, and his Jummabundy or tribute to the Company has on that account been rated much lower in proportion (*sic*) than that of the other Zemindars. To strike at the root of this evil without forcibly dispossessing him of his lands or involving the Company in the inconveniences of a war, was an act of moderation and prudence which cannot fail of operating (*sic*) to your advantage in whatever light it is considered." *Madras Letters Received*, 19th September 1777, para 11 Vol. 8. p. 365.

the Madras Government was unnecessarily provocative and precipitate. No doubt, the Vizianagaram Zemindari had become more and more formidable ever since the battle of Kondur, and the Court of Directors and the Circuit Committee recommended its reduction. The difficulty lay in finding a suitable pretext for such an unprecedented act. The aggressive attitude of the Vizagapatam Council in imprisoning the *diwan* of Vizianagaram without the charges being proved against him and without the previous permission of his master was condemned with justice by the Stratton Government. But the righteous indignation of the vacillating Vizarama was exploited as offering a pretext for reducing the influence and wealth of the Vizianagaram family, and hence the precipitate proceedings. It is singular that the Court of Directors made no comment on these transactions although they strongly condemned the later proceedings of Sir Thomas Rumbold.

The first report of the Circuit Committee¹ naturally comprised an account of the military strength of Vizarama Razu. It is impossible to credit this report with the responsibility for the reduction of the Vizianagaram Zemindari, since it was dated 16th August 1777, the day previous to, and was read in Madras revenue consultations ten days after, the actual surrender of Vizarama Razu. Equally impossible it is to say how far the investigations of the Committee during the nine months preceding the fall of the fort of Vizianagaram supplied the Madras Council with information sufficient to induce them to pursue such a forward policy. Hence, the doubtful value of the sections of this report dealing with the military position of the Zemindari. Yet, it throws a flood of light on the exact situation of the affairs in the Chicacole Circar and undoubtedly helped the Madras Council to formulate plans for the general demilitarisation of the Circar which was systematically carried out subsequently.

¹ *Circuit Committee to Madras*, dated Chicacole 16 August. *Rev. Cons.* 27 August. Vol. 19. pp. 522-43.

The accounts perused by the Committee 'were broken and unfinished' and their investigations were greatly handicapped by want of access to the village accountants. The revenues of Viziamama Razu were estimated at twenty lakhs of rupees a year. Of this, six or seven lakhs, or nearly a third of the gross revenues of the Zemindari, were generally expended on the maintenance of a regular force of eleven thousand *sibbandi*.¹ Sitarama Razu was "well known to be a man of great intrigue, abilities and persuasion" and kept a constant correspondence with the other Zemindars awaiting an opportunity to take the field against the Company. The renters of the Chicacole and Kasimkota *haveli* lands were not entitled to any abatement of their rents.

The second report of the Circuit Committee² throws a lot of light on the proprietary rights of the Zemindars, *inamdars*, renters and, finally, of the actual cultivators of the soil, even though some of their contentions and observations as to fact are questionable. The resolution of the Madras Council on this report is not of any real significance as Johnson and Perring who are signatories to the report happened to be members thereof when it came under their consideration.

"The Chicacole havelly is, in general, we understand, thinly populated and not sufficiently stocked with bullocks for cultivation and that on this account many spots capable of cultivation have been neglected for many years past." A succession of short leases entirely ruined the country as "in a short lease the renter must necessarily be discouraged from launching out in (*sic*) any considerable improvements on account of the danger his property would be liable to from

¹ Eight thousand troops were stationed at Vizianagaram. Two thousand three hundred of these were "sepoys with firelocks, of which eleven hundred are clothed and a thousand and seven hundred receive the same pay as the Company's".

² *Circuit Committee to Madras*, 10 September. *Rev. Cons.* 18 November. *Idem.* pp. 628-64.

The observations on land tenures are fully utilised in the chapter on land tenures.

the failure of rains and as he can have no certainty of his expenses being reimbursed". "The computation of the produce being fixed too high in several villages where they (*sic*) fell, and partly as the price at which the Government's share was charged to the inhabitants being rated above the due medium of value", the cultivators were heavily indebted to the renters. Further, the Company sustained a loss of a lakh and a half rupees during the management of the *haveli* lands by Akkaji and Mir Sahib. The Vizianagaram family was aggressive in usurping the Kotapalem *pargana*¹ from its lawful Zemindar whose family first obtained possession of it from Hafiz-ud-Din, Nawab of Chicacole, as far back as 1725, and of the Gunupuram and Nerumandalam *parganas*² which rightfully belonged to Jagannadha Deo, Raja of Kimedi. Sitarama Razu claimed illegally and enjoyed the revenues of certain *haveli* villages valued at Rs. 45,000.

The Committee did not approve of the appointment, according to the usual practice, of inexperienced *tahsildars* to collect the revenues of the lands of defaulting renters and Zemindars. With a view to obviate the existing undesirable features in the administration of the Chicacole Circar, as enumerated above, they recommended that the *haveli* lands be leased out to Padmanabha Razu for a period of ten years which would improve the revenue conditions to an astonishing extent. The improvement of the revenues being their primary charge, the Committee recommended that all the outstanding balances must be considered as revenue 'whether received or not' and inserted accordingly in the Company's accounts. Further, they thought it proper when preparing *kowles* "to insert such conditions in order to preclude all pretensions in the renter (*sic*) to deductions at the expira-

¹ In the Chipurupallee taluk of the Vizagapatam district.

² In the Gunupuram taluk of the Vizagapatam district. I am not able to identify the Nerumandalam *pargana* which word, in all probability, is not in current use.

tion of the term on the ground of former precedents." The Vizianagaram family was not entitled to the retention of the Kotapalem *pargana* and as such Timma Razu the rightful owner should be restored to it on a reasonable rent. Likewise, the offer of Rs. 25,000 by Jagannadha Deo, Raja of Kimedi, for the Gunupuram and Nerumandalam *parganas* might be accepted and the countries delivered to his charge, as these were obtained by Sitarama Razu as lately as 1771. "We conceive the lands themselves are unalienable" and "it appears to us to be not only inconsistent with the submission due to the supremacy of the Company's Government that the Zemindars should privately alienate any part of the lands of their Zemindaries, but further the allowing of such a practice would be no less repugnant to principles of sound policy." As to the *haveli* villages, continued possession by Sitarama Razu had not created any legal right for him. They were first obtained by the Vizianagaram family in 1741 during the governorship of Jaffer Ali Khan, whose inefficient administration resulted in his removal and the appointment of Abdali Khan. Viziamama Razu the Great found means to arrange for the reappointment of Jaffer Ali and subsequently defeated the Hyderabad forces in 1752. Then followed the administration of De Bussey. The villages in question were never relinquished even during the management of Ibrahim Khan who was appointed as the French deputy in the Chicacole Circar when De Bussey finally left the Northern Circars. Finally, no authentic *sanads* under the Hyderabad seal were produced by the Vizianagaram family. Even if there were any, "it cannot, we think, be doubted that the Company by the cession that was made them of the Circars by the Court of Delly, became immediately possessed of all the rights over them, that resided in the Mogul Government." On all these grounds the Committee recommended that the *haveli* villages concerned be taken possession of by the Company and managed on their own account.

The Committee reported that it was customary for the Company to realise the revenue from the inhabitants in specie

and not in kind. When the grain was ripe the renter or his agents attended by the head inhabitants and the village *conicopies* made a computation of the produce. In case of a disagreement, the fact that the grain was under the surveillance of the renter coerced the inhabitants into acquiescence. Attested copies of documents stating the quantity of the produce were deposited in the *muzumdari* office. The renter then ordered the inhabitants to gather the produce, and the price charged by the Government for its share was then established. There were no specific regulations observed in the fixation of the price, but it was incumbent on the Muhammadan *nawabs* or managers, to assemble all the *soucaris* (merchants), the principal inhabitants and the *kazi* of the village, and take their opinions in writing before the price was fixed. The Committee confessed its inability to assess the degree of security enjoyed by the cultivator in a transaction like this as there is "in this country no intermediate independent judicial power for him to appeal for the redress of his grievance". "It is hardly necessary for us to point out that in settling the computation of the produce of the harvests and establishing the standard price for regulating the Government collections, great openings are unavoidably given for fraud and abuse and that if in either case injustice be wilfully inflicted, the inhabitants having the whole weight of Government to contend with must necessarily be in a hopeless condition." The villages did not maintain any registers, and hence it was not possible for them to ascertain with accuracy the number of the inhabitants, and the modes of their occupation and the figures supplied by the renters of the *haveli* lands under these heads were untrustworthy.

The more significant part of this report deals with lands enjoyed mostly rent free under various and varying titles and rights. These include *jagirs*, *inams*, *agrahams*, *scotriams* and *brahmani manyams*.¹ The administration of the Chicacole

¹ These are fully dealt with by the writer elsewhere. Their validity alone is here discussed from the historical point of view.

nawabs and renters not only increased the number of these grants, but also left undefined the respective rights of the individuals enjoying them. "Too rich and too well fortified with powerful connections to be exposed to any scrutiny at the Durbar, and consequently too little interested and concerned with respect to the condition in which they might leave the public revenue, the Chicacole Nabobs seem not to have been very scrupulous in lavishing the Government possessions." A thorough and critical examination of these grants was not possible. "It is, however, difficult to get at the truth of an enquiry of this nature. The interests of the claimants, the frauds of the renters, the good nature of bystanders, being all considerable obstacles. Those Sunnuds which we have marked as appearing to us to be wholly admissible¹ were granted, as you will observe, part of them by persons who could not have been authorised to perform such acts, and part of them were since the establishment of the Company's Government," and hence illegal without the confirmation of and recognition by the Company. The various grants may be classified under the following heads :

(1) Grants under the Hyderabad seal.

(2) Grants of *nawabs* of the Hyderabad Government confirmed by successive administrations to the time of the expulsion of Jaffer Ali Khan by Viziarama Razu the Great in 1752.

(3) Grants same as in No. 2, but not confirmed by successive Governments.

(4) Grants from the time of the expulsion of Jaffer Ali Khan to the conquest of the Circars from the French and further to the cession of them to the Company by the Mughal Government (1765).

(5) Grants for which the *sanads* are said to be lost, but without any attestation thereof and which have been continued under the orders of successive renters.

¹ It is to be regretted that the numerous enclosures to this important report were not preserved in the India Office Library.

(6) Grants on account of offices which have become obsolete under the Company's administration.

(7) Grants since the conquest of the Circars from the French or cession of them by the Mughal Government.

The Committee deplored that the Company had not so far maintained a register of the grants enjoyed by various individuals besides those given to their subordinate servants. "Whichever of these grants, or denominations of grants, your honor & co. may judge proper to continue, they should, we think, be officially registered, and sunnuds for them expressing the quantity of ground, and the purposes for which it was bestowed should be given (*sic*) under the Company's seal." They further pointed to the fact that "no record has been kept in the accounts of the particular sums received by the several Inaumdars", and confessed that the block figure representing such receipts had not led them to any definite conclusions about them.

The Chicacole *haveli* lands must be freed from the deductions of the *muzumdari* office which constituted within itself "the superintending and controlling power over all village Conicopies". This office was one of "considerable trust and extent" under the Muhammadan Government, but was gradually limited to the *haveli* lands, having been suppressed by the Zemindars with a view "to conceal the produce of their countries", and quite obsolete under the Company's administration. As the *muzumdar* was never legally entitled to any grants in land, but only to one per cent. of the collections of revenue, the hereditary right to the *jagir* might be suppressed and Jagannadha Razu, the former *diwan* of the Vizianagaram Zemindari, appointed to that office on a monthly salary of a hundred and fifty pagodas.

With respect to the *inams*, *agraharams* and *srotriams*, various forms of charity lands, the Chicacole revenues suffered to the extent of Rs. 50,000 a year. All these lands were enjoyed under the grants of the renters who always had "a power of

harassing and distressing" their beneficiaries. As the original *sanads* for these grants were not procurable, the Committee considered them counterfeit. "It will not, we think, be advisable under the arrangements it may be necessary to make with respect to this important article of alienation of revenue to neglect their priesthood or leave them unprovided for . . . It will undoubtedly be proper that their possession under our establishment should be restricted to some reasonable limit."

The immediate effect of this report was that the Chicacole *pargana* was leased out for ten years (1777-1787) by the temporary Government of John Whitehill,¹ to Sitarama Razu instead of Padinanabha Razu the nominee of the Circuit Committee. The Vizagapatam Council entertained serious misgivings at this decision which discarded an offer of Rs. 40,000 more from a man of outstanding integrity and requested for a reconsideration of the matter, in view of the 'established custom' of the subordinate settlements to recommend suitable persons for the rent of the Government lands.² In this they had the support of the Court of Directors.³ Still, the offer from Sitarama Razu was demonstrably to the benefit of the Company inasmuch as the rent for 1776-7 (Rs. 1,70,000), which was gradually increased to Rs. 2,73,000 by 1786-7 was actually productive of a surplus of Rs. 7,60,000 in ten years. This, the Madras Government wrote to the Court, "is to be attributed mostly to the enquiries your honors had directed to be made by your Circuit Committee".⁴

¹ *Rev. Cons.* 19th December. *Idem* pp. 800-805. See also *Madras to Vizagapatam and to Ganjam*, 24th and 27th December respectively, pp. 807 and 808.

² *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 17th January 1778. *Rev. Cons.* 2nd February Vol. 20. p. 62.

³ *Madras Dispatches*, 10th January 1781, para 18, Vol. 9. p. 337. See also Appendix No. 153 to the *Sec. Rep.* It is significant to note that the Court of Directors waited for three years for a review of the proceedings of the Madras Government relative to the Circuit Committee and that only after definite steps were contemplated against Sir Thomas Rumbold.

⁴ *Madras Letters Received*, 5th February 1778 (Whitehill), para 28, Vol. 9, pp. 92-93.

The result of this decennial lease was to strengthen the position of Sitarama Razu and to complicate the Vizianagaram politics for an indefinite period of time.

At this stage, the Circuit Committee were reshuffled owing to the suspension of Floyer from the Company's service and the promotion of Johnson and Perring to membership of the Madras Council.¹ The reconstituted Committee² consisted of John Holland, Quintin Craufurd, Edward Saunders, Robert Barclay and John Huddleston. The three members last named were junior servants of the Company. The Court of Directors acquiesced in these appointments even though their original orders were for the Committee of Circuit to consist of members of the Madras Council.³ The Whitehill Government were fully intent with the prosecution of the Committee's work and as early as 13th January 1778 admonished them for their inaction.⁴ But the Committee were definitely suspended by the Rumbold Government which shortly superseded it⁵.

¹ Whitehill wrote a personal letter to the Court of Directors deploring the want of senior servants for the administration of the presidency. See, *Whitehill to the Court*, 15th October, in *Madras Letters Received*, Vol. 8, pp. 433-45.

² *Rev. Cons.* 5th December 1777. Vol. 19, pp. 745-48. See also App. No. 11 to the *Sec. Rep.* See further, *Madras Letters Received* (Revenue) 5th February 1778. (Whitehill), paras 29-30, Vol. 9, pp. 93-94.

³ Madras Dispatches, 10th January 1781. para 14, Vol. 9, pp. 331-32. See also Appendix No. 153 to the *Sec. Rep.*

⁴ *Rev. Cons.* 13th January 1778. Vol. 20, p. 29.

⁵ See *Madras Letters Received* (Revenue) 4th March 1778 (Rumbold), where in Madras intimated their desire to defer the measures of the Whitehill Government until they had time to inquire into the same. General Munro and Thomas Rumbold were primarily responsible for this resolution. Vol. 9, pp. 161-62.

Sri Krishnasastri : A New Voice in Telugu Literature

BY 'TROUBADOUR'

It was a cloudy evening. We could not see the sun set. When I met him that evening, the poet was in the midst of a group of his friends. Yet, in manner and in bearing, he was apart from them. He was clad in a most airy fashion. His eyes were those of a dreamer of celestial visions. His luxuriant curls seemed to speak of some wild fancy which swings between the infinitudes. He was looking wistfully, as if at the passing hours which crush beneath their feet the beautiful and the ugly, all alike. His searching glances seemed to peer through all hearts. That evening he was to give us readings from his poems and songs. Krishnasastri recited his own poems as well as some of those of his contemporaries. He has indeed a voice 'sweet as the æolian harp, soft, soft.' He is no musical adept; yet a musical adept could please no better. At the end of the function, he was the subject of much criticism, alike with those who cared to know and those who only cared to talk.

What is new is not easily understood. And what is not quickly comprehended is discarded by some as trash. It is true that Krishnasastri's poetry is not easily intelligible to all. The nature of much of the criticism must therefore be obvious. But why is the poet not understood? It is because, as some say, rightly enough, he has nothing tangible to give. In all his work the last word is never said. He leaves much for his readers to supply for themselves. In Telugu literature, the poetry of suggestion is something new. The average literary mind is not quite prepared for it. This is a period of transition. We are,

as it were, emerging out of a barren epoch which succeeded the classic age in the history of our literature. Our national life is at a low ebb. It has nothing to inspire national poetry. But the impact of English literature and the importation of continental thought through the English medium, the fresh thoughts of masterminds like Tagore, all these are today modelling the substance as well as the quality of our literature. So, in this era, we naturally come across work of a transitional nature. We have now a brilliant set of poets who are bold enough to break the trammels of conventionalism. There is nothing strange, therefore, if their work is not cordially received. To seek a parallel in English literature, the Odes and Poems of Collins fell still-born from the press. He is said to have burnt them all with his own hands. But today the power and beauty of the poetry of Collins have won appreciation. A potent thought, a beautiful thought, is bound to live.

Again, in any literature, the work produced at a period of transition naturally lacks solidity of thought and unity of purpose. So it is with modern Telugu poets. They cannot build a colossal tower. But they can carve out an exquisite shape in marble. Although Krishnasastri is a poet of the transition and shares its qualities, he has given us fresh sentiments and fresh art-forms. His diction is highly original. His treatment of the passions is something very new in our literature. He is pre-eminently the poet of pathos and he revels in the pathetic. Beauty and Love are the very substance of his handiwork. He rarely philosophises. He just gives utterance to the mighty feelings which surge within him.

*"Agikoledu regu nihala nokinta
Inta chirugeeti eda vegirinchu neni
Padukonunu tandavanritya madukonunu."*

[He cannot suppress thoughts that rage and swell. If but a little note teases his heart, he breaks in song and in wild revelry doth dance.]

A mighty feeling when expressed in an art-form can never be co-ordinated with the details out of which it springs. The details must all be suppressed and the reader left to supply them for himself. The main idea is never lost. Nor can a soul-shaking emotion be ever completely expressed. It can be but glimpsed. This is the art of suggestion. This has been condemned by many as 'obscure' simply because there is nothing tangible in it to clutch at.

The artistic value of any work is to be judged from the element of permanence in its form and content. A train of ideas is suggested by means of exquisite images. It is the power to produce such imagery that makes a poet. The poet pictures them to us in exquisite colour. The power of vision, the artistic effect of colour, the appeal of the emotions are enough to ensure permanence to the work. All poetry of high suggestive effect is great. Now, Krishnasastri's work is a series of suggestive pieces—like flashes of lightning. Though we cannot follow the flash from its birth-place to its destination, we admire it as it appears to us. So do we admire the poems of Krishnasastri. Verily, no man can probe into the heart of a poet. It is only when he sings that we catch a glimpse of his real being :

*“ Kaluvapoo bralakulo
Kannumodchu vennela
Kalanalamnina
Gati yemi?”*

[When the sleeping moon-beam
In the life of the lily
Becomes the consuming fire
Where is the refuge?]

This image suggests to us a thousand things. It may mean any and all of them. The note of pathos is unfailingly present whichever suggestion comes nearest to us. This verse becomes poetry in that the vision, the colour, and the emotion are blended together harmoniously.

*"Na maranasayya parachu konnanu nene . . .
 Bratikipunna mrityuvuni pravasa timira
 Necrava samadhi krulli krungi napudeni
 Ninu pilichi nana, na moolgu needa musiri
 Kumulu nemo nec ganotsavamula nanuchu."*

[My couch of death I have laid with mine own hands,
 In living death, in penance of silence, in gloom of exile,
 Though miserable and fallen,
 Have I refrained from calling out to you, my friend,
 Lest the evil shadow of my gasping breath
 Should spread and secretly consume
 The blissful festivity of your song.]

Supply the details how you will, the situation is intensely moving. It is the crash of a harmonious being. There is also in it a noble sentiment of sacrifice in that the poet wishes to hide his misery in himself for fear it should contaminate the happiness of a comrade. And there is an air of tragedy running all through the lines. Such situations are essentially the subject-matter of poetry. Co-ordinate the situation with your own life, or with the life of any one, the truth of it can be felt. The tragedy of human life, the crash of ideals, the pathos of a broken love, the loss of an intimate friendship, all these and kindred subjects have something 'great' about them. They kindle permanent emotions of the human soul. To give vent to them in poetry is a solace to the poet; and to find his own feelings echoed therein is a solace to the reader. Thus each isolated piece of Krishnasastri's work is great poetry. It is great art.

Again, Krishnasastri has an extraordinary measure of imagination. Happily his imagery never degenerates into gross conceit as in the case of the older poets.

*"Tami bigisipovu nokka sandhyavasana
 Sandra kasmira dridha parishvanga mandu
 Nimidi niluvella nodigi soshilina yame
 Nenu tolisuri kanchi kampiliti nadu."*

*"Karmoyilu pedavula khanda khandaruluga
Chidiki poyina kumudi mridula kalika
Ganchiyoka reyi dussaha gadha duhkha
Mapuko leka yedche na yarala manasu."*

[In the strong embrace of the dense purple of an eventide, with desire clutching at the heart, caught in that glory, fainting, I saw her. When first I met her thus, I thrilled to the core of my being.

A pale beam of moonlight, between the jaws of a gathering cloud, torn to little shreds, I witnessed; and my tender soul, melting with a burning sorrow, wailed away the night.]

Images like these could but spring from a powerful mind. We do not find the older poets use their imaginative faculties to create such exquisite pictures. They have always over-intellectualised their imagination and created a huge fabric of conceit. In addition to beauty of colour and energy, there is a soft vowel music in his verse :

*"Nunu mabbu le dunka konalapu Sonaluv
Nelavanka chiru navvu chaluwapata."*

An inferior artist would have "emptied a whole pallet of colour" or "shouted through the page" to achieve the effects which we have in each line of the above verse. The verse beginning with the line,

Nervu toli proddu nunumanchu teevu sonavu—

affords a clear contrast between the outlook of the poets of today and that of the classic poets whose imagination was circumscribed by conventions. Such intense emotional revelry in the realms of fancy and such treatment of external nature, thoroughly subjective in outlook, is a new departure in Telugu literature. It is partly the effect of the study of English lyric poetry and is a sure sign of the coming change in the cast of national poetic thought. As already said, we have now in the country a brilliant set of poets all essentially lyrical

in temperament amongst whom Krishnasastri is pre-eminently subjective, occasionally touching the fringes of the mystic, as in

*"Kantaka kireeta dharinii kalarathri
Madhya relala jeeemoola mandirampu
Koluvukootala . . ."*

[Crowned with a crown of thorns, in the dense heart of darkness, in the awful court halls of the clouds, I reign in my lone pomp, the sorrowful cadence of the owl's note surging and surging, flooding the gloomy depths. Let no one pity me: mine are the luxuriant fans of heavily heaving sighs, piles and piles of pearl-strings of streaming tears, the eternal unmeasured treasures of deepest grief in which alone I see my wealth and find a weird joy. Let no one pity me. I am the Lord of dark and vast domains of dread sorrow!]

The unimaginative man condemns these lines as obscure and meaningless. One, more sensitive, experiences a strong emotion vibrating through one's being on reading such pieces. The discerning scholar and serious student of literature sets them apart for special study of the personality of the poet and endeavours to harmonise the work with the man. In all these poems there is a perfection of form which any master of verse might truly be proud of. There are here, in the words of Symonds, "Homeric Ocean-rolls" and "the surges and subsidences of Miltonic cadence." The management of the caesura, the choice of words and the wielding of verse are masterly. Even a stray verse will bear testimony to the statement.

Krishnasastri sets his stamp upon his diction; we know it wherever we may chance upon it. It shows a marked classical bias. But the peculiar merit of his diction is that, while it is apparently classical, it is employed to convey the most delicate sentiments of the human mind. It should have become monotonous in the hands of a less skilful artist. Indeed we see it become hackneyed and lifeless in the hands of some of his younger imitators. Everybody has some fascination

for that classical phrase which glimmers like the vast green hillside clad in dew-drops in the morning sun.

However we notice an incidental defect of this type of diction. Where a strong feeling has to be expressed with directness, it is diffused in a huge mass of colour.

There are pieces which, in the opinion of some, bear out this statement.

“ *Apudu gonletti yedehi nannu.*
Apudu nannu . . . ”

Here the opening lines are direct but the main emotion is finally ‘diluted’ in the vast imagery that follows. The total effect is somewhat a weakened feeling. Such, they say, is the effect also of

“ *Maghava mastaka makuta*
Manikya raghi nee
Velugu rupokareji . . . ”

Still Krishnasastri’s poetry is not obscure as is commonly imagined; but it creates such an impression because of its weird imagery and subtle suggestion. In this connection, one is reminded of the words of Mark Pattison. It is not the critical faculty that is developing, he pointed out, but it is the imaginative faculty that is failing us. Sympathetic imagination is greatly wanting in us. Without this equipment, no delicate feeling is ever understood either in poetry or in any other branch of Art. A mind which refuses to function with sympathy must be indeed fundamentally wanting in a great quality.

We should now like to put forth a plea for inductive criticism. The art of criticism has not yet developed in Telugu literature. Though the ‘kind and rule’ method is not in vogue now, the spirit of it still remains. We need neither lavish praise nor condemnation of things. Let us be guided by sympathy, and preference. The geologist does not look down upon the glacial epoch and hold that the red sandstone alone is model

rock formation. So, picturing literature as a whole, we feel that the lyric, in its own place, is as great as the epic.

The somewhat disjointed nature of Krishnasastri's poetry is an inevitable defect. This is not the age when colossal literary structures are reared. The 'power of the man' is scarcely present together with the 'power of the moment'. It is only in that conjunction that world-poets are born. Now we have the 'power of the man' without the co-ordination of the 'power of the moment'. An intensely poetic soul has fallen on an unmeet age. Hence its utterances have become spasmodic. They leave us wondering at the complex personality of the poet. But we believe much is yet to come. There is a rich and a sure promise in Krishnasastri's work. He is to be grouped with that bright winged brotherhood to which Shelley belongs; he has a kinship with Blake and the visionaries; he is poetical to the very core of his being. Great poetry is in his work. Verily he is a new voice in Telugu literature—a gentle, yet powerful voice speaking tender, beautiful things. He is a lone fountain of delectable waters in a remote forest whither wanders the weary traveller, takes a draught, and stretches his languid limbs and sinks into sweet repose.

South Indian Music: Srimati Saraswati Bai

BY "KAPPA OF THE CLOUD"

Of her many facets of gracious, grateful light, South India, for centuries, has never shone for anything more benignantly than for her music. Music seems to have made amends for a great deal of her ravaging wants by its ethereality. Conceived with immemorial grandeur and nobility, it has been constantly sought to employ music here for none but lofty purposes. It has been applied to enliven men and women with health, to in-spirit and inspire them, to heal the sorest wounds, and to attune the Soul with the Infinite in ineffable bliss. Whatever its decadences or abuses, in its history, its supreme object has not once been forgotten, namely, the imparting to man of rejuvenation from far-off, intangible contact, and glimpses of the Godhead. It has been the vehicle of all the great experiences of the Elect, as of the Major and the Minor among the Pleiades of the Sixty-Three, whom the too devoted Tamil land adores as manifestations of the Highest. Of examples of the exponents of Music, who are only second to these, with bold command of all its emancipating efficacy, there cannot be a dearth, for the names of Tyagaiyyah, Deekshita, Venkatesa, Sama Sastri and others would occur readily enough, names of those who, incorruptibly, have kept music altogether on high planes with distinction. If, for good or for evil,—presumably for the former,—India has remained remarkable for her aptitude for religion, it must be also rendered to her fame that she has pressed Music, like all other things, and above them all, into the exalted service of religion. By this no disparagement is meant to other peoples, who have not been blind to the

divineness of Music. However, in India, the emphasis has been laid all the greater on its spiritual aspect by her children, whose despisal of earthly values may be taken as deeper and as far more innate and potent than is usually supposed.

At present, as one can read into the vogue that obtains among professors of Music, nothing strikes so much as the general tacit concurrence in the subordination of its emotional, religious side. The fashionable concert, now-a-days, is conspicuous for the open and unabashed neglect of it. Here-etically, it appears to revel in a profusion of *Talam* and in tedious indulgence of *Sicara*, even to unmasked contempt for the courteous wistfulness that would crave timidly for a jot of worthy inspiration. Who now cares to pronounce with mellifluous regard, or so much as to let Music dwell reverentially and lovingly upon sacred words, as "Rama", "Sankara", etcetera, which are the very matrix of too excellent compositions by devotees? Such performances as we have to witness today are not pitched, as it should appear, above the commonplace, hackneyed hankerings of a public, normally too sapped and bored down throughout the week in their avocations, after anything light, anything pleasantly sensational. Still the fact that the blame lies not wholly on the part of the people may be borne out by the enthusiasms that attended the reception of a noble genius like Pandit Vishnu Digambar, a genius because so pure and peerless a lover of Music. *He* has in him a touch of its spirit, a gifted abundance of what did radiate from Orpheuses, for was it not found that he could alter the pulse of myriads just as he wished? With him is something of the wizardry of Music, as with our own musicians its form in all its multi-coloured display of scientific completeness. The public, in truth, has not the time either to choose well out of their formless inclinations, or to dictate things of their cultured, decisive choice. Meanwhile, concerts go on about us as merrily as ever, and know no restraint, and their auditors are glad and content to compound for anything to enable them

to beguile a Sunday evening with a measure of too careless jollity.

The *Kathas* signify much, by their adaptation to lessons in religion. The stories themselves are many and wonderful, as those of Rama Das, Kabir, and Nandanar, not to mention episodes which are taken for themes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. They cover a large area of fine, human susceptibilities, and relate to incidents calculated to purge off the dross wholly unto the point of perfection. The *bhakti* of Rama Das who minded not his tragic putrefaction in gaol, brave Kabir who stood fast by his rule of entertainment of guests, even at a compromise of his wife's chastity, the sight of dear Nandanar, whose whole being liquefies into love for God, here is the kindergarten for the heart that may thrill even brazenness into godly piety for a while. The very bare skeletons of such stories are apt to lift one off the ground. And when they are informed by Music, by all its transcendent glows of light, and charm, and colour, what transformation comes upon them, and what appeal with it which surges into the temple of our existence! Blessed, then, are the memories of the Bhagavatas, who, with full-throated melodies and golden-hearted prodigality of inspiration can make people stand on tip-toe, and lure them on to give themselves over into ecstasies of self-renovation. Srimati Saraswati Bai, we think, almost belongs to their class by sheer excellence of her *Nandanar Charitram*. Her endowments, now almost unapproached, either for her accomplished variety of music, or for the bold, stunning reach of her voice, do not but appear most worthily lavished on her presenting the exquisite treat that it is, of her *Nandanar Charitram*. The story itself has been wrought by an immortal giant of the Tamil land, Gopala Krishna Bharati, who, as is accepted, lived near Mayavaram in the Tanjore District. His ballad of *Nandanar Charitram* is an imperishable classic, and will bear comparison with the historic ballads of other countries. What could be more straight, what truer to life, than the

beginning of the Poet's story of Nandanar? What more picturesque and lovelier than the description of his impregnable faith, and of the humility of his offerings of tanned hides, at a very humble distance, at the feet of priests? What a yearning consumes him to catch but a glimpse of the thrice sacred Chidambaram! How he is possessed by it! What contagion, what holy infection, which he must instil into his fellows! How dramatically has the Poet delineated all this! Srimati Saraswati Bai has found herself, in her interpretation of it, a born actress no less than a musician par excellence. With what fidelity she represents the unredeemed boorishness of environment about Nandanar! The slum, whither he has been sent by his beloved Maker, in her rendering, seems almost to swim before our eyes. Her performance of this story is, if the language will be permitted, a series of super-erogations. You cannot say where she has outdone herself more than in any other place. If you should wish to point out the best at all, no task more bewildering could be self-imposed, for you are sure to have set store by well-nigh everything, ere you are yourself aware of it. Moving as is every part of the story, one may almost find oneself stolen away, when Srimati Saraswati Bai plays the part of Nandanar, so, so mad, so gone out of his senses, to see for once sacred Chidambaram, and, there, to behold the Deity at His shrine. "There is a holy land, the Tillai land!" begins what, out of her artistic capacity and taste, and her talents for poetical acting, she makes a song of beauty, a song of sublime devotion and of self-forgetfulness. The Brahman scholar and landlord, under whom Nandanar is a lowly chief of the untouchable tenants, furnishes a type, and he is it that contributes an action, a contrast, and an interest to the main subject. What wealth of dramatic irony lies suffusing *Nandanar Charitram*! If the doctrine that both the playwright and the actor illumine each other holds good, it applies to Srimati Saraswati Bai's rendering with particular force. The Brahman *Mirasdar*, only bookish and epicurean, and given to fancying

mechanical repetition of formulæ as equivalent to Sadhana and hard-earned wisdom, pours forth such a wordy harangue of well-intentioned advice to Nandanar, when he feels gratified to the bone to find his tenant, according to his superficial belief, making rapid amends for his culpable negligences. How this dear pedant soon discovers that he has outwitted himself, by his fond simple reliance upon matters of orthodox faith, and his petrified astonishment and sense of the yawning difference between himself and Nandanar, as he espies his broad acres by the hundred all covered over by the Invisible Hand with a bumper crop,—here, perhaps, is the most effective stroke of dramatic irony, not untouched by dissolving pathos. Srimati Saraswati Bai is up to the ablest elucidation of Nandanar as a model of the opposite to the Brahman Pandit. How she points the latter's sermon with the glibness of tongue, the verbosity, and the stolid self-complacency, which are at once characteristic of all those of whom, as we said, the *Mirasdar* is only a type and an illustration!

From this point, almost everything,—Nandanar's parting words to his master, his visit to sacred Chidambaram, etcetera,—has been raised by Gopala Krishna Bharati to white heat, and maintained thereat without cooling. It should be presumptuous, if not elaborating our theme on too large a scale, to demonstrate each merit either in the ballad, or in the brilliant exposition of it by Srimati Saraswati Bai. An incarnation of genuineness, as it may be taken, well apart from the summits of beatitude and mystic bliss whereon lies its native abode, is here attempted to be weighed against wooden cant, formality, and artificial persuasions. And without indulging in inferences from this too chastening episode, one may remark truly that we possess not only an immortal classic of a ballad in Tamil, but that we should congratulate ourselves upon having so gifted an æsthetic interpreter of it. We are reminded, in this connection, of Mahatma Gandhi, who has vowed such championship of the class to which

Nandanar belongs. Already he has expressed his resolve to reincarnate among them as their saviour and servant. And he is such a lover of the Tamil language, for its matchless nuances of soul-redeeming Pity, and Pathos, and superb Self-Abnegation, and he may not think that he could forego a chance of listening to Srimati Saraswati Bai's *Nandanar Charitram* without a regret. Will it not be fitting on our part to bring about a public recognition of her successes under his presidentship? The Tamil land owes a heavy obligation to her for her picture of *Nandanar Charitram*. Had she been born in the West, what could she not have achieved? And how would they have honoured her there! *Nandanar Charitram* has now come to be so associated with her, for who could surpass her presentation of it? The consecration of Gopala Krishna Bharati's birthplace as an object of pilgrimage, and the award of the public estimation to be accorded appropriately to her by Mahatma Gandhi for us, are, in our eyes, duties which, if performed early and satisfactorily, will distinguish our profound sense of what we ought to do by those who, to no small extent, have augmented our collective happiness.

Current Topics

THE MADRAS SEVA SADAN

The Madras Seva Sadan has grown out of the pre-existing institution known as 'The Women's Home of Service,' which was the result of the tireless activities of a small group of women in Madras like Mrs. Cousins, Lady Sadasiva Iyer, Mrs. Lakshman Rau and Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi. When Mrs. Cousins left for England, it was thought that 'The Women's Home of Service' would serve a useful and better purpose, if its working was entrusted to an institution like the Seva Sadan of Poona, and a permanent fund started for its working. Mr. G. K. Devadhar, M. A., C. I. E. of Poona and the President of the Seva Sadan undertook the working of the local institution on a certain basis, with the result that 'The Women's Home of Service' changed into the Madras Seva Sadan. We are told that "later on it was felt that in the interests of both the Madras and Poona organisations, the former was to be entirely independent not only in respect to finance but in every respect"; so that the Madras Seva Sadan has officially nothing to do with the greater Poona Seva Sadan Society with its net-work of branches and affiliated institutions all over Western India. The report of the Madras Seva Sadan gives a glimpse into the working of a really good and efficient institution and incidentally shows how if only some of our influential and prominent women care, they could run such institutions with the greatest credit to themselves and to the community at large. What the community is today concerned is not so much with the University education as it is with the question of a real, proper scheme of adult education for the masses, and in what manner such a scheme of adult education for women of the province could be

worked out is really a speculation. The starting of an institution like the Seva Sadan has, we feel sure, gone a long way towards the realisation of such an ideal. We gather from the report we have the pleasure of reviewing, that the Madras Seva Sadan does satisfy a crying need; that it affords occupation to poor and otherwise helpless women to earn a livelihood. Mrs. Venkata Subba Rao, the energetic Honorary Secretary, is throwing herself heart and soul into the work and we are grateful to her for the really splendid work she and her husband are doing. As the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri has said, "To dare to narrow one's range, to define one's aim precisely and to labour persistently till results are achieved, are the virtues of public life." We are glad Mrs. Venkata Subba Rao possesses an uncommon share of this virtue, and we hope too she will be a real servant of the community with a record of useful activity. We wish the institution all success.

HONOURING ANDHRA JOURNALISTS

We join most heartily in the chorus of congratulations to the *Andhra Patrika* and the *Krishna Patrika* on the celebration of their jubilee. In point of prosperity, influence and wide circulation, the Andhra journals, whether they are dailies, weeklies or monthlies, compare very unfavourably with similar ventures in Bengal, Gujerat and Maharashtra. Not even the foremost of the Telugu papers has attained the enormous circulation of the *Kesari* of Poona, the *Navajivan* of Ahmedabad, or the *Basumati* and *Prabasi* of Calcutta. Nearer home, the *Swadesamitran* has a daily circulation of at least three times that of the *Andhra Patrika*, and the Tamils have four daily papers as against a single Telugu daily. But this is no indication of the number of readers. We remember, several years ago, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee of *The Modern Review*, complaining bitterly that whereas ten men do not wear the same coat or use the same pair of shoes, they nevertheless read the same copy of

a paper. Conditions in Bengal have probably changed but the statement continues to be pre-eminently true of Andhra.

For patriotic fervour and that touch of idealism that makes men suffer for the things considered really worth doing, the journalists of Andhra are truly remarkable. Who has not heard of the noble sacrifices made by our greatest living journalist, Sri M. Krishna Rao of the *Krishna Patrika* and by younger men like Annapurnaiah of the *Congress* and Govindachari of *Satyagrahi*? These papers, despite their limited subscribers' roll have rendered splendid service to the cause of progress and culture. Mr. Krishna Rao's brilliant editorials have shaped the thought and expression of a whole generation of Andhras. Among the papers that have closed down for want of public support, mention must be made of Mr. Srirama Sastri's *Sarada*. During the two or three years of its life it was indeed a thing of supreme beauty, worthy of ranking with the finest journals in India. *Sahiti*, *Sakhi* and *Jayanti* were admirable productions but, like many similar efforts in Andhra, they have suffered an undeserved eclipse. But are there not always some who serve even by their failures?

Mr. Nageswara Rao's advent into the field of Andhra journalism was an event of great importance. Started as a bright little weekly in far-off Bombay in 1908, the *Andhra Patrika* was transplanted to Madras in 1914 and almost immediately converted into a Daily. The historian of Andhra progress during these two decades is bound to acknowledge with gratefulness the achievements of the *Andhra Patrika*. In the forming and directing of public opinion on momentous issues like Non-co-operation, and in the collection and dissemination of news from all quarters of the globe, the *Andhra Patrika* is second to no vernacular daily in India. It has an efficient editorial and reporting staff at Headquarters and capable correspondents in all important places. Illustrious patriots like G. Harisarvothama Rao and Challa Seshagiri Rao have given to it of their best and made it a power in the land.

In Andhra, it is not more papers that we want but a greater variety of them. We should like, for instance, to have papers like *The Nation and Athenaeum* and *The London Mercury* devoted to literary topics, or *The Round Table* dealing with political questions from the scholar's point of view. Ladies' magazines and magazines for children are badly needed. The financial resources of the Telugu journals must be ample enough to permit of constant and liberal payment to writers. This, in turn, depends on a wider circulation and the growth of the habit of *purchasing* papers. If the organisers of the celebrations in honour of our journalists can prevail upon their countrymen to enlist as subscribers in much larger numbers, they will have rendered a greater service to the cause of Andhra journalism than by the presentation of caskets and addresses, though even these last are valuable as evidences of public recognition.

THE LATE PROF. S. M. PARANJPYE.

The passing of the late Prof. Shivram Mahadev Paranjpye at Poona, removes from the field of politics and literature of Maharashtra the figure of a truly great man. Having sat at the feet of venerable men like Vishnusastri Chiplonkar and Dr. Bhandarkar, Shivarampant left the Fergusson College after a somewhat stormy career. Later on, he graduated from the Decan College and took the M.A. in Sanskrit, winning at the same time the Zhala Prize and Bhagavandas scholarships. The stormy career at the college was followed by an equally stormy career of ceaseless public activity. Almost following upon his graduation, he started the *Kal* paper. *Kal* in less than three months after its inception became a terror to the bureaucracy. The *Kesari* of Lokamanya and the *Kal* of Paranjpye stood shoulder to shoulder, like Bheema and Arjuna of old, fighting freedom's battle and exposing the utter bankruptcy of British statesmanship in the early years of the 20th century. As a result of this, in less than ten years, a wonderful wave of national

consciousness swept over the great Maratha country, and there was not one Maharashtreeya who did not feel ennobled to a great duty and sense of civic responsibility, after he came to know the *Kal* and its great Editor.

And then came the Government crushing agitators, stilling the speech of all men and women who loved freedom. The Press Act followed and Mr. Paranjpye fell a victim. He was sentenced to hard labour for 19 months. Even today few men could read his wonderful article on the *Well of Cawnpore* without getting thrilled, and how many Indians are aware that even today, in spite of many things, the well at Cawnpore is closed to Indians? But the flame was not to be quenched, which had first illumined the little dark corner of Maharashtra. Others followed and poured out their lives and energy like water on a thirsty soil. Out of the prison again, the Non-co-operation movement found in him a staunch supporter; afterwards came the Mulshi Satyagraha, and then the inevitable breakdown—physical and mental.

But the name of Prof. Paranjpye will be cherished more as a Sanskrit scholar and an exquisite writer of Marathi prose, and as an outpost in Marathi literature than as a politician. He represented the typical Marathi temperament, rugged as the hills that surrounded him, plain and great to the end; giving shelter when it could and yet maintaining itself, and watching the spirit of the time passing it by. That is how one remembers the aged powerful professor. No one can ever forget that ornate speech he made last year as the President of the *Sammelan* at Belgaum, and to what heights he rose as he spoke of the glorious past of a unique race and the future that lay before it.

There are some men who vulgarise, like Disraeli, whatever they touch—poetry, art and literature, whilst there are others who ennoble whatever they touch like Mr. Gandhi or Mr. J. Krishnamurti. Mr. Paranjpye did neither of the above, nor did he do colossal things. But he did one beautiful thing. He showed by his personal example what a dignified thing was life

and how each man, provided he had the desire, could rise to great heights, and yet be simple, sweet and pure all through. It is difficult to estimate the result of such a loss. Maharashtra is the poorer by his loss, but it is richer by his sacrifice, by the message he left.

STUDENTS AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

Mr. C. R. Reddy never speaks without saying something which arrests our attention and stimulates our interest. The clear applications of knowledge to the practical concerns of life is one of the predominant traits of Mr. Reddy's mental composition. Hypothetical dogmas are at a discount with him. In his latest address as the President of the All-Orissa Students' Conference, he has suggested certain lines of activity for the students, directly calculated not only to develop their powers of organisation but also to rescue the inarticulate masses of people in the rural areas from the slough of ignorance. The scheme adumbrated by Mr. Reddy is one to which no party can take exception. In fact, all parties have advocated it but none of them has laid so much emphasis, as Mr. Reddy has done, on the contribution of students to this aspect of nation-building. Young in years, emotional by nature, and energetic in action, the students can do lasting good to this impoverished land by devoting their leisure on week-end holidays and especially during summer vacation by carrying the torch of enlightenment into the villages where live the bulk of our population. We hope that Mr. Reddy's clarion call will rouse young India to patriotic action in working the scheme of Rural Reconstruction successfully and advancing the cause of the nation.

THE RICKETY AFGHAN THRONE

The unique circumstance in the Afghan imbroglio is the passing of the country under the regime of four sovereigns in

the course of an year. When the Revolution was at its highest pitch, Amanullah abdicated. Inayatullah immediately stepped into his shoes but soon found too many stones in them and he had also to abdicate. It appeared as if Bacha-i-Sakko, the water-carrier's son and adventurer who captured the Afghan throne, would have a long lease of regal life but Fate was not kinder to him. Only a few days ago, General Nadir Khan, the Generalissimo of the victorious forces in the Civil war, was acclaimed by the Afghan National Assembly as the present ruler. The furious welter through which Afghanistan has been passing since the commencement of the internecine strife, the fierce turmoil especially created by the tribal communities living in the impregnable mountain frontiers, and the religious fanaticism of the Mullahs which is always a dangerous and an unreliable factor, point out that in establishing order out of chaos, General Nadir Khan has manifested a statesmanship, a martial prowess, and an undaunted courage of the highest order. There is amongst certain sections of the people a feeling that Nadir Khan is not entitled to their support in view of his supposed leanings towards Amanullah. Bacha's spirit continues to be restless. He made a desperate effort against Amir Nadir Khan with the aid of Said Hussain but could not overcome the opposition offered by Shah Mahomed. A short fight resulted in heavy loss to both sides, a truce was declared, negotiations were commenced, and Bacha's emissaries were even enjoying the Amir's hospitality. But that phase too soon passed. The latest messages state that the rebel was captured at Jabul Siraj on the 23rd of October and that he sent his allegiance to Nadir Khan. It is interesting to note that the personnel of the Amir's Government includes several persons who served Amanullah, though they are now to handle different portfolios. It may be expected that the war-clouds hanging thick over Afghanistan will now disappear and Nadir Khan will restore order under a clear and bright sky. But will he be so selfless as to invite Amanullah back to his

country and his throne? Perhaps yes, perhaps no. In this connection, Amanullah's message from Rome to the new Afghan Ruler is of especial significance :

" My dear brother, in the name of the progress of the country and the joint mission of our party ", says Amanullah, " I will always be with you in the capacity of a devotee to Afghanistan, so that my country may be stabilised in progress and civilisation. So far as my person is concerned, I will always help you from the core of my heart. I will always remain with the devoted party, and wish your welfare. In my sacred mission, it is equal to sit on a throne or a plank or to wear the crown or put a feather on the hat. It does not mean that I have to regain the lost crown and throne. When I had them I did not care much for them. I had rather annulled them. The chief term and condition is that there should be no departure from the programme set by me for education in Afghanistan."

This is quite characteristic of the great man who created a new Afghanistan, though it unfortunately created unlimited trouble for him. What ultimately happens none can tell with any degree of accuracy. He is bold, indeed, who predicts about the rickety Afghan throne.

Reviews

[We shall be glad to review books in all Indian languages and in English, French and German. Books for Review should reach the office at least SIX WEEKS in advance of the day of publication of the Journal.]

ENGLISH

The Library Movement :—Published by the Madras Library Association, Price. Rs. 2.—

The Madras Library Association, which came to birth in the wake of the All-India Library Conference held at Madras in December 1927, has published this collection of essays "with the two-fold object", as the Preface informs the reader, "of promulgating the essential ideas of the movement and of stirring thought so as to lead to the creation of suitable methods and machinery". The first of these objects has been richly fulfilled by the publication, and so too, the second so far as the stirring of thought is concerned. The essays cover a wide range and present many arresting propositions. The root difficulty of the Library Movement is the colossal illiteracy of the Indian population. The fighting of this illiteracy is one of the greatest problems of the movement in India. But how is the thing to be done? Mr. S. R. Ranganathan, the Librarian of the Madras University, suggests on the model of Soviet Russia the creation of local library committees to arrange for teaching the alphabet to the adults in night-schools. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri would have the vast body of our educated unemployed supply the man-power and energy required for working the movement with success in the rural areas. Mr. S. V. Ramamurty throws out the fascinating idea that young men just out of college should, before applying themselves to the problems of economic livelihood, embark on a life of temporary Sanyasinhood for a definite period—say six months, and with a small bundle of clothes, wander in a prescribed area telling the people the substance of what they had learnt. These suggestions are of importance as stressing the imperative necessity for a programme of removing mass illiteracy which the libraries ought to take up forthwith as a preliminary and preparation for further development. But the movement cannot

afford to wait till the fruition of this activity, and must make use of all available expedients to storm the citadel of understanding of the very illiterate. Public lectures, songs, cinema shows and exhibitions, are some of the methods that occur to the mind in this context, but we require above all, as the writer of one of the essays observes, "a band of modern *Bhagavathars* imbued with the latest knowledge, carrying from place to place serious instruction as well as delight to the adult population". The problem of reaching even the literate few is beset with considerable difficulty. As Dr. Rabindranath Tagore observes in the essay which holds the place of honour in the publication, discriminate rejection is the very soul of excellence in the contents of a Library, and almost one of the very first possibilities of an intelligent library organisation is to solve the problem of choice of books for the libraries under its control. Sir P.S. Sivaswami Aiyer invites the Library Association, through a committee, to prepare suitable lists of books for the libraries to be started in different centres. There is also much sound sense in the suggestion of Mr. N. Raghunathan of *The Hindu* that the lists to be drawn up may advantageously consist of say, "the hundred best books" to form the indispensable nucleus of every rural library. One great handicap of the Library Movement in India, even in the matter of serving literates, is the lack of suitable books in the vernaculars. In England and America, the libraries are said to be the backbone of the publishers' business and hence necessarily the main ultimate support of authors, and the spread of libraries in any vernacular area of the Presidency is bound inevitably to stimulate the growth of vernacular literature in that area. But still, it would be wasting precious time to wait till books are produced in the vernacular languages. The Library Movement ought to be linked with circles of cultured and public-spirited men who shall make it their business to help in the work of adult education by conveying the knowledge of Europe to the masses of India through periodical vernacular pamphlets to be carried to the very homes of the people. The Library Association has rendered a public service by publishing this symposium of essays compelling public attention to one of the great movements of the day, vitally fruitful of national upliftment. There is, however, a considerable amount of repetition in the various essays brought together and published by the Association. The interest of the Library Movement stands in no way to be advanced by a score or so of writers repeating the same observations as to the importance of the movement, each in words of his own within the compass of the same publication. It

should be the aim of the Association in its future publications to exclude purposeless repetitions of this kind by judicious editing, so as to render the publication a live medium for the proper organisation and expansion of the Library Movement in the Madras Presidency.

S. R.

Malabar and its Folk :—By T. K. GOPALA PANIKKAR, (Published by G. A. Natesan & Co.) Madras—Price Rs. 2.

The third edition of this well-known book has been brought out by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. revised and enlarged. The book was published in 1900 with an introduction by F. W. Kellet, who spoke highly of the author and his work.

The book is not a history of Malabar ; but only a record of men and things, manners and customs, as they are. The author evinces a great capacity accurately and vividly to describe. He has touched in detail on almost everything of Malabar. There are many who have written about Malabar, Marco Polo, Barbora, Strange, Thackeray, Buchanan, Wigram and Logan and a few others who were all students in varying degrees of the ethnology of Malabar. But none equals Mr. Panikkar, who is a child of the soil, in the story of the customs and manners of the country. To have a clear idea of Malabar without going over there, to know about the Nayar *Taravad*, the *Marumakkathayam* law, the Malayali traditions and superstitions and the Malabar drama called *Kathakali*, the festivals of *Onam*, *Vishu* and *Tiruvathira*, the serpent-worship, the Nambhootheris, to understand these with ease and charm there is not a better medium than the book under review.

Mr. Hamid Ali's short essay on 'Moplas' is an addition to the book. I know he has taken considerable pains to study his subject. But I disagree with him on two points:

1. The derivation of the word Mopla from 'Maha' meaning 'great' and 'Pilla' signifying the 'honorific title' used among the Nayars of Travancore, he says, seems to be the most reasonable one.

This is a knotty point ; as yet there is no evidence to decide one way or the other. There is no use of conjecture.

2. Mr. Hamid Ali says that "Tippu (if at all he did convert) always aimed at the high-class Hindus". I ask for evidence. I find there is *nil*. On page 275, speaking of the Moplas of North Malabar, he refers to the *Marumakkathayam* as an 'archaic

institution'. If by 'archaic' he means 'obsolete' or 'out of date', he is wrong. Perhaps he means 'ancient'.

Mr. V. K. John's essay entitled 'the land system of Malabar' is another addition. The author of the book, Mr. Panikkar himself, has in the opening chapter made out a case for tenancy reform and his prayers today are granted in the recent passing of the Malabar Tenancy Bill in our local Legislature. Mr. John looks an industrious student of land tenures and his plea for agrarian reconstruction becomes the modern student of land problems. But is there not some danger, I ask, that "the most scientific, the most effective and the most simple system" should be "to make the cultivator the owner of the property, to combine the functions of both in one and the same person"? It is a matter of controversy. Mr. John has got a theory of which it is now useless to discuss. Before closing the review, I would suggest to the publishers that their next edition of the book will shine better if properly illustrated. A chapter on architecture would be an additional charm.

P. NARAYANA KURUP.

Indian Christians :—G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3.

The latest publication of Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. is undoubtedly a valuable addition to our Memoir literature. It is even something more. In as much as it records the achievements of Christian celebrities who were sons of the soil and who played no inconsiderable part in the building up of the nation, it is a useful contribution to the history of Modern India. A perusal of this handy volume which is, by the way, neatly got up, amply illustrated, and priced Rupees three, leaves an indelible impression on the minds of those whose patriotism transcends communal, credal, and religious differences. No dispassionate student of history can ignore and no true lover of the motherland can forget, the contribution of Christian India to the national evolution which is as solid as it is silent. On reading the book it becomes evident that there is no sphere of public activity in which our Christian brethren have not left an enduring record of service. As poets, educationists, publicists, reformers, and Ministers of the Church in India, they have not only distinguished themselves in their individual capacity but also advanced the common interests of all the communities. The book is worth the perusal of all youngmen, if only for the especial reason that it makes them realise that Modern India is the handiwork of the united labours of the sister

communities. It is hoped that the book will have the wide circulation it deserves. To Messrs. Natesan & Co., the public owe their heartfelt thanks for combining so harmoniously, business with patriotism and maintaining the best traditions of a publishing house.

I. D.

Mangalore, a Historical sketch :—By GEORGE M. MORAES. [With a preface by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J. M.A., Professor of Indian History and Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Published by J. J. Rego at the Codialbail Press, Mangalore, 1927. Crown 8vo pp. 94.]

This little book is the second of the research studies organized by the Rev. Heras who is now recognized as one of the most prominent of the scholars engaged in Indian historical research. It is the work of one of his students trained in the meticulously accurate method of his. The booklet contains eleven chapters besides an excellent list of bibliographical references, published and unpublished. The unpublished documents are a valuable set of 16 extracts (one of which alone is in English) from the Government Archives of Panjim and the Diocesan Archives of Mylapore. They are published as appendices and cover 18 pages (pp. 72-90). The early history of Mangalore, the Portuguese enterprises, the wars of Venkatappa Nayaka, the account of Pietro Della Valle, and the fortunes of the city under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan are dealt with in the first seven chapters. The subsequent chapters give short and interesting accounts of the relations of Mangalore with the outside world in the 18th century and the history of the Kanara Christians before and after the troublous times of Tipu. The booklet is a model historical thesis though in an unpretentious and Plebian exterior.

Trilochana-Pallava and Karikala Chola :—By N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA M.A., Ph.D. [V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, 1929. pp. 120, Royal 8-vo.]

This book is a valuable publication which is likely to be highly useful to those engaged in South Indian historical research. It is well-known that Karikala Chola figures not only in Tamil literature as the builder of the embankment of the Kaveri, but in inscriptions as the originator of the Telugu-Chola dynasty which played an important part in the history of South India from the 7th century to the 12th. Epigraphists are acquainted with the movements, friendly and hostile, of the chiefs of the Telugu-Chola line. It is also equally well-known

that there is a legendary figure among the Pallavas, the celebrated Mukunti Kaduvetti. The author, relying on the basis of the inscription on the one hand and the numerous Mss. available in the Mackenzie collections, argues that Mukunti Kaduvetti and Karikala Chola were contemporaries and that Karikala Chola met him in battle and wrested from him the lands now forming the Ceded Districts. The author is to be congratulated on the large mass of literary materials, Tamil and Telugu, which he has utilised. The appendices are full of analytical data and are a good guide to those who desire to dive into the original authorities upon which the author depends. Pamphlets like these, small monographs on the other doubtful and enigmatic historical figures, are absolutely necessary; and we hope that the author will place the commendable capacity for research he has shown in this volume at the disposal of the unexplored fields of South Indian History. It is not possible to agree with all the views stated here; but the method and the spirit of the investigation are what are exactly needed in the present day.

V. R.

MARATHI

Vidhawa-Kumari :—A novel. (published by the Mahilavijay Granthamala; Khatao Bhuwan, Girgaum, Bombay. Rs. 2)

Few books have succeeded in focussing the attention of the public in Maharashtra, as some of the publications of this enterprising firm have done, to the existence of the social evils in the land. As the name denotes, the book is an autobiography of a virgin widow; and it has been told with a poignancy and sincerity which makes the book very fascinating reading. Born in the village of Chiplon, a girl is married in her 11th year to an old man of 52, who is working at Bombay and whom the girl never saw, except perforce on the day of the wedding. She finds to her sorrow and amazement that on her arrival at her husband's house, she is supposed to be a step-mother to a lady who is thrice her age. The story goes on in a delightful rambling way telling us a hundred intimate details of the Maharashtra home and we get a very clear glimpse of the family life of Gopaban. Suddenly the husband dies and the girl becomes a widow. The story then proceeds telling the hideous sufferings of the young widow and finally her emancipation.

A theme common enough; but told with consummate skill and astuteness. The author makes a passionate plea for the resuscitation of the *kunkuma*, the putting in of the auspicious mark on the forehead, as the right of every woman and the death of the husband may not affect this custom.

In short, a very thought-provoking fine story.

R. L. RAU.

TELUGU

Ippudu:—By MR. BH. KAMESWARA RAO, Rajahmundry, (Price As. 8.)

Here is a nicely got-up edition of three plays by Mr. Bh. Kameswara Rao, reprinted from the *Bharathi* in which they were originally published. Readers of the *Bharathi* are familiar with the writings of Mr. Kameswara Rao who is known to be a successful humorist. We understand the present work to be the first instalment of collected plays by Mr. Kameswara Rao, and no doubt, the plays included herein do credit to the author's claim to a high standard of achievement. There are passages in these plays capable of producing remarkable effects both theatrically and otherwise. In places, the dialogues seem to be irrelevant but on the whole they are humorous and entertaining. In the first play, a nickname given to a person largely determines the action of the play. In the next, and more so in the last, there are subtle expositions of some of the characteristics of the Telugu people. This appears to be the author's main aim and he has effectively employed his humour for this purpose.

SRI SRI.

Swaraj by Negotiation

BY K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO¹

Judging from the manner in which the Viceregal announcement has been welcomed by certain sections of Indian public opinion, it looks as if our countrymen have a pathetic faith in the primrose path of negotiation as the way to Swaraj. Even before the first blow has been struck, we are settling down to a comfortable talk of peace. The statement that the attainment of Dominion Status is the ultimate goal of British policy in India—a goal to be attained 'in the fulness of time'—is received as a welcome repudiation of the Haileyian interpretation of the Declaration of August, 1917. Obviously, a subject nation has to be grateful even for small mercies !

We shall not seek to belittle the efforts of Lord Irwin to bring about a better understanding between Britain and India. Blessed are the peace-makers; and Lord Irwin is assuredly one of them. It was no small achievement to have persuaded the Imperial Government to treat with the Indian leaders at a Round Table Conference. But in a case like the present, the conditions which hedge the Conference round are such as to rob it of all value as a measure of peace and goodwill. The farce of the Simon Enquiry and Report is to continue and, ludicrous as it might appear, the proposal for the Conference is deemed to have emanated from Sir John himself. The Conference can meet only after the Simon Report and the Nair Report have been considered by the Government of India. Obviously, these documents which ought to be treated as no better than mere scraps of paper, are to form the basis of discussion. The Conference is to be between His Majesty's Government and such Indian leaders as are invited by the Premier. It is not an attempt to thresh out the details of

¹ Written on the 1st of November.

a scheme of Dominion Status, the broad principles of which Britain accepts in advance, but only an effort to arrive at the greatest common measure of agreement between the Indians who, like Oliver Twist, are always asking for more, and the Britishers anxious to concede as little as may be consistent with their professed desire to set India on her feet, in pursuit of the distant goal of Dominion Status. Even when an agreement is reached after prolonged negotiations, every political party in England is free to pursue its own course. The decisions of the Conference apparently bind no one, not even the party in power which, through the Premier, invites the Indian leaders. It is not a peace-pact between equals that is in prospect—not an agreed constitution which needs but the formal ratification of Parliament. Is this, after all, another attempt to rally the Moderates who were driven into opposition by the all-white complexion of the Statutory Commission? There is bound to be a cleavage in our ranks, the 'more reasonable' Congressmen throwing in their lot with those that have pinned their faith to Swaraj by negotiation, and the younger Congressmen and advocates of Independence refusing to touch the Round Table Conference with the longest stick.

Possibly, we shall be told that it is unfair to doubt the *bona fides* of the Labour Party, or to set little store by the Viceroy's patent anxiety to ease the tension and prepare the way for a lasting peace. But what are we to think of an announcement which makes no mention of the hundreds of patriots wearing out their lives in prison-cells, or the vexatious prosecutions launched against men of undoubted probity? The release of all political prisoners and the withdrawal of all political prosecutions is the acid test of the Government's *bona fides*. We trust that the leaders who are running post-haste to Delhi will examine the situation in all its bearings and set forth the National Demand in an unfaltering voice. Peace with honour is always welcome, but we are not disposed to attach any value

to the opinion of men like Mr. C.S. Ranga Iyer who advise Indians not to look at the Viceregal gift-horse in the mouth. Swaraj can never be a gift from one nation to another. As between Britain and India, it must be won by the pressure that we can bring to bear by insistent and united action. Even the present gesture is the result of the successful boycott of the Simon Commission by all political parties that really count. If, in the end, Swaraj is to be established by negotiation, let us remember that the party that negotiates without the power to enforce its view-point is always at a disadvantage. So, while we prepare for peace, let us continue to develop the strength that will not only win Swaraj for us but enable us to retain it when won.



A BULLOCK CHARIOT
By Abul Hasan
INDO-PERSIAN SCHOOL

Selected Examples of Indian Painting and Sculpture

BY O. C. GANGOLY

III. A BULLOCK CHARIOT

BY ABUL HASSAN

Indo-Persian School

(Collection of Mr. Sitaram Shah, Benares)

We have here a magnificent study of a Prince riding in a car, the descendant of the old Indian *ratha*¹ driven by a pair of bullocks,—as seen through the imaginative vision of a Persian artist in India,—and recorded in the gorgeous and transfiguring language of his decorative art. A homely pair of Indian bulls, with all the rich array of bells, anklets, and golden clasps on the horns, rivalling the rich robes of the Prince himself, is here sublimated to an atmosphere of romantic tales,—while the prosaic background of a dusty Delhi street scene is obliterated and replaced by a background of gold-brown tone, embroidered by delicate foliages and lively sprays of flowering plants judiciously spread over the vacant spaces,—adding a flavour of romance and imaginative richness to the whole composition. Even the driver, as he waves his thin airy stuff in pretended chastisement of the bulls, poses in an attitude of grace and beauty worthy of a fairy tale. A homely street scene is sublimated to an atmosphere of romance and of mystery. The pair of bulls, portrayed in their characteristic type and habit, with great vigour and realism, has wonderful æsthetic qualities in the magnificent contours of their backs echoed and silhouetted

¹ Still surviving in the prosaic *ekka* still current in the United Provinces.

against each other and drawn with an unsurpassing delicacy and a wonderful feeling for animal form. A very peculiar feature is their lively and expressive pair of heads with large eyes which seem to suggest and symbolize a brave, courageous outlook, even a curiosity looking forward to any kind of journey, however laborious or adventurous. As compared with the treatment accorded to the animals, rendered with an astonishing realism, yet endowed with sympathy, humour and romance, the faces of the human charm and reticence are relatively flat and lifeless, the artist being more interested in the lively pair of mounts than in their human riders. The name and signature of the artist, Abul Hassan, are given on the front panel of the car opposite the left knee of the Prince. He was the son of the celebrated Persian artist, Aqa Rizza of Herat, and obviously belonged to the well-known Herat School of Persian Painting which flourished under the patronage of the Safavid dynasty (1502-1722). As will appear from the following extract from the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, the memoirs of Jahangir, this artist and his father were attached to the Great Moghul from his infancy :

“On this day Abul Hassan, the painter, who has been honoured with the title of *Nadir-uz-Zaman*, drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece to the *Jahangir-nama*, and brought it to me. . . His father, Aqa Rizza of Heart, at the time when I was Prince, joined my service. He (Abul Hassan) was a Khanzada of my Court. . . My connection was based on my having reared him. From his earliest years up to the present time, I have always looked after him, till his art has arrived at this rank. Truly he has been *Nadir-uz-Zaman* ('wonder of the Age').

The temper, outlook and the technique of the Moghul School proper have to be distinguished from those of the imported Persian School which Akbar set his court artists to follow as models. In the earlier phase, the Indian painters of the Moghul Court slavishly followed the manners and mannerism of the Per-

sian School, represented at the Moghul Court by several Persian artists of great distinction, of which Abul Hassan was undoubtedly a talented exponent. But the indigenous Moghul School, very eclectic in its outlook, and chiefly represented by indigenous Indian artists, soon outgrew the influences of their Persian masters and founded a style aggressively realistic in vision as well as in technique—which is clearly distinguished from the decorative language and the romantic colour schemes of the Persian School. Realism in the sense illustrated in the Moghul portraits was unknown in the Persian School, while the richly ornamental and the conventional rendering of trees and plants and human portraits is wholly absent from the Moghul School proper. The term 'Indo-Persian' therefore accurately suggests the quality of the works of Persian artists in India and those of the Indian artists who followed for a time the conventions and mannerisms of the Persian masters. The term 'Moghul School', on the other hand, is used to designate the native indigenous quality of the works of the Indian artists at the Court of the Moghul Emperor, who developed a new eclectic style, which is a curious amalgam of the Indian, Persian, and European manners. The art of the Moghul Court in its 'Indo-Persian' phase is intensely decorative in its technique and richly romantic in its vision, and contrasts clearly with the somewhat prosaic pedestrian art of the Moghul School. Through this master-piece of Abul Hassan here reproduced, one can glimpse the rich inheritance of the jewel-like radiance and the imaginative fairy lands of the Persian masters, which Akbar and Jahangir bequeathed to the Indian artists of their Imperial Studios.¹

¹ An accurate colour facsimile of this miniature is given in *Rupam* No. 35-36, (July—October 1928.)

IV. DEATH OF HIRANYA-KASIPU

(A ceiling Panel, Temple of Vimal Shah, Mount Abu.

Medieval School: 1031 A.D.)

When the stories of the *puranas*, the didactic myths of Brahminical *sagas*, began to be translated in stone, first during the Gupta period, the seeds of Brahminical sculpture were sown in the fertile soil of a neo-Hindu renaissance, to fructify in a school of sculpture singularly characterized by an energy and vitality and a wonderful power of dramatic expression, which attained its highest perfection between the 8th and the 12th centuries. Of all the *pauranic* myths, none is more popular with the Indian artist than the story of the demon-king Hiranya-Kasipu, who by merits in another life acquired a boon that he will not meet death at the hand of God, man or animal. The story is also used to illustrate a phase of Hindu religious belief which lays down that whoever worships the divinity, be it in terms of hatred or love, shall attain salvation. The demon-king had thought of Vishnu all his life through his hate, but the divinity did not on that account refuse him the grace of salvation.

Such is the story translated plastically in a remarkably composed marble relief from one of the ceilings of the Temple of Vimal Shah at Mount Abu erected in 1031 A.D. The *Nara-simha* (man-lion) and the demon-king are pictured in a complicated mortal embrace which gives the pair a physical as well as a spiritual unity (*sayujya*) from which it is difficult at first to disentangle the figures of two distinct individuals. They combine and coalesce, as it were, to spell out a highly organized design for an intricate monogram—the symbol of the *jivatma* absorbed in the *paramatma*. The group itself is placed within the halo of a sixteen-petalled lotus (*sodasa-dalapadma*) spread in a complete circle rich in its ritualistic symbolism. The halo of the circle assists at a singular dramatic effect—for a circle has no top or base—and one is perplexed for a moment to discover which figure is uppermost and who is the winner



DEATH OF HIRANYA-KASIPU

A ceiling Panel, Temple of Vimah Shah, Mt Abu

Medieval School, 1031 A. D.

of the duel, the demon or its slayer. But the sculptor has not forgotten to furnish the right clue, in the indication of the hand touching the head of the *Nara-simha*—which indicates the top of the picture—the crown of the composition, and one is pleasantly surprised to discover that the vanquished figure is lying prostrate in a dramatic pose, with his head very significantly placed on the left foot of the Divinity, who kills the king's body to give him the immortality of salvation. In the symbolic language of the Indian religious love, the ambition of the devotee to receive salvation is "to find his refuge in the feet of the divine". This symbolism is pictorially realised with literal faithfulness without hampering the plastic expression. The difficulty of filling up a circle with artistic effect is cleverly surmounted by the three emphatic lines which radiate from the centre, two of which are furnished by the two hands of the man-lion joining near the breast, the third line being provided by the left thigh of the prostrate figure. These three lines break up the circle into three segments. In contrast to these radiating lines, there are a series of converging lines offered by the petals of the lotus which make towards the centre. Thus a rhythm is evolved out of the ebb and flow of two distinct series of lines, one of centrifugal and the other centripetal motion. These help to invest the composition with a quality of movement which is quite independent of the action of the fighting figures. The impact of the combatants finds an echo in the impact of the lines, which balance each other in an unexpected harmony. Seldom has the story of the *puranas* been told in plastic language of such singular depth of concentration and with such intense dramatic expression. It has the concentration and symbolism of a *bija mantra*, as well as the expansive suggestiveness of an epic. For sheer terrifying power, or, as Elie Faure has picturesquely put it, "grandiose bestiality", this virile relief puts to shade the classic "shriek in marble" with which we are familiar in the Greek Laocoon.

Sri Aurobindo's 'Kalidasa'

BY DR. R. VAIDYANATHASWAMY, M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D.

The Creative Process and the source of Creative Energy are in the last analysis inscrutable mystery. What, for instance, is the nature and process of the influence emanating from the great souls who stand out in history as the leaders of men, who have guided humanity in its evolution by creating institutions and laying down the *Dharma*? What is the vital impulse behind the external mechanism of a nation or an empire, which sustains it generation after generation, producing leaders, philosophers, poets, men of vision and of strength? What again is the process behind the transformation of personality through sudden religious or other experience? And—this is a paramount question for us today in India,—when the integrity of national life has been lost, by what art or device can the vital energy be coaxed into it again?

The *Tantra* offers to us the concept of *Nada* and *Bindu* as a proximate analytical description of the typical creative process. Disregarding the refinements of the theory, we can put the matter roughly thus. The state before Creation is one of dispassionate quiescent *Chit*, which, though it constitutes the stuff and the positive support of all existence, is yet a negative condition, inasmuch as nothing can be said about it, *avyakta*. Then there starts somewhere a minute vibration, *spanda*, which instantaneously spreads like a flash and gathers itself up into a central point of illumination—the *Bindu*. With the *Bindu* comes a definition of the Indefinite, a centre of reference or I-sense, an outlook and a preparation born of recognition and self-definition; for the *Bindu* is an essentially unstable massed-up potential energy, which must dissolve and disperse itself through dynamic evolution.

In this description of the typical creative process, the initial minute vibration which starts the whole process culminating in the dynamic centre, can only be accounted for by *Karma*, that is to say, by some sort of *memory*, while its instantaneous spreading has to be looked upon as due to a vague *recognition* or rather *Love*, culminating in distinct consciousness in the *Bindu* (observe that a single word *smara* in Sanskrit means both 'love' and 'recognition'). Why and how *karma* and *kama* act is utterly inexplicable; the only thing that can be asserted on the basis of Yogic experiment and observation (particularly of the descent from *Samadhi* to normal consciousness), is that some subtle chord of memory is touched somehow, and that Love or Recognition electrifies into manifestation the active *Bindu*, the dynamic purposeful 'I'.

This account of the creative process would indicate that the ultimate principle in all creative action—whether it be the energising of an individual or of a nation,— is *to recall to memory*. Whenever this can be done successfully, the *Bindu*-Self has to appear by an inevitable spiritual law, and the pang of love-recognition with which it is born, contains within itself implicitly all the dynamic mechanism of its future unfoldment, its creative evolution. Thus all ultimate problems of individual or corporate life, resolve themselves into a question of memory and recognition, which may be formulated as 'who and what am I?'. This profound truth has been thoroughly grasped in India, in all its aspects and implications. Thus the *guru* of Ancient India initiates the disciple in *Atmavidya* by reminding him of what he is, *Tattvamasi*. Generations of *Upasakas* worship the Deity with a traditional string of sacred names, in order to arouse memory, and to force the repetition and fixation of the original revealed experience which gave it birth. In the same way, when Brahma is produced at the beginning of a new *Kalpa*, the *Purana* relates how the Lord has to remind him of his earlier creations, in order that he may be able to create again.

Again, of all the invocations in the *Upanishads*, is there

any which rings with more passionate intensity than the prayer in the *Isa*, "*O! Will, remember, remember what thou hast done!*"

It is again the same fundamental truth in a special application, which has been rediscovered by Freud in psycho-analysis. The psychopath, in treating a case of hysteria, first sets himself out to discover, by dream-analysis, the sub-conscious purpose of the hysteric manifestation, and then proceeds to *remind* the patient of his own intention in permitting the symptoms. Immediately, the whole creative process described is gone through in the mind of the patient, and the *Bindu* once formed effectually checks the particular hysteric symptom. Verily in all this, the commonplace maxim that Knowledge is Power, becomes true in a new and unexpected sense.

It would appear, therefore, that the state of utmost helplessness and ineffectiveness that can ever be imagined, is the loss of the sense of Self. The Tamil imagination has created a happy picture of this condition in the fable of the fly which forgets its own name, and sets about to learn it by asking every creature that it meets. The condition of India at the present day, in her loss of self-consciousness, her loss of *Dharma*, in her general ineffectuality and lack of orientation, is not dissimilar to that of the fly of the fable. One feels that the shade of India wanders about from Himalaya to Ceylon, lingering among the ruins, trying to *recall, recall*, or knocking at the doors of her cultured sons and daughters, asking distractedly 'Oh! Tell me, what am I?' Especially does the shade haunt the Pundits, the historians, and the archæologists, but alas, they can give but little comfort! For, what they know has been realised not as *Aham*, but as *Idam*, not as the *experiences* of a single national soul in its career, but as philosophies, facts and dates; therefore, it is incapable of touching the sensitive nerve of memory, it does not precipitate the dynamic self-revelation, and force the re-integration through a recovered self-definition. It would seem as if the miraculous restoring touch can only come from a divinely gifted teacher, from one who has dedicated himself without

reserve to the Highest, who, leaving behind all the pettiness of the lower self, can establish himself firmly in the *Mahat*, and act therefrom in the plenitude of divine wisdom and power.

* * * * *

In the troublous days of the dawn of Indian Nationalism, it was Sri Aurobindo's voice which spoke out, vibrant with the message of the New India rising from her ashes, and the vision of a future wherein her agelong ideals, her *Sanatana Dharma*, the supreme inner law of life to which she had consciously moved, assimilating to themselves the positive elements of the modern age, would fructify into a supreme synthesis. Prophet and leader of the Young Nationalism, he infused into it the spiritual fervour and high-souled devotion brought from the two great fountains of Indian inspiration—the *Gita* ideal of surrender and *Naishkamyakarma Yoga*, and the *Tantric* figure of the Mother, fresh with the memories of Ramakrishna. Later, as political exile, Sri Aurobindo set himself out, guided by the hand of a Divine Providence, to explore, seize and assimilate the innermost self of the India of the milleniums, to re-live her intensest spiritual realisations, to assort, order and estimate the great spiritual syntheses of her past. The conviction of his earlier years, that the key, the vital and interpretative principle of India's national history, was to be sought in her persistent and many-sided spiritual effort, deepened into a certainty as he proceeded, till the Soul of India stood revealed to him, in all the forms and ways of her seeking through the ages, and in the sudden and tragic check which prostrated her at last. The nationalism which he offered as *Ahuti* into the fire of *Yoga*, returned to him transformed—for, Sacrifice does not destroy, but always purifies and transmutes—from a blind rush of the imperfectly disciplined emotion, into a growing into the very self of India, and a love, rooted in one's life and being, yet founded in detachment, of all that India stood for,—the effectuation of spiritual ideals into social forms, and into all forms of human activity.

His whole writing breathes of this mystic intimacy with the soul of India; phrase and word ring true, fraught with the meaning of centuries. Even in his earlier books, a new and strange power of expression is revealed. I mean not only that the style, charged with suggestiveness and power, is like a pure flame of idealistic fervour, but that the English language itself is subdued to something which approaches the poise and cadence of Indian thought. In the *Arya* and later writing, the style undergoes a subtle transformation, parallel to the transformation of personality which sustained yogic discipline entails. It loses *eagerness* and *rush*, and develops a *restfulness* and *depth*, suggestive of a calm equipoise. However great or moving the theme might be, one feels that the style is not only adequate to the theme, but that it carries it lightly without a tremor agitating its still depths. The book before us is titled '*Kalidasa*', and suggests a literary appreciation and criticism of the Indian Poet. In point of fact, the book has a much larger purpose. It surveys the post-Vedic history of India, and infers the three successive phases of development—characterised respectively as *moral*, *intellectual*, and *material*—from the representative poets Valmiki, Vyasa and Kalidasa. 'A large and illuminating characterisation, quite in keeping with what one would expect from the course of development of the individual soul. For, if the *Veda* with its *Sadhana* of Sacrifice may be characterised as a psychological synthesis, and the *Upanishads* with their supreme insistence on the ultimate comprehensive principle of existence, the *Poornam*, be characterised as a spiritual monistic synthesis, it is not unnatural that the spiritual impulse of the *Veda* and the *Upanishad* should realise and work itself out in succeeding ages in all the planes of national life, thus completing a 'round' or cycle of experience. Sri Aurobindo thinks that at the time of the barbarian invasion, India was already preparing for a new and more perfect age. "It was the supreme misfortune of India that before she was able to complete the round of her experience, and gather up the fruit of her long milleniums of search and

travail by commencing a fourth and more perfect age in which moral, intellectual and material development should be all equally harmonised, and all equally spiritualised, the inrush of barbarians broke in finally on her endless solitary *tapasya* of effort, and beat her national life into fragments. A preparation for such an age may be glimpsed in the new tendencies of spiritual seeking that began with Shankara, and continued in later Vaishnavism and Shaivism and in new turns of poetry and art, but it found no opportunity of seizing in the total life of the nation and throwing it into another mould. The work was interrupted before it had well begun; and India was left with only the remnants of the culture of the material age to piece out her existence."

A characterisation of this kind is of course too broad to serve any *specific* historical purpose or theory; on the other hand, it is precisely because of this generality that it has so much interpretative value, and helps us to form a unified picture of the broad course of Indian history.

Sri Aurobindo apparently regards it as beyond question that a *single* mind, Vyasa, was responsible for the Mahabharata; also he agrees that the Ramayana refers to a period anterior to the Mahabharata, without however committing himself on the question whether Valmiki wrote after or before the Mahabharata. Both of these questions are controversial, each Indologist prejudging them according to his own particular idiosyncrasy, and supporting his view by arguments of more or less value, the main point of agreement lying in giving little or no value to indigenous tradition. It is apparently the study of the Epic itself which has led Sri Aurobindo, as it led Dahlmann, to the view that the Mahabharata pictures the life of a single age, and that a single individual was responsible for it, not in the sense that he wrote every line of the Epic, but in the sense that he gathered round the central plot selections from available current material, with suitable adaptations, alterations and additions, and built it all up into a single unified whole. As for

the Ramayana, the fact that some Indologists think that it might have been contemporaneous with the Mahabharata, though emanating from a different part of the country, shows that textual considerations which were supposed to point to the Ramayana as the later work, may probably be based on additions or interpolations, and would therefore not be decisive. On the other hand, the fact that the Ramayana shows no acquaintance with Krishna or the Gospel of the *Gita*, as well as the general character of the work giving the impression of a 'younger and less sophisticated humanity', should form sufficiently strong *inner* evidence in favour of the traditional view of the Ramayana as the earlier work.

There are some delightful touches about the personality of Valmiki. For example: "To the pure and delicate moral temperament of Valmiki, imaginative, sensitive, enthusiastic, shot through with rays of visionary idealism and ethereal light, this looseness and violence were shocking and abhorrent." And again, penetrating, thought-provoking judgments, such as "Valmiki's mind seems nowhere to be familiarised with the high-strung intellectual gospel of a high and severe *Dharma*, culminating in a passionless activity, raised to a supreme spiritual significance in the *Gita*, which is one great keynote of the Mahabharata. Had he known it, the strong leaven of sentimentality and femininity in his nature might well have rejected it; such temperaments, when they admire strength, admire it manifested and forceful rather than self-contained;" or again, "Valmiki's characters act from emotional or imaginative enthusiasm, not from intellectual conviction; an enthusiasm of morality actuates Rama, an enthusiasm of immorality tyrannises over Ravana. Like all mainly moral temperaments, he instinctively insisted on one old established code of morals being universally observed as the only basis of all ethical stability, avoided casuistic developments and distrusted innovators in metaphysical thought, as by their persistent and searching questions dangerous to the established bases of morality, especially to its wholesome ordinariness and everydayness." This

characteristic temperament of Valmiki is well revealed in the opening incident of the Ramayana, which is apparently a genuine account of the origin of the poem, and which strongly suggests the view taken by Sri Aurobindo, namely that the Ramayana is an æsthetic reaction against an age of aristocratic violence and immorality, and pictures a past imperial civilisation idealised.

Then follows a brilliant description of the age of the Mahabharata, and its predominantly intellectual character, as contrasted with the moral note struck in the Ramayana. Insight supplies what is lacking in the shape of actual data, in seizing the personality of Vyasa. We read of him: "But while Valmiki was a soul out of harmony with its surroundings, and looking back to an ideal past, Vyasa was a man of his time, profoundly in sympathy with it, full of its tendencies, hopeful of its results, and looking forward to an ideal future. . . . Vyasa does not revolt from the aristocratic code of morality; it harmonises with his own proud and strong spirit and he accepts it as a basis for conduct, but purified and transfigured by the illuminating ideal of *Nishkama Dharma*. But above all, intellectuality is his grand note; he is profoundly interested in ideas, in metaphysics, in ethical problems; he subjects morality to casuistic tests from which the more delicate moral tone of Valmiki's spirit shrank; he boldly erects above ordinary ethics a higher principle of conduct having its springs in intellect and strong character."

The third period, or the age of material civilisation mirrored in Kalidasa, is much nearer the range of historical vision, and is reconstructed for us vividly in outline and detail, from the indications in the works of Kalidasa and other poets of the period. With the very acute characterisation of the *person* Kalidasa, which follows, I suppose it is hardly possible even for a lover of Kalidasa to disagree. The superb description of the peculiar quality of Kalidasa's genius and his special poetic gifts, is a sheer feast of literary criticism; at the same time, the difference in level between the Ramayana and Mahabharata on the one

hand, and the works of Kalidasa on the other, is not lost sight of: "His poetry has therefore never been, like the poetry of Valmiki and Vyasa, a great dynamic force for the moulding of heroic character or noble or profound temperament." The reason of this difference lies, paradoxically enough, in the fact that Kalidasa was too completely the artist and hedonist. While Valmiki achieves sublimity "by disdaining all consistent pursuit of the sublime," Kalidasa's appreciation of "high ideal and lofty thought is æsthetic in its nature, and he elaborates and seeks to bring out the effectiveness of these, on the imaginative sense of the noble and grandiose, applying to the things of mind and soul the same æsthetic standard as to the things of sense themselves." It is a most remarkable thing, that in spite of his intense æstheticism and hedonism, Kalidasa is virile enough not to fall into the cloying languor of a Keats, or the second-rate level of a Tennyson. Sri Aurobindo attributes this to "the chastity of his style, his aim at burdened precision and energy of phrase, his unsleeping æsthetic vigilance," but there is probably a deeper reason as well, depending on racial character and environment. The book closes with a study of the *Ritusamhara*, as shewing in undeveloped form the peculiar poetic qualities of Kalidasa.

As a work of literary interpretation and criticism 'Kalidasa' stands on a high pedestal of excellence. While this is so, we have said enough to indicate that herein does not lie the whole of its value. It brings a new historical outlook and insight into the field of literary estimation, born of the vision of a single national soul in purposeful activity, expressing and progressively realising itself in Time. In small compass, with a few finished strokes of the pen, and almost unintentionally, in the garb of literary criticism, a glimpse is conveyed to us of this mighty soul, of the flavour of its peculiar individuality, of what it sought and wrought for during the long period of its active life.

Sittannavasal Frescoes

BY M. S. SUNDARA SARMA, B.A.

I

The earliest well-known examples of the art of painting in India have been so far confined to the northern border of South India and are as varied in their technique as in the subjects they treat about. Those of the Ajanta caves are of the greatest extent, though only a fraction of the whole remains now to be seen. Most of them are considered to be of Buddhistic origin, because one or two of them are labelled as such or because a few of the *Jataka* stories are conveniently read in them. Whether the whole of the paintings are really so is to be doubted, especially because the later followers of Lord Buddha, in their over-zealous endeavour to proselytise, labelled and adopted so many things that had existed in the country. Whatever that may be, there is no questioning the fact that there is not one central or dominant key for the interpretation of the scattered paintings in any of the caves. It cannot be due entirely to the loss of most portions of them. At Ajanta the art covers a long period of time running up to centuries, and as such the treatment and the subject matter have been very varied and divergent. Though the technique of them all was alike and indigenous, the contents thereof are neither strictly in unison with the notions of art as depicted in Indian architecture and sculpture, nor in accordance with those *dhyana slokas* or contemplative verses of the Indian *Shilpa Sastras*. They are no doubt depicted with a degree of proficiency unmatched in Europe till about the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Though a joyful contemporary life and manners are depicted therein, the deeper surgings of the art of the land which sway its architecture and sculpture, whereby Indian art really becomes a microcosmic concept of Cosmic

aspects, are clearly absent from them, except indirectly here through a phase of the life of the Lord Buddha, or there through depicting a particular *leela* of the Lord Krishna, one and the same incident very often being interpreted by the Buddhist or the Hindu each according to his own way! The high spiritual symbolism, the Cosmic idealism and the deep content of real Indian art are alike absent in any of them. So much so, that criticism saw therein a 'frank naturalism' a characteristic that was solely attributed to the so-called 'Buddhist art' within which category these cave paintings were summarily incorporated irrespective of the subject matter of the compositions.

That this mature art of painting could not have been confined to this particular locality has long ago been wisely recognised, because of the few traces of frescoes found here and there in the country, and because of the innumerable literary references to the existence of picture halls or galleries. There were really no other visible records to show us as to what extent and in which direction the art had prevailed really in ages long gone by. Criticism was in doubt whether to trace the art from Tibetan banners or Central Asian walls till it rested with the satisfaction of going out elsewhere than this country!

Being the most perishable of the fine arts, it had to submit itself, for want of visible records, to the whims and fancies of criticism till it found a fortunate discoverer in Mr. T.A. Gopinath Rao, the learned author of *Indian Iconography*, who in his energetic search for Pallava inscriptions on rocks, chanced to come across some old relics of frescoes at Sittannavasal in the year 1919, just a century after the discovery of those at Ajanta.

"These paintings are perhaps as old as the shrine and are in a fairly good state of preservation, and need being copied fully," wrote Mr. Gopinath Rao to his friend and collaborator, Prof. G. Jouveau Dubreuil of Pondicherry, who, on his part, went over to the cave early next year and saw that from an artistic point of view, the remains were similar to those of Ajanta paintings and that they were very remarkable. He forthwith drew the

attention of the public, by means of a leaflet in which a rough tracing of the outline of one of the dancing figures only was given, as the Professor's photographs of the paintings, though taken with care, were unable to give satisfactory results.

Realising only too well the real value and importance of the discovery, the artist in me hastened to the spot and stood face to face with the precious old relics early in October 1922.



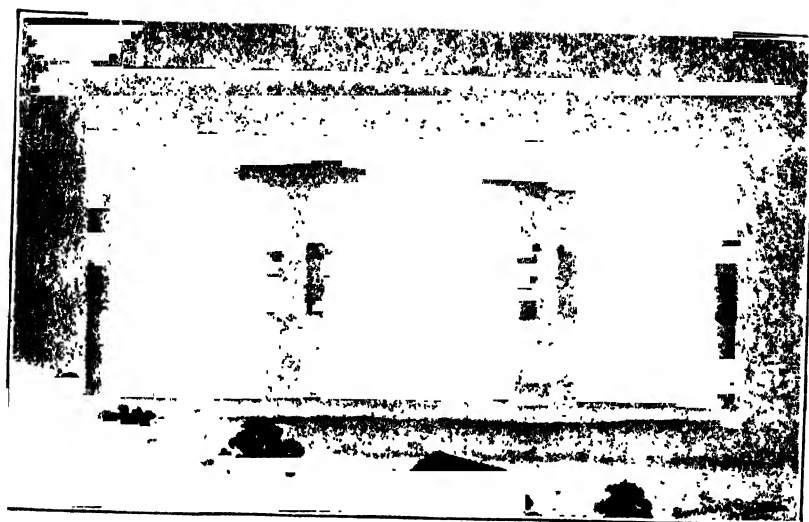
(The dancing figure as published by Prof. Dubreuil—a little tilted from its original position in the cave)

Before leaving the cave for the time being, I made careful copies, though smaller in scale, of the two dancing figures and a head on the pillars as well as a portion of the panel found intact on the ceiling of the cave. My copies were exhibited at once before the *elite* of Pudukottah during my lecture in the College there, when the value of these paintings was duly pointed out and emphasised. The *Madras Mail Annual* of 1924

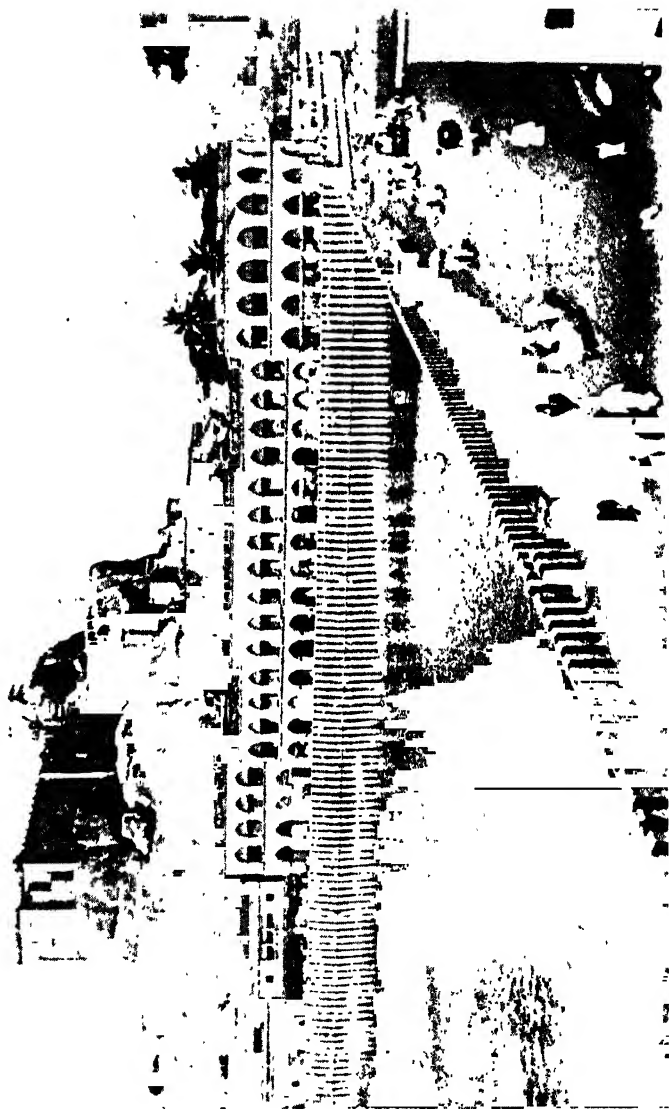
promptly purchased and published beautifully in colours one of these dancing figures with a note about the cave which I had sent at Dr. Cousins's request.

The Ajanta frescoes, though discovered in 1819, failed to attract attention until 1843 when Mr. James Ferguson persuaded the Directors of the East India Company to copy them at public expense. The copies that were made by Mr. Gill in pursuance thereof were unfortunately lost. Subsequent copies too, by others, shared the same fate. Only between 1872 and 1885 when Mr. Griffiths, in collaboration with his pupils of the School of Arts in Bombay, made elaborate copies and published the now-famous atlas folio volumes, some adequate justice may be said to have been done to the Ajantan discovery.

Lest a similar tale may not be told of the newly discovered paintings at Sittannavasal, I was preparing, so far as an individual could prepare, to go to the cave duly equipped, to make copies of the whole of the visible paintings. In the meanwhile, in addition to the reproduction of one of the figures in the *Mail Annual* of 1924, I was exhibiting my copies at various places I went out lecturing, and Dr. James H. Cousins of Adyar took with him in his North Indian tour a set of my copies, exhibiting them and talking about them at several important places. Another Madras paper, *The Daily Express* also published an article by me on the value of these paintings, accompanied by black and white reproductions of all the copies I had then made. While in the North, Mr. N. C. Mehta had my copies, that were exhibited at Lucknow by Dr. Cousins, traced by an youngster of the Bengal School, without either my knowledge or that of the Doctor who had exhibited them. He reproduced them in his book *Studies in Indian Painting*, giving the credit to the stealthy copyist of my pictures! Mr. Mehta has, however, sent me later a letter of apology, not realising that apologies alone do not mend matters always. But I was content that by some means or other the old frescoes had been brought to greater public attention.



Outer view of the Sittannavasal cave



The Rock Fort, Trichinopoly (See Page 77)

Through the kind influence of my friend, Dr. K. N. Sitaraman, who was then the Vice-Principal of the College at Kolhapur, the Chief of Aundh took interest in the copying of the frescoes at Sittannavasal, and placed very generously at my disposal a munificent sum that enabled me at once to go to the cave fully and duly equipped. Early in the year 1926, I started out for the cave to do full justice to the paintings by copying carefully to scale and tone all the visible portions of the old frescoes. Madame Bermond, an accomplished French painter, came along with me to the cave and was of immense help to me during the few days that she kindly remained with me after seeing the old relics. I continued my stay there for several weeks more till I finished the work for which I went over there.

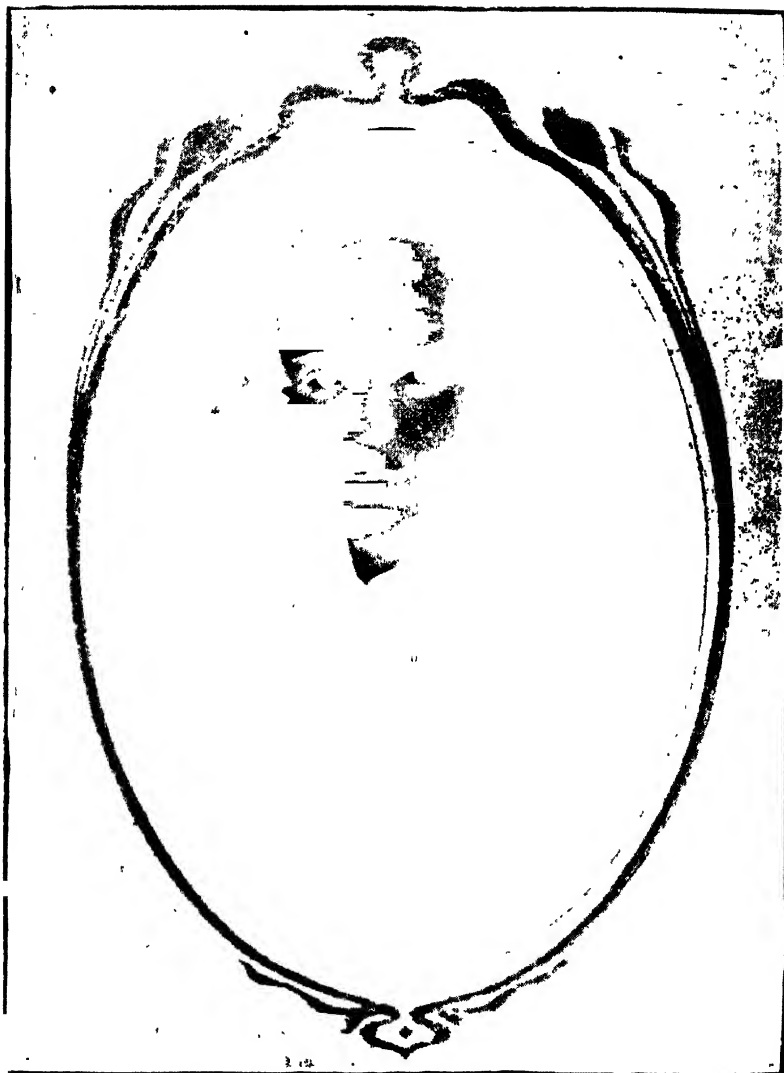
President Jawaharlal

By CHANDRA DATTA PANDE

'From log cabin to White House' is rather a commonplace feature of many a great man's life. Such is not the experience of Jawaharlal Nehru. In him, surely, we do not find a Mussolini or a Masaryk, cradled under the humble roof of a blacksmith or a coachman, and having to fight every inch of his way in the world, in misery and starvation. Yet, it cannot be gainsaid that his is a remarkable career; more so, because it has been singularly uneventful.

It was Booker. T. Washington who gave a splendid criterion of a successful life. "Success is to be measured," he says, "not so much by the position that one has reached in life as by the obstacles which he has overcome while trying to succeed." According to this criterion, it is quite possible to conceive of quite a large number of brave souls who have lived a more successful life than that of Jawaharlal Nehru, and yet have been denied the good fortune to be the cynosures of a nation's eyes.

While it cannot be denied that Jawaharlal got a good start in life by reason of his father's eminence, it would be far from correct to imagine that he owes his present position to his father. On the other hand, it adds considerably to the credit of Jawaharlal that he could achieve greatness, in spite of his father's high position. If the Christian scriptures are right in saying that it is as difficult for the rich to enter heaven as for a camel to pass through a needle's eye, it is no less true that the sons of great men can seldom reach the paternal level. It is rarely that one finds a Younger Pitt surpassing the glory of a Chatham. And we know how even Austen Chamberlain has been taunted as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's pale shadow. In our country the instances of inherited greatness are rarer still.



President Jawaharlal

Jawaharlal Nehru had, besides his 'unearned' position, qualities which inevitably brought him to the forefront. Had he not been so fortunately placed in life, he would have been perhaps obliged to plod his way in the outskirts of politics for a time. But it is beyond doubt that a man endowed with his talents and animated by his ideals would have easily emerged out of obscurity. He was born to be great. But his circumstances tended to rob his achievements of their charm.

Though born and brought up in the lap of luxury, in an atmosphere least congenial to good training, he was by his fond but wise father subjected to the rigorous discipline of British Public Schools. After finishing his school career at Harrow, he entered Trinity College. In 1911, when he was running his twenty-second year, he took his bachelor's degree and was almost immediately called to the Bar. A year later, he returned to India fully equipped with all that British education could give to an Indian. But as it is apt to be under such training, he lacked a sense of appreciation of Indian tradition and culture. As he himself expressed in his memorable statement before the Court in May 1922, "he came back to India with an outlook more British than Indian." In that very year he attended the Bankipore Congress as a delegate, at a time when the Indian National Congress was completely in the hands of Moderates and titled dignitaries. No amount of prophetic vision would have enabled anyone to forecast that this elegant youth, who resented a sartorial discrepancy more than a change in the creed of the Congress, was destined to play such a great role in the struggle for the freedom of the country. And indeed, it requires no great stretch of imagination to conceive the exact mood in which this young man, who even today when seventeen more winters have passed over his head, is a veritable fountain of fiery extremism, listened to the orations of such seasoned Moderates as Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, the President of the session. Perhaps he did not relish his first experience of the Congress.

Pandit Jawaharlal's political career actually begins from

the days of the Home Rule movement. He took a prominent part in popularising Dr. Besant's League in the province. He worked with so much zeal and vigour, that a year later, in 1917, he was elected Joint General Secretary of the All-India Home Rule League along with Mr. (now Sir) C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. By the way, it is tempting here to observe that the difference in the politics of these two talented sons of India, who so recently had worked in unison, precisely indicates the advance that has been made in Indian politics in the last decade by the parties they both represent.

The advent of Non-co-operation made a world of difference in the outlook of the nation and in the lives of many a national leader. It was not merely a change of political programme, but a religious transformation. And nowhere was the transformation more remarkable than at Anand Bhawan—the far-famed mansion of the Nehrus.

Jawaharlal Nehru put his heart and soul into the N. C. O. programme. He worked in the spirit of a soldier. He spoke little but toiled ceaselessly. He had implicit faith in 'Swaraj in one year.' He would be furious at the meetings of the Provincial Congress Committee if anybody suggested that funds should be provided for the coming year, because he could not tolerate anyone doubting the certainty of Swaraj on the 31st of December, 1921. It was with this faith that he worked under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, while the Mahatma on his part trusted him as his faithful and most favourite lieutenant.

Twice he was put in gaol. At the time of his second release, a veritable civil war was going on in the Congress camp. Das and Nehru had raised the standard of revolt and Sjt. Rajagopalachar was heroically holding his master's banner aloft. The whole country was divided like England at the time of the Wars of the Roses, into two camps 'pro-changers' and 'no-changers.' Jawaharlal was disgusted with the activities of the pro-changers led by his own father. Without any reservation he threw his weight in favour of the 'no-changers'. At the Cocanada

Congress, Maulana Mahomed Ali's choice of General Secretary fell on him, and no President since then could think of forming a Cabinet without including Jawaharlal.

Early in 1926, his wife's delicate health necessitated his stay in Europe for a period of more than twenty months. His sojourn on the Continent influenced him mightily. Jawaharlal made the best possible use of his leisure. He came into contact with eminent contemporary thinkers. He studied very extensively and observed minutely every phase of European life that affected the course of world events. His thorough knowledge of the French language enabled him to look at things from a point of view other than British.

As a delegate of the Indian National Congress to the first World Congress of the League against Imperialism at Brussels, he made a profound impression by his intellectual competence to grapple every problem that confronted the subject and oppressed nationalities of the world. In Europe, he generally moved in the circle of those revolutionaries who had made common cause with Russia for putting an end to British Imperialism. Thereby he naturally became a supporter of the Soviet organisation of society. But Jawaharlal was not a wholesale convert to the doctrines of Karl Marx. At the end of his sojourn, he had an opportunity to see the actual working of the Marxian programme in a country whose problems were the same as those of India. The young Pandit was greatly impressed by the all-round awakening that he saw amongst the Russian masses.

He returned to India at a most psychological moment. The all-British Simon Commission had been just announced. That had stirred the whole country. Straight from Europe, he came to Madras to attend the Congress. After having breathed the free air of European countries, it seemed anomalous to him that the Indian National Congress should cherish such an uninspiring ideal as 'Self-Government within the British Empire'. A sworn foe of Imperialism in every form and

of British Imperialism in particular, he could not reconcile himself to it. He captured the imagination of the country. Mahatma Gandhi was in retirement. Jawaharlal was the hero of the Congress, and the advocates of Independence achieved a notable triumph. When at the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow the older leaders showed a tendency to lower the ideal in order to secure unity, Jawaharlal refused to countenance the move. He, along with Subash Bose, started a new organisation to uphold the cause of complete Independence.

At Calcutta, he was in a very delicate position. As a leader of the Independence movement, he was in duty bound to oppose the Nehru Report, and on the other hand he had to look to the wishes of his patron-leader Mahatma Gandhi, and his own father. In the end he chose to bow to the gentle persuasion of the Mahatma. He keenly felt his surrender and many enthusiastic Independence-wallas accused him of his 'lack of strength'; but unlike his younger colleague—Subash Bose—he earned the credit of entering into a reasonable compromise.

To the man in the street, Pandit Jawaharlal appeals neither on account of his high intellectual attainments nor his burning patriotism and sincerity of purpose, but for reasons which are singularly attractive to the plebian mind. He is spoken of as a class-fellow of the Prince of Wales. It is an obvious piece of street gossip. But is it not enough to be the son of Pandit Motilal Nehru to catch the eye of the public,—Pandit Motilal Nehru whose brilliant legal acumen and statesmanship are 'commonplace' before the splendours of his life? Were not his clothes washed in the laundries of Paris? And was not his presidential carriage drawn by thirty-four horses? This halo of glory which his great father bequeathed to him, has lent additional charm to his striking personality. His urbanity is polished; his intellectual equipment fine; his deep-set eyes full of life and light mark him out as a commanding figure. People instinctively shrink from the intellectual superiority of his gaze. In an assembly, he maintains a retir-

ing and, rather thoughtful pose which really betrays his aristocratic bent. But in the company of friends and colleagues, he is extremely affable and often indulges in childish pranks. Unlike his father, he is free from all aristocratic disregard for humbler men.

Jawaharlal's sole passion is his patriotism and his only recreation incessant work. Occasionally he relaxes and takes to riding and swimming. Though thin and supple, he enjoys good health and has a tremendous store of energy. His reading of books is extensive, his mastery of details amazing; his grasp of modern problems and new ideas sound, his knowledge of International affairs vast. One suspects that his love of socialism is not so much due to the suffering and poverty of the working classes as to his intellectual conviction that the men who fatten on unearned incomes are the helpers of foreign exploitation. He has no soft corner for them. He loves the poor because he hates the rich. And he hates the rich because they are the supporters of foreign rule. To a landlord, he is Lenin incarnate, and to many Russophile communists, he is a 'tepid reformer', 'an exponent of bourgeois interest' and at best a 'social democrat'. To many a politician who has scrupulously fought shy of modern ideas, his head contains nothing but a hotchpotch of confused thinking. However, in Jawaharlal Nehru, one finds a link between the old and younger generations. But both schools harbour an apprehension about the efficacy of his leadership, the one believing that he goes too far in his extremism, the other feeling that he goes not far enough to strike terror in the Government.

It must be confessed that what may be said of Jawaharlal's qualities of head and heart, cannot be said of his will and determination. He has shown himself lacking in assertion in the presence his 'superiors'—only two in number, Mahatma Gandhi and his own father. He comes to a right decision and is assured of a powerful following, but soon his amenability to persuasion overcomes his determination. He thus embarrass-

es himself. And if he earns the confidence of his superiors, he tries the patience of his youthful followers. In Calcutta and lastly at Delhi, he has betrayed his incapacity for bold action though he could have risen to the occasion. Those who have the opportunity of observing his trend of thought know full well how much he rues his surrender. He passes miserable days and nights. He gets vexed with his own weakness. Then he recants and gets deeper into the mire.

And then there is a legitimate complaint against his temper. He is easily piqued but his fury is short-lived. He often distorts his face in disgust and he cannot tolerate every speaker indulging in some 'nonsense'. His thin lips quiver in anger, when he sees some 'impropriety' being abetted or shielded. He often finds himself pitifully helpless to check an outburst of bad temper, but his constant efforts to make due amends lend him added grace. Those who are acquainted with his sincerity of purpose and soundness of heart do not mind his cross temper and acerbity. It is reasonable to concede that his keen intelligence and impulsiveness prevent a proper judgment of what others say. If he did not possess extremely polished manners, his treatment of others might leave an impression of coarseness and vanity, elements completely foreign to his nature.

Up to the present moment of his career, Jawaharlal has had an unbroken record of success. And there is no reason to expect it will be otherwise in future. But as he has come to occupy the highest position in Indian Politics at a comparatively early age, there is room for apprehension. The destinies of India at a critical stage of her history are bound up with Jawaharlal. Will he lead her to victory and the glorious dawn of Swaraj?

The Art Revival in Andhra

BY K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO ¹

The worship of the Beautiful is one of the principal elements in the worship of the Divine. Beautiful sights, sweet sounds and lovely thoughts, take us nearer to God. We are all trying to give a form to Him who is formless. We are not content to see Him in the glow of the sunset, in the dancing waves, the mountain tops and the depths of the forest. We try to think of Him as the babe that reposes in a tiny leaf, as the player on the flute, as the cosmic dancer. He is a million-fold more beautiful than the most beautiful forms we can dream of. Yet, these are all methods of approach to Him.

The joy that comes to us through the fine arts is not merely physical. It is a reflection of the bliss that is born of our union with the Divine. The capacity to appreciate beauty is inborn in everyone of us, but this love of beauty has to be awakened and fostered. The creators of beauty are greater by far than those who merely love it. Poets and musicians, painters and sculptors, are therefore worthy of the highest regard. The creative power of God manifests itself through them.

India has, through the ages, been famous for her achievements in the fine arts, and though foreign domination has caused a temporary set-back, there are signs all around us of a great awakening. I do not propose to speak at length about the ideals or the technique of Indian Art. The subject has been rendered familiar to most of us by the writings of Mr. E. B. Havell, Doctors. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Avanindranath Tagore, J. H. Cousins and Messrs. O. C. Gangoly, G. Venkatachalam and T. G. Aravamuthan. I shall confine myself to the attempts

¹ English summary of a speech delivered in Telugu while opening an Art Exhibition at Bhimavaram.

made in Andhra for the spread of Indian Art. It is necessary that the attention of all Andhras should be focused on to them.

Whenever Indian paintings are reproduced in journals like 'The Modern Review,' 'Rupam' and 'Triveni,' it is usual to style them as specimens of 'Bengal Art'. While slight variations in expression are possible over a wide continent like India, it must be recognised that the traditions and methods of Indian Art are essentially the same everywhere. Since the revival of Indian painting in recent years is due to the magnificent endeavours of E. B. Havell, Avanimdranath Tagore and the students of the latter like Nandalal Bose, Asitkumar Haldar and Promode Chatterjee, the movement has come to be associated with Bengal. But it is rapidly spreading to all provinces, and though at first sight the 'tapering fingers' and 'half-shut eyes' might appear to be strange, the appreciation of modern Indian paintings is becoming more general.

The late Kopalle Hanumantha Rao was a great advocate of this artistic revival. He was in many ways the most remarkable Andhra of his time. A few months after the starting of the Kalasala in 1910, Dr. Coomaraswamy visited the institution and delivered some lectures on Indian Art. Hanumantha Rao's one great passion, ever after, was to open a section of Oriental Painting in the Kalasala, or at any rate to send a few students to Calcutta to learn the art. But it was only in 1922, after his passing away, that the section was opened with Sjt. Promode Kumar Chatterjee as Art teacher. The Kavuta brothers—Rama Mohan and Ananda Mohan—and their sister Lakshmi Devi and Messrs. Adivi Bapiraju, T. Kesava Rao, C. N. Vasudevan, A. Subba Rao, G. Mallayya and others were students of the section and distinguished themselves by their splendid productions. Sjt. Ramendranath Chakravarti and after him G. Mallayya have been in charge of the section. Some of our students—it is my habit still to speak of the Kalasala as *mine*—continued their studies at Calcutta, Shantiniketan and Mysore. Through their

efforts, the Art Revival in Andhra has progressed rapidly and today's exhibition is a tribute to their work.

I must here refer to the silent but powerful influence of a cultured Englishman, Mr. Oswald J. Couldrey, sometime Principal of the Rajahmundry College. He had a great fascination for our folklore, our puppet shows and our paintings. It was through contact with him that students like Kavikondala Venkata Rao and Adivi Bapiraju first composed their exquisite folk-songs. Mr. Couldrey discovered the latent genius of Damerla Rama Rao, encouraged him in his early efforts in painting, and enabled him to proceed to the Bombay School of Arts for advanced study. Mr. Couldrey took his students on prolonged tours to Ajanta, Ellora and Sanchi, and inspired them with a love for indigenous art. He is thus one of the makers of the Andhra Renaissance in Art.

Rama Rao was undoubtedly a great genius. His pictures, and more especially his landscapes, have extorted admiration all over India and abroad. It is a great calamity that he should have been cut off at the early age of 27 while yet his art was attaining perfection. Among his students, Messrs. Varada Venkataratnam and C. Satyanarayana are distinguished artists, though I have sometimes felt that there is a monotony in their themes and figures.

I want you to realise that Art is not confined to great paintings and sculptures, but pervades or ought to pervade every sphere of our existence. We should seek to make our homes and surroundings beautiful by using beautiful carpets, mats, printed cloths, carved stools and polished brass utensils. We seem to have forgotten the art of decorating our houses with 'kolams'. There is a regular invasion of ugliness in the matter of our dress, furniture and household decoration. We are content to accept books and magazines printed and bound hideously and filled with ugly advertisements. All this must be changed. Exhibitions like the present give us an opportunity to worship the Beautiful and realise the God within us.

Current Topics

THE GANDHI-IRWIN CONFERENCE

To those who had been looking forward to a speedy and peaceful settlement of the Indian problem, the breakdown of the Delhi Conference between the Viceroy and Indian leaders has caused the gravest disappointment. The Resolution of the Lahore Congress defining Swaraj in terms of complete Independence is a necessary sequel to the breakdown of negotiations. Differences between the progressive political parties in the country have been accentuated, and the coming year is likely to witness a combination of all those who have pinned their faith to Dominion Status and the Round Table Conference, as against the Congress that has declared a boycott of that Conference. Even those Congressmen who have felt bound to obey the Congress mandate regarding resignation from the legislatures, are making open declarations of their desire to seek re-election as Independent candidates. Pandit Malaviya is trying to bring together the more moderate elements in the country, while Gandhiji is maturing plans for a campaign of civil disobedience in selected areas. Parties and programmes are all in a flux, and within the Congress itself the Democratic Party has emerged as a result of personal more than political differences.

It is yet too early to forecast the developments ahead. But one thing is clear. Gandhiji has definitely accepted the leadership of the nation in the coming struggle for Swaraj. Whoever might happen to wear the Congress crown, Gandhiji will continue to wield the field-marshal's baton. In President Jawaharlal and the new Working Committee, he will find powerful instruments for the working out of his plans. Blame is sought to be attached to him in certain quarters because he asked for a guarantee

of the grant of Dominion Status from the Viceroy. If the Viceroy as a representative of the British Government was not authorised to promise Dominion Status, so too were Gandhiji and Pandit Motilal, as representing the Congress, precluded from offering co-operation except on the terms laid down in the Calcutta Resolution. They were on their way to Lahore and they could not very well ask for a postponement of the Congress decision without a definite assurance of the establishment of Dominion Status. If Swaraj has to be won through a Round Table Conference, the Liberals and others are perfectly competent to plead the Indian case for Dominion Status. The Congress has parted company with them, and is no longer concerned about preparing 'a case'. It hopes to mobilise the nation and forge an effective sanction to back up the demand for *Purna Swaraj*. This is indeed the parting of the ways, between Dominion Status and Independence, between Liberals and Congressmen, between Swaraj by negotiation and Swaraj by civil disobedience.

THE INDO-BRITISH MUTUAL WELFARE LEAGUE

We desire to draw the attention of our readers to a communication from Lady Emily Lutyens and Mrs. Hannah Sen, setting forth the objects of this organisation and inviting co-operation from those who are in sympathy with its ideals. The future of Indo-British relations is at present a matter of great uncertainty. The days of Britain's political domination are numbered, but the readjustment of relations on the basis of a fellowship on equal terms in a Commonwealth of free nations is the cherished goal of idealists like Dr. Besant and Lady Emily Lutyens. It is this larger faith that lies behind the organisation of the League which expresses "a willingness to learn rather than a wish to dictate." It is open to Indians and Englishmen of all schools of thought to help the League in its noble endeavours, for the cultural contacts between the two countries are bound to continue, long after the unfortunate relationship of the "rulers and the ruled" ceases.

DR. AND MRS. COUSINS

We extend a hearty welcome to these friends of India and Indian Culture on their return home—for, have they not made India their home?—after a prolonged and eventful tour in America and on the Continent of Europe. Wherever they have gone, they have sought to interpret the ideals of a renascent India, and to counteract the evil propaganda of 'drain-inspectors' of the type of Miss. Mayo. Mrs. Cousins was a prominent member of the Indian Women's Delegation at Geneva, and also represented India at International Conferences of women along with Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and others. She is now planning an All-Asian Women's Conference with a view to preserving all that is best in Asian culture. Dr. Cousins too intends to go back to America and lecture once again to American audiences about the arts, philosophy and literature of India. The collection of pictures of modern Indian artists which he took with him during his last tour enabled the West to glimpse for the first time the great possibilities behind the art-revival in India. In nearly every place he visited, he organised exhibitions of these pictures, and famous artists and art-lovers welcomed these visible symbols of an India seeking to recover her lost soul. The exhibition in London created a particularly favourable impression. *The Illustrated London News* reproduced half-a-dozen water-colour pictures in its Christmas Number, thus giving an opportunity to a much wider public to get to know Indian Art at first hand. Dr. Cousins has always been an invaluable friend of rising Indian artists, cheering them during moments of gloom, and bringing their productions to the notice of cultured circles in all lands.

The cause of cultural co-operation between East and West has never had more devoted exponents than Dr. Cousins and Mrs. Cousins, and we respectfully wish them godspeed in their unselfish work.

Poetry and Reality : A Restatement of Literary Values

By JAMES H. COUSINS, D.LIT.

If we accept the verdict of English literary criticism on what it has decided to remember as relatively immortal in English poetry, and make a curve of the latter since its Anglo-Saxon beginnings, we shall draw a line resembling a series of waves growing higher and higher until the ascent in our time flies over our heads towards an incalculable future.

Whatever bend that future may add to the curve, the achievement up to our point on it constitutes a mass of literary material which is quite beyond the capacity of any individual to give it complete study. Much of it has become literary archaeology, despite its retention in academical syllabuses. Its language and environment are largely obsolete. Its annotations, whereby life is sought to be injected into it, are in reality its epitaphs.

The process of demodation in poetry which is indicated by explanatory annotation is not sufficient to preserve a manageable area of tillable poetical land. The emergence at our end of literary history is at a much higher ratio than the submergence at the other end. An American girl not yet sixteen (1929) has wrought more of the stuff of eternity into poetry than did the first two centuries of English literary history.

This increase of poetical quantity and quality creates a problem for the literary education of the future. Selection is necessary; and the inter-relations of comprehension and enjoyment of poetry, making varied calls on the mental and emotional endowment of editors and anthologists, makes personal predilection at present the main law of syllabuses and texts.

Reliance on the sifting capacity of time may be suggested.

But the matter is so pressing that we have not time now to wait on Time. We have also lost assurance in its infallibility. Two centuries of burial under Samuel Johnson's epithet 'metaphysical' have not prevented the spirits of Donne and his confederates from finding incarnation in editions beyond their longest dreams. If their idea of a best seller was a book that, because its quality was of the best, sold least in quantity, they must wonder what is wrong with posterity. And he who buried them has taken a place among the forgettable shades in the literary Valhalla, and may or may not storm ghostily at the peculiar perversion of speech that has turned his term of opprobrium into one of merit.

In modern criticism, too, exploring feet strike disconcerting snags. Explanatory annotation is not its test, for footnotes on fact remain much the same as they pass from one generation of editors to another. But the exposition of interior significances is another matter, and calls for an interpretative endowment which is not always in the possession of those who undertake the responsibility of selection for students or judgment for the general public.

For example. In an annotated edition of Wordsworth's Immortality Ode for schools, we find a curious obscuration of the meaning of the concluding quatrain. The lines are:

Thanks to the human heart by which we live,
Thanks to its tenderness, its joys and fears,
To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

"In these beautiful lines," says the annotator, "Wordsworth insists once more that it is by the heart that we truly live: that to love is to believe." But the annotator is not satisfied with this doctrine, and asks the question: "Is not knowledge necessary for belief? for love itself?" But if we read the lines attentively we shall see that, while the poet does give the larger share of the four lines to the emotional aspect of the matter, he places himself behind the feeling and thinking aspects of his life. Through feeling he

makes contact with Nature, thus establishing the sympathetic relationship (which is the real burden of the lines) without which true understanding (not merely feeling) of the significances of life is unattainable. But the emotional element is not an end. It is a means. Thanks to it the mental mode of the poet's life receives a richer contribution of thoughts; and these thoughts, evoked by sympathetic relationship, take on a profundity beyond emotion. He reaches inner understanding. And this is the whole temperamental character of Wordsworth. He is of the reflective order, and makes the experience of "the human heart" the means towards the illumination of "the philosophic mind."

Take an example from American criticism. A recent anthology of modern American poetry impresses one accustomed to the richness of English poetry with its spiritual and intellectual poverty. But one is halted on the verge of a judgment of American poetry when, near the end of the book, one comes upon the phrase, in regard to one poet, "a too determined mysticism," and, in regard to another, a criticism of his first book as "a strange mystical affair." There is here an obvious intrusion of barriers and personal limitations; a lowering of criticism, from its function of balancing, to the mere weighting of scales against mysticism in poetry. The darkening effect of predilection is seen in the same critic's disposal of *The Builder* by Willard Wattles as being like "scraps of Scripture rendered by Mother Goose." The limitations of the little lyric are obvious. But the dramatic interpretation involved in it has escaped the critic. An anti-theological prejudice has prevented his seeing its purely spiritual significance, which belongs to no special Scripture, but is written on the open page of every introspective imagination.

The poetry of laughter seems to be in no better case with modern criticism. The compiler of an alleged humorous anthology recently published in London tells us, in his preface, that he had included nothing that had made him not merely

smile but laugh. He includes Byron's *Vision of Judgment* which he describes as "a masterpiece of humour." There is surely some perversion of literary values when Byron's outpourings of bitter and brutal sarcasm on George III are regarded as humorous, and when sarcasm and bad manners in verses on other nations than his own and in epigrams on the dead, are esteemed by the anthologist as matters for laughter. The anthologist gives the book the sub-title *A Book of Buffoonery*: but balanced criticism will hardly accept this as excusing an attitude which is destructive of literary sanity by presenting, as comic, subjects that are essentially tragic. Murder, suicide, and sudden death put on horse-collars for a jape. The name and location of a dead chieftain in India are punned on in a "threnody." A serceid in the same manner on the death of a king of England by a poet of India would be regarded as something else than comic. A poem by a clergyman, *The Female Friend*, an innocent and sincere expression of the quiet joy of comradeship between a good man and an accomplished woman, is included because it is "unintentionally comic." From which it would appear that verses jeering at relationships between men and women are eligible for the comic laurel in their own right, while verses of transparent purity are only eligible if they can be leered at with the aphrodisian suggestion which is so disastrous a portent in the modern literary (and artistic) atmosphere of the occident.

Literary evaluation of the kind thus exemplified has been defended on the ground that art must be judged solely as art. But the dogma of literary irresponsibility is rapidly becoming untenable before the test of life that is reaching towards the sceptre of all human endeavour. A rising literary pragmatism begins to feel that literary criticism which is merely literary is not criticism. Creative literature, serious or comic, speaks out of life; and true criticism must look at literature not out of literature but out of life. And it must do so not merely in

service to individual writers, but in service to those groupings of writers in eras and movements which take their place with labels, such as classical, romantic or metaphysical, labels that assume an air of finality and compel approach through fixed assumptions that paralyse contemporary understanding and enjoyment by obscuring the eternal under the terminology of the temporal.

Only by the test of life, not his private life, not the life of his time, but of life today, and life in its fulness, are we now getting a glimpse of, for example, the reality of Shelley's poetry. Any student of English literature can tell us that he was one of the poets of the third romantic era in English poetry at the opening of the nineteenth century. But to Matthew Arnold he was an "ineffectual angel"; to Stopford Brooke "the least comprehensible of all the poets of England"; to Lafcadio Hearn "a very great fool" with "less solid matter in him than any other English poet who has reached the first rank." A newer criticism, born into the era of analytical psychology, begins to regard these utterances less as final judgments on Shelley than as self-disclosures of dark areas in critical vision. Today we regard solidity with less respect than we regard the radio-activity that William Watson saw in Shelley as his "flush of rose on peaks divine"; we have left Brooke's critical domesticity at the Victorian fireside. The "ineffectual angel" has become a regenerating power; his poetry becomes increasingly comprehensible as the capacity of humanity to comprehend it increases; his wisdom is patent to the wise; his matter becomes the most significant in English poetry. And his literary criticism begins to be regarded as the finest guide to the understanding and enjoyment not only of his own poetry but of all poetry, because it seeks to penetrate beyond personal vagary into eternal verity.

"All high poetry is infinite," wrote Shelley in *A Defence of Poetry*; "it is as the first acorn which contains all oaks potentially. Veil after veil will be undrawn, and the inmost

naked beauty of the meaning never exposed. A great poem is a fountain forever overflowing with the waters of wisdom and delight; and after one person and one age has exhausted all its divine effluence, another and yet another succeeds, and new relations are ever developed, the source of an unforeseen and an unconceived delight."

It is a fact of literary history that, while empires have survived quite a large number of poets, there are certain poets of the "infinite" order who have managed to survive empires: and the poet who, in the general subsidence of the past, has managed to sustain his peak above the horizon, has set less store on the expanse of his base than on the altitude of his summit. Take care of the summit and the base will take care of itself is a law of the poetical life. The base may cover a vast number of finitudes, like so much of the alleged poetry of today. But, as Vasishtha, a wise man of the East, said many centuries ago, "the mere addition of the finite to the finite cannot produce the infinite." The summit reaches towards the One Infinite from which the finitudes descend. We know more about Homer today than Homer did. That part of him (or them) that is incarnate in the Homer of words responds to our deepening and expanding question because the height of his genius gave his vision a deeper depth and wider horizon. His mouth uttered more than his words because his inner ears heard the vast significances that whisper from star to star, significances that ultimately elaborate themselves into the codes and calendars of mortal life. The Word is made flesh, and the flesh is rumourous of its parentage. The *obiter dictum* of God is atomised into the *obiter dicta* of the poets.

This quality of spiritual involution in poetry, and of consequent evolutionary response to those who can give the true evocative touch, is due, as Shelley points out, to the fact that poetry (and we are thinking only of 'high' poetry) "acts in a divine and unapprehended manner beyond and above consciousness; and it is reserved for future generations to contemplate

and measure the mighty cause and effect in all the strength and splendour of their union."

In this affirmation we have the foundation of a true psychological estimate of the nature and function of poetry: psychological in being founded on the psyche, or soul of humanity, not on a sex-complex or neural reactions or emotional fluctuations. Poetry is thus seen as a river whose source is on the hidden peaks of the inner nature of the poet, which breaks at its source into two cascades, one mental, the other emotional. These cascades reunite where they merge into expression. They take on local appearance from environment; but their animating principle is the flowing water from the living spring.

Emerson in his *Ode to Beauty* gives us the phrase for the first poetical manifestation of this descending creative stream. He calls the 'high' poets

Olympian bards who sung
Divine ideas below,
Which always find us young,
And always keep us so.

The first item in a qualitative estimate of poetry is the proportion of 'divine ideas' that it contains; that is to say, those intuitional assumptions, those basic attitudes and directions towards ultimate reality, that are the core and inspiration of the poet's creative life. These 'divine ideas' (the immortal ejaculations of the poet) may be an instant's flash from the heaven of his spirit; but the clouds of his imagination will give the lightning of the idea a shape and its thunder a rhythm, and both will bring the 'ecstasy of rain'. In other words, the creative activity of the intuition will proceed to intelligible formulation which will be accompanied by aesthetical responsiveness; or may move towards emotional expression in intelligible form.

These elements constitute the full 'soul' of a poem: the psychological trinity-in-unity of *intuitive impulse*, *cognitive mode* and *aesthetical mood*. But the soul will remain discarnate unless it finds an instrument capable of imparting to it the

outgoing energy and rhythmical quality which we may call its *life*, and the localisation of substance, in words and arrangement, which we may call *form*.

We have now before us a complete conspectus of the whole nature of a poem; its soul and body; its inner psychological content, its intermediate biological element, its external physiological and anatomical constituents. But we have something more than this. We have the whole nature of the *poet* himself. We have, moreover, the whole nature of the Cosmic Life so far as we can contact it. The ancients of India saw this category millennia ago, and called them the *tattvas* and *tanmatras* of the universe, or the structures and orbits of the atomic bases of life.

The poets themselves have at times expressed their sense of personal and creative affiliation with a deeper process than merely emotional reaction to external stimuli; and it is interesting to note how the creative imagination lays out its pattern of process on the four corners of reality—creative impulse, thought, feeling, and external presentation. A few indications must here suffice.

A Hindu poet of the seventh century, Appar, singing in the Tamil language, figures the paraphernalia for the calling forth of inner reality as a churning-rod of love operated by the cord of intelligence, each imparting something of itself to the other, and thus removing the obstruction of either mental or emotional exaggeration from the way of the inner Being. Shelley anticipated the evolutionists in the forty-third stanza of *Adonais* by a generation, and leaped so heartily forward that he has passed over the heads of the Freudians on his trajectory of poetical prophecy towards the point in psychological history when "the One Spirit's plastic stress" will be discovered as the master 'complex'. In the fourth act of *Prometheus Unbound*, in the Chorus of Spirits beginning "Our spoil is won," he gives us a complete category of psychological process. The freed Spirits call to their service the powers of "Love, Thought and Breath" in

order to build "a world for the Spirit of Wisdom to wield." The pattern here may be perfectly superimposed on that of the *Katha Upanishad*, the ancient Hindu scripture of cosmic and human psychology, which declares that there are two beings, the cosmic soul (Shelley's 'Spirit of Wisdom') and the individual soul (Shelley's 'Spirits of the Human Mind'), who jointly in the exercise of intelligence (Shelley's 'Thought') experience enjoyment (the emotional experience which Shelley calls 'Love') in their good deeds (the vital activity which Shelley calls 'Breath'). It will be noted also that the purpose of creative expression is here inferred. The Spirits of the Human Mind serve the Spirit of Wisdom; deeds are for the enjoyment of the Soul.

Even Swinburne, who is not usually credited with philosophical acumen, shows the stigmata of reality on his creative imagination. His sonnet *To George Frederick Watts* opens thus:

High thought and hallowed love, by faith made one,
 Begat and bore the strong sweet-hearted child,
 Art . . .

Faith is his equivalent for the Spirit of Wisdom; the activity here is art. The adjectives 'high' and 'hallowed' give altitude to the creative spring.

Rabindranath Tagore, the lineal descendant of the oriental singers who are also seers, in an essay on *The Principles of Literature* writes:

Our soul has her hunger for . . . immediateness of realisation, whereby she is enabled to know herself. The love, the contemplation, the vision, that alone can satisfy this hunger finds its place in Literature, in Art.

Again the "Square Deific" appears,—vision, which is the creative exercise of the intuition; contemplation, which is thought as the oriental mind thinks it; love, and art; and again the declaration that the purpose of art is the service of the Soul, not the service of art itself, not the service of sense.

Now this, that we may call the spiritual view of the arts, is very different from the hedonistic view which, from the days

of Aristotle to our own, has held that the purpose of art is only to impart pleasure. "The Master of Those who Know" had, however, a more dignified idea of the purpose of art than the production of that kind of pleasure which is experienced in the practice and appreciation of such kinds of art as Herbert Spencer stigmatised as "alternating between the sensual and the sanguinary." Aristotle's idea of happiness was that of the thinker. It was not a matter of sensuousness or sentiment merely, but of moral and intellectual experience. It came out of the discovery of the individual's own true expression and the control of the lower nature by the higher in order to preserve a true and healthy instrument of expression.

When the creative impulse is set free in art, it gives the double happiness of release from inner pressure (a spiritual complex) and of tangible realisation, in permanent art-forms, of intangible and impermanent impulses. By the exercise of his art the artist projects his share of eternity into temporal and spatial limitations, and at the same time imparts to his external expressions the sense of inner largeness. Others share in the artist's experience, through his art-forms; for the creative impulse is common to all; though as yet starved in the multitude, and its achievement gives, with variations caused by varied temperamental endowment, a common happiness. This is the true hedonism of art. But it has gradations of shadow, from the lofty response to 'divine ideas' to the guffaw at pruriency in rhyme or shape.

The general hedonistic syllogism that, because art gives pleasure, therefore pleasure is the purpose of art, has passed into another with the temporary passing of life into the laboratory, namely, that, since sex is the subject-matter of art (a premise which is not fully true of occidental art and almost completely false of oriental art), art is therefore the expression of a sex-complex. In the view which we are here enunciating, art is the expression of the cosmic creative impulse which is universal and inescapable. This impulse, which may be termed a creation-

complex, fulfils itself not only in physical forms, but in emotional and mental forms, and for the same purpose, namely the carrying on of the inter-related phases of the universal life, the cognitive, the æsthetical and the substantial. Over-emphasis on any one of these phases leads to monstrosity, though the process of expression even in exaggeration has its accompaniment of pleasure in some degree. The liberation of the pent-up life is the ultimate end of expression; but the pleasures of the 'sensual and sanguinary' order which dominate occidental art today do not release; they put chains of habit on the expansive nature of humanity, and lead to satiety, degradation and disintegration. The high pleasure of high art, on the contrary, is the purifying and exalting reward given by the Universal Soul to the soul of humanity for providing fit ways for the release of its super-abundant energy.

That poetry is not yet certain of its own reality, its true nature and function, is seen in its oscillations between the domination of thought which marks its classical eras, and the domination of feeling which marks its romantic eras. This is a sign of spiritual timidity; of fear, on the one hand, of yielding itself to the higher; of a bad conscience, on the other hand, when it turns its back on the light and walks in its own shadow. In the work of artistic redemption, particularly in poetical criticism, the fundamental need is a revision of values based on a true understanding of the realities out of which poetry arises. The foregoing considerations indicate a ground-plan on which the structure of a literary criticism may be reared with a larger measure of adequacy and stability than belongs to the criticism now current.

An Aspect of Gandhiji¹

BY M. KALIDASU, B.A., B.L.

You cannot properly understand the life and work of Gandhiji without coming into contact at more than one point with those fundamental principles which concern "God's ways to men". It is not that these ways ever require to be 'justified', but rather that since the birth of intelligent life, the attempt has been to understand and express, as best each man can, those fascinating but illusive ways. Indeed the avowed purpose of Gandhiji's experiments with Truth is to analyse, test and appraise, much as a chemist does in his laboratory, the implications and tendencies revealed to a tireless investigator. To Gandhiji, Truth is synonymous with God.

It is not the desire of the writer to assess the worth of Gandhiji's contribution to the Indian movement for Swaraj and the world movement for cleaner international dealings and the elimination of violence in the settlement of both international and sub-national strifes. It is not doubted that his contribution in these matters is not only far-reaching but also unique. It is no small achievement to suggest to, and, let us hope, to convince the world that the tenets laid down by Jesus Christ for the guidance of individual conduct have the same potent operation on national and international dealings.

On the occasion of Gandhiji's *Shashti Abda Purthi*, the writer's thoughts have taken a turn towards Gandhiji's contribution in relation to the spirit of this Age. Gandhiji's life must have convinced a good many wavering minds, not merely about the existence of the soul as distinct from the body but also of its supremacy. He himself most solemnly asserted before the representative of the mighty British Empire in India

¹Written on the occasion of the *Shashti Purthi* of Gandhiji.

that the soul force which he preached and practised, was any day superior to the brute force of which the Empire boasted. He showed in his campaign of Passive Resistance in South Africa that this assertion is not a mere hypothesis but represents an actual fact. His own Sardar again established only recently at Bardoli the validity of that assertion. He convinced so clear and influential a thinker as Professor Gilbert Murray that in dealing with a man like Gandhiji, the rulers of the world are dealing with a new force of life which cannot be 'purchased' by any of the hitherto tried methods. If the later attempt by him in the same direction, in launching the Non-co-operation movement in India, has not so far borne fruit, and if the half-hearted attempt by the Germans in the Ruhr Valley has proved abortive, it does not by any means prove that soul force is a mirage. It only means that Gandhiji's countrymen and the most military nation that the world has so far known, next to the Spartans, have not either understood or practised the fundamental conditions necessary for the fruition of that force.

What then are the pre-requisites for the success of this soul force? The body is of the earth, earthy. It is built up and sustained by the constant play of catabolism and metabolism, that is to say, by a constant process of destruction and construction. Its needs are rooted in desires and passions. It clamours for incessant satisfaction. It preaches the survival of the fittest. Tennyson's horror-struck exclamation

" Nature red in tooth and claw,
Shrieks against the creed "

is its highest contribution to the riddle of this world.

When you come to deal with the soul, you are at once confronted with factors of a totally antagonistic character. Love is its essence. Intelligence is its sole attribute. Happiness is its birthright. The ancient *Rishis* proclaim that "*Sath Chith Anandam*" is not only the fundamental but the sole truth of at once God's and man's existence. We are unable to see the wood for the trees. The soul is hampered in expressing itself

hy its constant partnership with the body and it is small wonder that the best thinkers feel sometimes befogged. As Shelley points out, after all

“ Life is like a dome of many coloured glass,
That stains the white radiance of Eternity.”

If, therefore, we are dealing with soul force, we are dealing with an aspect of life which, any one must admit, has not been tried on any large scale in fields other than those that are confined to relations between individual man and man. The history of the world shows that mankind learns its lessons tardily and only after repeated failures. Failures do not furnish proof of error. Rather they furnish to the discerning eye, opportunities for examination and readjustment. Like the man of vision and scientific thinker that he is, Gandhiji utilises every failure for re-examination and readjustment. The Chouri Choura debacle would have frightened a less clear-eyed leader. But Gandhiji's faith in God and in the truth of his doctrine is so strong that he proclaims his faith more insistently than ever. He explains the necessary conditions more clearly and is never tired of repetition. You satisfy the conditions he demands: you can then pronounce with justice a verdict. Till then, how are you entitled to tell the world that his doctrine is wrong?

The most clear-eyed thinkers and the founders of all religions have taught the same truth that Gandhiji is teaching today. He is labouring in the same fields in which Buddha, Christ, Sri Krishna and others laboured, though his objective is different. One point however which, of necessity, must have influenced the average man in regard to the great men referred to above should be noticed. Whether the miracles and acts of a superhuman nature attributed to them are true or not, the influence exerted by those great men, on mankind in the mass, is in a fairly large measure attributable to the popular belief in their truth. We are living in a scientific age. The top ranks of modern thinkers have constantly declined to admit, as a working hypothesis, the truth of miracles. Those

persons who still swear by such superhuman occurrences, like the Theosophists, are seeking to explain to the world that such events are due to the operation of laws which are so far unknown to humanity. Gandhiji told us often that though his faith in God is supreme, he is not yet vouchsafed His full vision. He never claimed the possession of superhuman powers. On the other hand he most emphatically disclaims any pretension to such attributes and in fact to the Mahatmaship thrust on him. As is the case with the laborious inductive scientist, he is an experimenter in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end. In this sense it may be said that his personality is unique. He may be regarded as the representative man whom Humanity has thrown up in this age of science to prove the existence of the soul and the truth of the spiritual life, in the manner and in the spirit of inductive science. He has proclaimed to this age in clarion tones that, judged even by the standards by which alone this age is prepared to judge truth, all the truths which man has ever regarded as his precious heritage are scientifically verifiable. He is a soul-chemist.

Chitra

BY K. CHANDRASEKHARAN, M.A., B.L.

"I am Chitra, the daughter of the Kingly house of Manipur" says the princess in this play as she announces herself, to the Gods. Clearly does this indicate the key to her whole character which is at once frank and dignified, free as well as self-poised. Born as she is a woman, she has none of the untaught arts of look and language of her sex. The simplicity of her speech draws us to her as much as the purity of her soul. We admire her when she spurns the boon of a God which has made her person lovely; for she covets the perfection of the spirit even more than that of the body. She looks all the more radiant in her knowledge of true love; for hers "has no touch of earth". Her hero and Lord, Arjuna, stands almost a contrast before her even as "the low sun that makes the colour".

Rabindranath Tagore has wonderfully divined this short drama containing a profound suggestion capable of detaining us long. For he alone knows to weave with consummate skill, "an endless meaning in the narrow span of a song". The whole purport of this drama strikes us as original both in form and substance. The anguish of Love when it fails in its expectation of a higher purpose awakens in us the sense of the futility of much that passes for that noble quality in this world. All that is given us, we begin to realise, is only the shadow. The psychological factor playing a significant part in this play cannot fail to whet the edge of our enjoyment, when the poet robes it in the ineffable sweetness of his language with the powerful aids of fancy and feeling.

There is not much wealth of detail or warmth of expression to engage us here. It is almost all the narration by either

Arjuna, to himself or Chitra to the God of Love, of their respective thoughts and hopes of the other. We are not often treated to situations wherein Arjuna and Chitra are wrapt up in ecstasy. Yet our heart's desires receive ample fulfilment from the unlimited scope for conjuring up the felicity of love from their own speeches which impress us with the indescribable charm of delicacy. Critics may find this drama too short to deserve the name. But the true lover of art will scarcely pass without realising that the rare suggestion in Rabindranath answers for the perfect enjoyment which we may derive from a complete play of many acts.

To minds, which often receive real sustenance from the infinite variety and unstinted flow of expressions vivifying and portraying to us the depths of love, jealousy, disappointment, and revenge, which the immortal characters of Shakespeare illustrate, the comparatively little soliloquy or the brief passages wherein Arjuna and Chitra are made to reveal themselves in this play, may not have any great appeal. But this is perhaps where Tagore's genius distinguishes itself by its singular chasteness and individuality. It is truly the product of the Oriental imagination. The tendency of art and activity in the West is expansive while in the East it has shown an immense concentration and singleness of purpose. Her love at first sight when described by Chitra to the God Madan, has no more ado about it than the typically simple language, devoid of the colour and detail, naturally imported by poets in order to evoke our emotions. "Ah, foolish heart! whither fled thy presumption . . . I know not in what whirlpool of thought I was lost," says the princess indeed conveying to us more than adequately the sudden gush of fresh impulses in her heart which deprived her of the power of speech. Really nothing more is required to keep the reader alive to the springs of love bubbling in her virgin soul. Nay, the imagination can fill in the rest left unsaid by her. The mind enjoys the refreshing device of the poet that has opened up for it a vista of

love's longings by one gentle stroke of the pen. Again, nothing can stand comparison with the picture of the first union of Arjuna with Chitra, wrought with such a fine brush. The very scene where they meet for conjugal bliss speaks of the perfect harmony in nature which prepares us, as it does the lovers, to forget everything else in the security of love. The gradual development towards the heightening of emotions, is brought home to us no less vividly by the dramatic meeting of Arjuna and Chitra and their eagerness to linger long in each other's company, than by the description of the moon and the night which are in symphony with their increasing passion. The poet paints the scene thus: "The moon had moved to the West, peering through the leaves to espy the wonder of divine art wrought in a fragile human frame. The air was heavy with perfume. The silence of the night was vocal with the chirping of crickets. The reflection of the trees hung motionless in the lake." Then occurs the gentle, unconscious movement in nature itself for the mingling of body and soul, when "the moon has set behind the trees" and "one curtain of darkness covered all". What greater testimony do we need to the wonderful power of the poet to fill us with supreme satisfaction unaided by any lengthy argument or account, than what is contained in that single sentence, "Heaven and earth, time and space, pleasure and pain, death and life merged together in an unbearable ecstasy . . ."

This very short play of one Act containing none of the attractions of variation in scene, action, and characters captivates us by its beauty even as the tiny bead of dew transformed into a laughing orb by the all-pervading sun. There is no more complexity in the plot than there is in the colour scheme of the clear sky. However, the blending of fine shades of thought in a single theme is rendered with such rare intuition and skill, that as we begin dissecting it, we experience the same agreeable surprise at the emergence of fresh components, as at the rainbow colours from a ray of pure light.

There is in us no feeling of vagueness bordering on

dissatisfaction as we finish the book. But a strange discontent lurks within the heart as that of Arjuna when he fails to "feel Chitra on all sides". What sort of a woman is Chitra? She is neither so plain as her manly training might indicate to us, nor too elusive as Arjuna considers her when his first madness of love begins to die away. Anyhow she is not "a Goddess hidden in a golden image". The noble ambition in her fed with youthful fantasies, to meet the greatest hero of the five Pandava brothers and to "break a lance with him, to challenge him in disguise to a single combat and prove her skill in arms against him" is the true outcome of her early education. But the woman in her, irresistible at the meeting of "the fervent gaze that almost grasps you like the clutching hands of the hungry spirit within," responds to the cuckoo call of love and the one strong desire that possesses her afterwards is to murmur to him, "take me, take all I am". There is a real conflict at first in her, whether to accept Arjuna when she learns of his broken vow of celibacy. The warning note is sounded to her by her conscience which says "This is not love, This is not man's highest homage to woman". But alas! like many others she slowly yields to the compromising attitude of allowing herself to be courted. That feeling, ebbing away within her with the first excitement of pleasure, the inner vision gradually strengthens her will until when finally she loathes her very body which has become the seducer of her hero's heart. She then emerges a new being reconciled to her lot and ready to make her last sacrifice at Arjuna's feet. The final revelation of her true self, so sudden and impressive, cannot but leave a lingering taste of the high and the noble in our memory even long after the book is closed. Chitra certainly is greater than man and woman put together, though by the strange irony of fate she happens to be both.

The hero of the play next claims our attention. Is he no better than a thoughtless dissolute man seeking only physical perfection even at the risk of losing the fame of his heroic manhood? Poor Arjuna! He desires much to know more

of Chitra in order to "clasp something that can last longer than pleasure, that can endure even through suffering". But herein lies the sadness of his failure to discover the secret of that enduring passion born of unsatiating desire and unsullied thought. He knows little that the eyes of woman, naturally quick in discerning man, get quicker still when they are love-opened. For Chitra painfully notes that the hours of thoughtless pleasure are over and the time has come for her being discarded. The sense of satiety brings with it the desire for change. Arjuna yearns to see Chitra in her manly self riding on the horse and "dispensing glad hope all round her". The same Arjuna, who has spurned her youth when it was devoid of the softness of the woman, kneels before her when by the boon of a God she becomes beautiful. We are thus amused at the contrariness in man and woman when Arjuna is found fickle and Chitra steady, in her feelings. The intensity of pathos overwhelms us when each of them passes through the inner struggle in trying to understand the other. The figurative language and evasive answers of the princess set the mind of Arjuna a-thinking. But all the while her heart is on edge doubting much the strength of Arjuna to retain a steady glow. The battle of wits, so naturally following on a flat refusal from Arjuna for further dalliance, is finely depicted. The keenness of disappointment has none of the soul-killing depression of spirit on Chitra. She earns fresh glory for having suppressed her ego and offering to her Lord the abiding proof of her great devotion to him, a child in the womb, whom, if born a man, she wishes to rear into a second Arjuna.

On the whole the character of Chitra satisfies the tests of an ideal woman. To fully appreciate the purpose of Tagore's introduction in this play of an incident not found in the *Mahabharata*, namely Chitra's metamorphosis into a lovelier being by the grace of a God, we should have the imagination to attribute it to the happy device of the poet to illustrate how the fleeting and the artificial are easily attractive, while the real and the

permanent have no immediate appeal to us. The idea in making Chitra superior to Arjuna in her aims and activities, may be traced perhaps to the real opinion of the poet that the true woman of India has always a nobler function to perform than submissively following her Lord. She is a saviour to many a frail forlorn being, whose soul would have weltered in abject complacency of material prosperity, but for the helping hand of a devoted wife to lead him on to sublimer altitudes. Such a woman is a priceless possession to her husband and acts as his best friend, perfecting his nature by her constant attendance, born of gentility of service and sweetness of disposition.

The last speech of the princess ends with the words "I offer you Chitra, the daughter of a king". The same dignity as at the beginning, but now made doubly worthy of her by the magnanimity of her heart, that persists in self-abnegation, compels us to honour her for all that she stands for—faith, purity, love and sacrifice.

Ode to the Sea

BY A. F. KHABARDAR

My ears are dinn'd with discords of the earth ;
 My mind is vex'd ; a hilly heaviness
Doth weigh my heart and squeeze it of its mirth ;
 An earthy suffocation doth oppress
 My free-born breath with an unusual stress ;
I feel the barren desert burning lone,
 That parches all my being with its fire ;
 Who shall now make me free ?
I flee in fiery haste to find thy throne,
 And hear the solemn voices of thy lyre :
 O save me, hold me in thine ecstasy,
 Unfathomable Sea !

Thou organ-voice of Nature's full-blown art !
 Thou younger brother of immeasurable Time,
Who fills and yet unfills his bounteous heart
 That seems for ever in its fullest prime !
 Thou worthy shadow of that Mind sublime
That spreads on earth its depth and vastness grand !
 Thy giant size and solemn awe proclaim
 Thine august majesty ;
O stretch across thy strong and succouring hand
 To one who has, like thee, a foaming frame,
 O soothe him at thy million-pearled knee
 Illustrious Sea !

Who has not heard thy lyre, immortal Bard !
 Who has not felt thy music nobly sung ?
A thousand breezes carry free, unbarr'd,
 Thy message to the mountain-daughters young,
 Who leap forth from their homes as magic-stung :—

They rush, they rush to thee, down nights and days,
Rush through a thousand rocks and valleys wide,
As I now rush to thee:

O fold us in thy mighty warm embrace,
And seat us in thy heart thro' Love's great tide,
Chanting thy million-tongued melody,
Great Minstrel Sea!

The threshold of thy Palace past, there cease
The mortal mists of earth and sky from sight:—
Ah! *here* within thy halls of glassy peace
I feel a wavy joy, a white delight,
Which gives my feeble soul new depth-born might.
Thy gloomy grandeur, where no wind even dares
To flutter his wild tempest-scaling wings,
Is the true elegy
Of all the glory of the earth's great heirs,
Buried unknown as kings or common things:
Sing on; who can unravel thy mystery?
O potent Sea!

I walk on jewell'd floors and golden sands,
And shells that bear the history of a race;
I wonder at the starry-fruited lands
That teem with their aquarian populace.
Who can explore thy vast unfathomable space:—
Thy diamond caverns and thy coral caves,
Thy gem-deck'd courts, thy coffered depths divine,
Thy pearly privacy,
Thy living springs, thy ever-blossoming waves,
Thy magic chant that fills our mundane shrine?—
We fail to reach thy cosmic sanctuary,
Immeasurable Sea!

Thou mirror of the fairy Universe!
Wherein she wearies not all night and day

To look and get a glimpse of Truth, that terse
 And nude, gives faithfully her soul away.
 Thou mother of the thundering clouds, that slay
 The tyrant *Grishma*¹ with their pattering spears
 And pour upon the earth thy bounteous bliss
 To bloom again in glee!
 We, who have brief delights and griefs and fears,
 Forget thy rolling tides that never miss
 Thy duty stern, thy self-imposed decree,
 Unswayable Sea!

The great obey the Law: and thou art great;
 The mighty never overleap their bound
 Of self-restraint; their will's inviolate;
 Or if they did, the world would soon be found
 A mass of chaos struggling all round.
 Thou knowest the Law, and greatly yield'st to it:
 Thy constant service, thy undying love,
 Thy true fidelity,
 Thy moon and sun with whom thy heart is knit,
 Thy loftiest task of Life all joys above!
 Could we observe thy great austerity,
 O mighty Sea!

Life flags but tame with those who have no aim,
 No noble impulse stirs their puny mind:
 There is a whitest point in every flame,
 There is a central power each globe behind:
 God says, "Unturn the leaf and there Me find."
 Ah! who could teach us more of Life's great goal,
 Or point our vision to the beaconing gleam
 Than thine high sanctity?
 Let thy eternal whispers lull my soul,
 And let thy rhythmic roll spur my great dream;
 Make my tongue vocal with thy harmony,
 O thundering Sea!

¹ The Lord of Summer.

Chinese Polity and Political Thought

BY PROF. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

Since 1911 China has been trying to maintain a republican form of government. In spite of the attempts of its first President, the late Yuan-shi-kai, and her provincial military governors, the various Trichuns, today in 1929 the Republic of China is a united country and a liberated country, having surmounted under the leadership of the famous nationalist leader, Dr. Sun-yat-sen, and his followers most of her internal difficulties and her external complications. Though internal organisation on modern lines and external relations on an equal international basis will take some time to be consolidated and achieved, China seems now to have reached a stage when the reactionarism of her old officers and Trichuns, and the extra-territorial rights of the foreigners are not likely to return. Her national strength has become centralised and her progress seems to have already started on the basis of the three principles of nationalism, democracy and economic livelihood.

The adoption of a republican and parliamentary form in her central government does not mean that China had no knowledge or practice of democracy in her local government and institutions. Moreover, all her institutions have been democratic in operation. Thus writes Giles in *The Civilisation of China*: "The nominal form of government is an irresponsible autocracy; its institutions are likewise autocratic in form but democratic in operation."

China possesses a long continuous history from about 2800 B. C. and we have chronological information about her kings and dynasties from that period. Though the information about early dynasties is fragmentary, semi-mythical and not well-

authenticated, we begin to learn a good deal about her ideal rulers Yao, Shun and Yu from 2357 B. C. Their period was considered to be her Golden Age which lasted till 2197 B. C. and is also known as the Patriarchal period. Since then, China has had varied political experience in tribal, patriarchal, feudal, imperial and local organisations and also in her internal conflicts of dynasties and external wars with Huns, Tartars, Mongols and Manchus who tried to invade, to conquer and to rule her.

Our knowledge of the Chinese polity and political thought really dates from the writers of the Chou dynasty which lasted from 1122 B. C. to 249 B. C. and which gave thirty-five rulers to China. During this period, great teachers, thinkers and administrators arose. This period is also known as the Classical period of Chinese history, and we have to rely on the writers and books of this period in understanding the principles of Chinese polity and thought. There are unfortunately not many foreign writers even of a later period who can give us an insight into Chinese affairs till William of Rubruk, a Franciscan, and Marco Polo, a Venetian, gave accounts of their Eastern travels to the European world in the thirteenth century. No doubt there are a few references to China by Indians and Arabs who visited the country and stayed there for the purposes of religion or trade.

The great writers who laid down or emphasised the main principles and methods of Chinese society, polity, ethics and philosophy and have moulded Chinese life and thought up-till today are the famous Kung-fu-tse or Confucius (550 B. C.—478 B. C.) and his follower Mang-tse or Mencius (372 B. C.). Other teachers like Lao-tse (604-517 B. C.) and his follower Chuang-tse are more metaphysical and individual in their thought and less ethical and social than the Confucian school. Moti who lived in the fifth century (450 B. C.) was a philosopher of mutual love and an altruist and an idealist who believed that the principle of love could reform society and

maintain it. He founded his philosophy on the ideal of universal goodwill and advocated its full application in the dealings of men.

Loa-tse's school is, as stated above, mystical and metaphysical. In its ethical aspects and results it expects requiring hatred with goodness and following a life of primitive simplicity and purity, of non-assertion and non-resistance. It encourages becoming good, rather than doing good.

Thus there are three chief schools, namely those of Lao-tse, Confucius, and Moti, all of which developed during this period, and which show the fundamental bases of the Chinese mind. The social and ethical character of Confucian teaching and philosophy, the individual and the metaphysical character of Laocian teaching and philosophy, and the democratic and humanitarian character of Motian teaching and philosophy, show the individual, the national, and the cosmopolitan or idealistic traits of the Chinese mind and culture. But for the purposes of polity and political philosophy, the Confucian school advocating social conceptions of authority and obedience is more important as it has really moulded China in that respect. No doubt Laocian and Motian influence has been there but not much in matters of polity and society. One was too enlightenedly egoistic and the other too ideally altruistic. The Confucian school has tried to balance, adjust and harmonise the egoistic and altruistic elements in the composition of the Chinese society and its institutions by preaching a socio-ethical philosophy of strict social conduct, decorum and propriety.

The character of Confucian thought will therefore give us the political ideas of the Chinese. They have no writers who have written on purely political philosophy of the origin, nature, aim, forms and functions of the State, as we find in India the *Arthasastrakaras* and *Rajasastrakaras*, and in Greece the Sophist and the Socratic schools at that early period. Pure political philosophy, divorced and disentangled from other aspects of thought, originated independently only in these two

countries. But it is not that the Chinese writers and teachers were without any political ideas about the State. They were primarily social thinkers and developed a full social philosophy and a code of social rules of propriety and etiquette (*li*) based on certain fundamental conceptions of nature and also of human nature, and of man's moral behaviour. Legge says: "A life ordered in harmony with *li* would realise the highest Chinese ideal and surely a very high ideal of human character." And *li* means "consonance with established principles, rules or customs" which is the highest form of life. Confucius said: "To subdue oneself and return to prosperity (*li*) is perfect virtue."

With the Chinese, State did not mean the whole society, as with the Greek thinkers of the Socratic school. With them the society included the State. To them, amongst the many organised aspects of complete social life, the State is only one aspect. It is an organisation of the community for purely political purposes. State or political community did not mean with them, as with the Greeks, the highest of all communities which embraces and subordinates all the rest. To the Greek, the State is the highest and the best and the self-sufficing entity. It is also the society, and if man is without it, he is, in Aristotle's words, "the tribeless, lawless, hearthless one". Thus here in the political aspect of life and its secular organisation, every other human aspect of life, religious, social, economic, local and personal, was merged. There were no individual rights against the secular State; there was no voluntary self-governing group existence for any other non-political purpose of life outside the State. Man was considered by nature a political animal, and in the State alone—the perfected form of his associative and self-sufficing life—it was stated that he ought to live for attaining his perfect virtue or good. This was the absolutist or idealist conception of the State, omniscient, just, and virtuous. There was none above it, beside it or within it which could oppose its rule and control. In it man's aim and end were justified and achieved.

This absolutist attitude was not adopted towards the origin, aim and function of the State by the Chinese or Hindus, nor did they develop an absolutist philosophy of an idealist State. In this Greek sense or the later Hobbesian, Austinian, Hegelian and Marxian sense, the Chinese and the Hindus did not conceive of the State. Their State theory or conception was purely political and functional, as a subordinate part of a larger social theory of human life and functions based on organic and functional ideas. In their view, human society has a number of aspects and a number of functions. State is only the political aspect, organised for the political function of protection of common interests and removal of conflicts within the social life of the community. In the social constitution and its aims and ideals, the State is bound and limited to its functional purpose. This is really a constitutional theory of politics. Man is not completely subordinated to or merged in the State. He lives a large part of his social and personal life outside it in independent groups or individually. He rises against it if it perverts or confuses its function and encroaches upon his other aspects and liberties of social and individual life.

We must view Chinese political philosophy or State theory from this point of view, and not from the Greek, German or Jurist points of view and deny its having developed any idea of State or political philosophy.

The Chinese do not possess a purely secular aim or standard of life. They possess, in their social customs and propriety ascribed to a Golden Age and past tradition and fully stated by Confucius, also a spiritual or ethical aim which moulds their view-point and inspires their institutions. To them the State does not precede all forms and institutions of life, nor succeed and supersede them as the final or the perfect form, either for the secular life of safety and security or the spiritual and ethical life of the highest good and virtue. We must study, therefore, Chinese political thought in the light of these observations about their views of life and conduct.

The Chinese believed in 'nature', as being good and as prescribing principles and rules for the right conduct of men. Nature is not bad but requites good with good and evil with evil. Thus the order of nature is moral and requires men to observe her laws or principles which are fixed. Men who possess *li* are really "living in consonance with fixed principles of nature". Men must follow it in order to become good, as the whole universe is doing it. This moral way is the way of man and universe. He who achieves it becomes the superior or the ideal or perfect man.

Man is thus conceived as a part of nature and has a function to perform according to nature's standard. He is good by nature. Confucius and Mencius advocated this view about the goodness of human nature. Mencius says: "Benevolence, righteousness, propriety and knowledge are not infused into us from without." Therefore in the beginning, man's nature is good. And if he regulates his life in accordance with the established principles of ethical order and harmony found in nature, his life is correct, moral, virtuous, perfect and best. Consequently his virtues, wisdom, beliefs, customs and institutions must all conform to these aims and principles and help to realise them. And the State is only one of such institutions.

Of course the criticism of such philosophy is how to find out these established principles of nature which are supposed to be embodied in customs. No doubt they are generally attributed to the superhuman or divine genius and wisdom of a teacher or a lawgiver or to those traditions which have survived the test of time and whose origin is not known or shrouded in mystery. Our difficulty, however, is that this can be said about every lawgiver and every ancient custom and hence the result is that there remains no common standard of goodness and its principles, and there are often conflicting standards found amongst different peoples and different ages or even amongst the same people. Such an interpretation of nature and its goodness leads to an authoritarian and static

conception of society which is not very helpful to freedom and progress. It emphasises rigid forms, traditional ideas and static conceptions.

In order to get a proper idea of the Chinese conception of the State, the following extract from Confucius will help us :

"The illustrious ancients, when they wished to make clear and propagate the highest virtues to the world, first put their States in proper order. Before putting their States in proper order, they regulated their families. Before regulating their families, they cultivated their own selves. Before cultivating their own selves, they perfected their souls. Before perfecting their souls, they tried to be sincere in their thoughts. Before trying to be sincere in their thoughts, they extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things and seeing them as they really were. When things were thus investigated, knowledge became complete. When knowledge was complete, their thoughts became sincere. When thoughts became sincere, their souls became perfect. When their souls became perfect, their own selves became cultivated. When their selves were cultivated, families became regulated, their States came to be put into proper order. When their States were in proper order, then the whole world became peaceful and happy."

Here in this statement we find that the greatest emphasis is laid upon complete knowledge and sincere thought and virtuous character as the primary bases on which any social foundations could be raised and maintained. Hence the character of Chinese thought and the spirit of her social institutions could hardly be absolutist and authoritarian in character and working. The Chinese did not believe in revelations. They believed in the highest virtue and wisdom and accepted as guides philosophers like Confucius, Mencius or Lao-tse. Political power in the shape of royal absolutism or parliamentary sovereignty which made and sanctioned laws was not contemplated or allowed by the Chinese thought and practice. With them there is a law above and behind the political power itself.

The people could resist or rebel when the political power encroached upon this antecedent constitution and conception of society. The ruler was there no doubt to interpret and apply its rules and principles but not to change or subvert them. The people were the real and ultimate voice of the Heaven.

Western writers state that the Chinese form of government is based on the patriarchal idea and is a benevolent paternalism, while in Western political philosophy the development is a movement away from the patriarchal idea to an idea of the State as an abstract personality possessing inherent sovereignty.

No doubt the Chinese emphasise upon the leading of the good life by the people as well as by the ruler, but this does not mean they conceived of the Empire merely as an enlarged family under a patriarchal head who was all in all. The Emperor is merely a judge and a magistrate with definite functional duties. If he is considered a representative or Son of the Heaven, it is only for a certain purpose and under certain conditions. The ruler must be a sage so that there will be a great harmony in all things, and virtue, righteousness, and propriety will all remain in their proper places. He must know the laws of life and nature, get in harmony with the great scheme of things, and then direct the people in accordance with those laws. The successful ruler must know, understand, and direct his administration in conformity with the great laws of Heaven and Earth. Royal government no doubt was accepted as the ideal and only form by the Confucian school. But the ideal ruler was to take care in learning what led to perfection and excellence in government and in avoiding their opposites. The Chinese theory is a theory of government by good examples. There is the paternal notion only for the stressing of the welfare of the people. But there is no patriarchal tyranny, absolutism or despotism of the royal power, indicated or accepted by any writers of note of the Classical period who have moulded the Chinese mind and practice for all these centuries.

The Chinese believe in the idea of one ruler, and the Empire as a sort of family with the Emperor at its head. The Emperor represents Heaven: 'Hwungti' meaning Emperor, signifies one possessing complete virtues and able to act on heavenly principles. There is no divine right conception here, because the Heaven is not understood as any personal God. The Chinese Heaven is more a system of nature, and its laws can be understood and observed by any one through the exercise of his own faculties. They are laws of body and mind, and they come about through natural associations of men with men. The most perfect expressions of the will of Heaven are those expressed by the model rulers like Yao, Shun and Yu. They are not supernatural but wise and virtuous men, whose government was one of men of merit and happiness. Such an ideal ruler having positive wisdom, virtue and knowledge, is a representative of the Heaven working for the welfare of the people. There is no revealed code. He is not a priest or a divine monarch. Good government is the Emperor's responsibility, and his failure to discharge it is a sign of his unfitness and a cause for his removal. His failure means Heaven's displeasure. The people's right to depose him is inherent in his failure. If the Emperor is not virtuous or benevolent, he cannot remain as a ruler. The people are justified in deposing him. It is their recognised right. Hence there is no absolutist theory of the State, and no absolute right of the ruler. The State is a functional organisation and the ruler is a constitutional monarch. The constitution is laid down in the 'Great Plan' which prescribes the virtues of the ruler, his constituent and welfare functions, his responsibilities and duties, his departments and their work, and other necessary matters. This 'Great Plan' is in accordance with the law of nature. The ruler does not question the various relations and rules which Heaven has fixed but learns to keep them in harmony and order. This is the great Royal or perfect way. It is a government by a good man. His goodness is judged by his ability to carry out the 'Great Plan' which may be called a code

or a constitution of good laws, laying down the duties of the ruler and the ruled. The 'Great Plan' is thus a regular scheme of government, its nature and functions.

There is a very great democratic conception amongst the Chinese which makes the people's pleasure or displeasure as the index of Heaven's approval or disapproval of the ruler's actions. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge and harmony with the laws of nature, are to be the characteristics of a ruler.

Thus there is only one form of Government recognised and that is monarchy of a benevolent and virtuous type with a right of the people to depose a ruler if he goes wrong. Monarchy is an office and not a possession or ownership. It is not based on birth or force or any sanction but on the proper attainment of the wisdom and virtue by the ruler. The wise ruler acts for the commonweal and order of the people. Thus the people's position is very important in the government. The power of the people is the deciding voice. The government exists for the benefit of the governed. According to Mencius, "the people are the most important element; the sovereign the least important". "Heaven sees as my people see: Heaven hears as my people hear." The people and their voluntary groups and associations cannot be forced into submission by the ruler. Therefore it is the considered opinion of the scholars that the Chinese government, though paternal and autocratic in form, is democratic in its actual practice.

Whenever personal government is not limited by benevolence, it is despotic. The Chinese rulers were subject to restrictions almost as good as a written constitution. These were restrictions based on custom and rules of propriety, as binding as any restriction can be. The ruler cannot be absolute. He had no power to dispose at will of the lives and property of his subjects. The theory of the ruler being the Son of Heaven does not exempt him in political and personal matters from a definite code of etiquette, propriety, rules and aims. The ruler

was subject to Heaven and the people determined what Heaven might be, according to Mencius. It was Confucius who laid down the system of propriety and interpreted the 'Great Plan' which was accepted by China and her social thinkers as their social and political constitution. Confucius emphasises on the people's part. "When a prince loves what the people love and hates what the people hate, then he is what is called the parent of the people." This is surely democratic in spirit and a response to the people's will. The wishes of the people gave the sanction to the rulers. Mencius says: "A sovereign who oppresses the people will be slain, and his kingdom will perish".

The attitude of the rulers and their authority were not to be despotic. The people were the final arbiters about the personal right of the rulers to rule and were thus the supreme political sovereign in the State.

The ruler has no right of legislation. The State is only concerned with the penal code. The civil law is not a State institution at all. It is the Chinese family and clan which regulate civil matters. In a number of non-political aspects of life, the Chinese form voluntary groups, and co-operative associations or guilds which regulate their lives and business. The village communities do a large part of self-governing work and are largely independent of the central government except for the payment of certain taxes. Mr. Thomas, a writer on Chinese political thought, calls the Chinese government, in spite of its monarchic form, a democracy in theory and practice. We can say that the Emperor really is only a symbol of unity of the Chinese people and a ceremonial centre of their political, religious and social constitution, and a link between the Heaven and the Earth, as the Son of the one and the parent or the representative of the other.

The Chinese civil service was organised, not on birth or wealth or religious privileges, but on the principle of merit and educational qualifications. There were no caste, noble or

priest privileges. The best man, tested in a competition open to all, was chosen as an official.

Thus the Chinese democracy rested on the following ideas :—

- (1) The people's right to rebellion against the ruler who departs from the fundamental scheme and plan and propriety of the Chinese constitution.
- (2) Heaven's will is based on the people's will.
- (3) The people's non-political aspects of life organised by them in self-governing groups and co-operative associations or guilds which are democratically worked and are prior to and apart from the State.
- (4) The people's local units such as villages and towns worked on a self-governing plan as also their family and clan organisations in their own sphere of life.
- (5) The official class is chosen in a competitive examination which is open to all.
- (6) The ruler has no law-making power in civil matters. He is only a judge or an arbiter and an administrator.
- (7) He must conform to certain standards of virtue and propriety. Otherwise he is unfit and loses his right to rule and is to be deposed. He and his officials must both be virtuous and wise, and know, and work for, the good of the people, interfering as little as possible in their daily and normal life. They are there only to promote the virtue and to prevent the evil as understood, laid down and interpreted, by the Chinese sages of the Classical period of the Chou dynasty.

Such in short seems to be the character and working of the Chinese political mind and institutions before the advent of the Western influence and forms of government in the central power from 1911, when the modern Chinese republican period starts.

“An Idealist’s Dream”

BY P. B. SATHE, B.Â., L.L.M., M.R.A.S.¹

“Tuck, Tuck, Tuck, Hullo, are you in, Prabhakar?” I knocked at the door, and enquired.

Prabhakar was my friend from childhood. We were in the same primary school and continued our studies in the Amraoti High School together. We matriculated in the same year and joined the same college in Poona. Prabhakar was considered to be a very brilliant student indeed. He used to write short stories and poems and these used to be published in different magazines. Prabhakar’s photograph had also once been published in a special issue of one magazine along with his short story. The financial position of Prabhakar’s family was not very happy. He was very fastidious. He had taken his photograph from the best photographic studio by paying rather exorbitant rates and had sent it for publication. He always felt that he was a gifted poet and born writer. He was conscious of his abilities. I did not like this, but apart from this, he was really a loving friend.

“Hullo, Prabhakar, what are you at?” said I.

Prabhakar was sitting at his writing table. He turned round.

“Hullo, come on, Wasudeo” said he, and pushed his curly hair from off his broad forehead.

“O! how are you out at such an odd time in the afternoon?” said Prabhakar.

“Good gracious” said I, “Is this afternoon? It is past 5-30, my good friend. Did you not realise what the time was? You writers are very strange people indeed!”

“What do you say, Wasu? Is that 5-30?” said Prabhakar,

¹Adapted from his own short-story in Marathi.

and wiped his glasses. "Good heavens! I do not know how time passed. I sat at the table at 1-30 and 4 hours have passed since then!"

"But, Prabhakar, what are you at? Can I see what you are writing?" and I moved to the table.

"O, No," said Prabhakar. "You cannot see the papers. A guest cannot come into the kitchen and test the dishes before they are served."

"Enough of that, Prabhakar. Pray let me see what you are writing. You write nice stories and that is why I am so anxious to see what you are writing. Would you at least let me know what you are writing about?"

"Yes, I may oblige you by doing so", said Prabhakar and he again wiped his glasses. "Do you know the well-known magazine, *Vihar*?"

"Yes" said I.

"The learned Editor of that magazine has asked me to write a novel for it. You know the Editor of the magazine, that well-known gentlemen, Mr. Apte. He is going to publish my novel this year as a prize book to the subscribers of his periodical. How do you like the idea?"

"Oh, Lo. Our Prabhakar then is going to come before the world as a novelist. Well, Prabhakar, let me tell you I really love to read your stories," said I.

"And really do you do so," he peered through his glasses at me and cast on me a wondering look. His eyes began to sparkle with delight.

"Do you really do so?" Prabhakar again said.

"Yes, I do" said I "I really like your stories. I read your stories published in *Manoranjan* so often. Prabhakar, I really think you are going to be a very great writer indeed, but I hope you will not forget a friend like me."

Prabhakar was looking at the ceiling: perhaps he might be thinking of his future greatness as an author. After a short time he laughed.

"Have you finished your nonsense?" said Prabhakar.

"You may call my speech nonsense," said I "I cannot write nice love-stories like you. I cannot even write good answers to the questions set in the examination. Sometimes I do write letters to my father, but they are very formal."

"And what about those letters addressed to Mrs. Wasudeo?" said Prabhakar, and laughed a mischievous laugh.

"My wife is a girl of the old type. She needs one hour to read a postcard and two hours to write it and with all that

"Enough of this," said Prabhakar "You are getting a naughty boy. You are really a bookworm. You have absolutely no idea what romance means."

"I do not care to know what romance means, but tell me please what novel you are writing and would you not stop your writing now?" said I.

"No, No," said Prabhakar. "Today is the 15th of September. The special issue of *Vihar* is going to be out on the *Diwali* day and my book will also be published at the same time."

"I must now try to finish my novel as early as possible," said Prabhakar, and he began to collect the scattered pages of his manuscript.

"Why, Prabhakar, you seem to be getting fond of Mr. Apte. What is your idea? You want to marry his daughter, Kusum, it seems. She is in our class. You want to be a writer for Mr. Apte's magazine and then to be his son-in-law. Very splendid idea, and I do not think it will be a bad match."

"A fine stroke, indeed," said Prabhakar and he again pushed back his curly hair and cast a casual look in the mirror hanging on the wall. "A prosaic man like you has become a poet now; but tell me, Wasu, why should I not get Mr. Apte's Kusum? They say I am a good writer and, if I am successful, I am bound to get fame and money, both. I shall then be able to keep Kusum in comfort. Why should I not then aspire to win the hand of Kusum in marriage?"

"Oh, Sheikh Mohamad! Do not begin to build castles in the air like this. You must have lots of money to get Kusum's hand. Mr. Apte may praise you as a good writer but he would not marry you to his Kusum if you have not got heaps of money—Be sure that Kusum would not also like to marry a poor man like you."

"Then you can see it, Wasu," said Prabhakar. "It is my ambition to marry Kusum. I know that she reads my stories and likes them. I believe that I am going to be a successful writer and also going to earn heaps of money as an author. Be sure that I am going to make Kusum quite comfortable in my house."

"Amen", said I, "this is all that your friend would wish."

"Remember this, Wasu," said Prabhakar, "note what I say. Today is the 15th of September 1921. Within 5 years from this date you will find Prabhakar known as a very great author and writer of Maharashtra. You will find me very rich and living a very happy life with Kusum".

"Be it so," said I "but enough of these dreams. Let us now go for a walk".

Prabhakar pushed back his hair again. He brushed those unruly curls, put on his coat and looked at the papers lying on the table. The name of the novel which Prabhakar was writing was *An Idealist's Dream*. We left Prabhakar's room. We heard the sound of a motor-horn. We turned to the left and a motor passed by us. It belonged to Dr. Paranjpye. Miss. Kusum Apte was one of the occupants.

* * * * *

The next year I left Poona and began to look after my lands. I learnt that Prabhakar had also left Poona but I did not know where he had gone. Our correspondence also stopped after some time. I was an agriculturist after all. We people who have to look to cultivation do not get time to write letters.

I went to see my brother-in-law in September 1926 at Khandwa. Accidentally I met Prabhakar in the way.

"Halo, Prabhakar," said I.

"Halo, Wasu," exclaimed Prabhakar.

I went with Prabhakar to his house. Prabhakar was a clerk in the Khandwa post-office. He used to get Rs. 50 a month. His wife was ailing and therefore Prabhakar had to cook himself. Prabhakar had two children and they were also very weak. "Wasu," said Prabhakar. "Let me go to the bazaar for a short time. I want to make some purchases. Today is the 15th of September. There are still 15 days more, and then I shall get my pay. It is such a hard time and one is always in difficulties for money."

We heard the sound of a motor-horn and a beautiful car passed by Prabhakar's house. "Whose car is this, Prabhakar?" I asked. "Oh, it belongs to Dr. Deshmukh. Dr. Deshmukh is Civil Surgeon here, you know, and Mrs. Deshmukh was driving the car" said Prabhakar, rubbing his bearded chin.

"But I remember to have seen this lady somewhere, Prabhakar," I enquired.

"Yes, you have seen her," said Prabhakar. "Do you not remember Miss Kusum Apte who was with us in the college? It is she. She is now married to Dr. Deshmukh, but pray wait for a short time and let me go to the bazaar. I will come back within 15 minutes." And he walked out of the room. I sat on and looked round the room. A book was lying on the table. It was a torn book and some of its pages were missing. I looked at it. It was Prabhakar's own book. Its name was *An Idealist's Dream*. I began to glance through those tattered pages of that book, *An Idealist's Dream*.

The Indo-British Mutual Welfare League

To
The Editor, 'Triveni'
SIR,

Lycæum Club,
138, Piccadilly,
London, W. 1. Nov, 7th, '29.

May we use the columns of your esteemed paper to draw attention to the work of "The Indo-British Mutual Welfare League" a non-political and non-sectarian organisation of Indian and British men and women in London, linked together for greater friendship and mutual service? The Aims and Objects of the League, as set out its official leaflet, are as follows:—

(1) To promote a closer friendship between India and Britain through mutual understanding and service. (2) To help existing organisations in their work of social development. (3) To provide a bureau where accurate information on India may be obtained. (4) To assist Indian visitors to become acquainted with welfare work in Britain. (5) To hold lectures and conferences on social subjects of interest to Britishers and Indians. (6) To raise a Scholarship Fund for students.

Recent events have awakened considerable British interest in Indian Problems, resulting in the growth of several societies and committees desirous of helping India on her path of social progress. The League, as a strong central unit, is endeavouring to affiliate all such existing organisations and has on its Committee representatives from The Women's Indian Association (Mrs. D. Jinarajadasa), British Commonwealth League (Mrs. Rama Rau), Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association for the spread of Women's Institutes (Mrs. Matthai), The Ladies Auxiliary Committee of The Indian Y.M.C.A. (Mrs. M. Palit) etc.

The spirit animating the League is one of mutual responsibility with a willingness to learn rather than a wish to dictate.

In placing these facts and avenues for co-operation before your public, we invite response from your readers and would welcome any suggestions and criticisms.

Yours faithfully,
(Lady) EMILY LUTYENS, *Chairman*.
MRS. HANNAH SEN, *Jt. Secretary*.

Ferry Boat¹

BY KAVIKONDALA VENKATA RAO B.A., B.L.

Bring me to this side
The ferry boat from that side.
In the field, my husband
Will be thinking of me.
It is already noon :
The Sun is just overhead.
I bring my husband hot rice and curry.
He gets angry with me
Sitting in the threshing floor.
He waits for me under the short mango-tree.
There are passengers for thee always
Who go this way and that way every day.
I am of the village,
And only for today, O Lord !
Bring me to this side
The ferry boat from that side.

Translated by the Poet from his own TELUGU song.

¹ Originally published in *Poetry and the Play* Edited by Mr. S. F. Wright.

Of Twilight .

BY KAVIKONDALA VENKATA RAO, B.A., B.L.

"A damsel of darkness or of light,
Who are you ? my beloved !"

"I am of neither. I am of twilight.
With the finished ray of the frolicksome evening Sun,
Falling upon my forehead ;
With the lace border of my thin white saree .
Sweeping earth's uppermost bed ;
I bear my brazen pitcher,
And bring fresh water from the well
Sunk in the Temple precincts."

"It doesn't matter. Tell me, my beloved !
If it be hoary stars or glorious moon,
What time you retrace your steps from the well."

"Why do you want it ?
Of what avail would it be ?
Anyway the silver ring on my toe
Doth by itself tinkle
As we meet,
And water in my pitcher,
Doth of itself outsprinkle,
The moment we each other greet."

Translated by the Poet from his own TELUGU song.

Trichinopoly: the Athens of South India

BY L. N. GUBIL SUNDARESAN

The part played by Trichinopoly in South Indian History before the advent of the Muhammadans and after the British advent is too well-known to be mentioned here. But the vicissitudes of the fortunes of Trichinopoly in the intervening period have not generally received the attention which their importance deserves. The importance of Trichinopoly throughout the period of South Indian political greatness is due not only to its geographical position but also to its topography. Its situation in the Cauvery Delta and its topographical features, reminiscent of ancient Athens, have made it the key to political predominance in the Carnatic.

The greatness of modern Trichinopoly may be said to have commenced with the establishment of the Nayak rule in the far South in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. It was during the regime of Visvanatha Nayak that Trichinopoly, which had just before been under the Tanjore ruler, was included in the Madura kingdom in virtue of a decree of the Emperor of Vijayanagar. The town was rendered fit for human habitation, thanks to the exertions of the Nayak, who further made himself responsible for the excavation of the Teppakulam tank.

Though Trichinopoly, owing to its strategical importance, received the closest attention of the Nayaks, for its position as a capital of the kingdom it was indebted to Muttuvirappa who in 1616 changed his headquarters to it with the object of making effective war on the king of Tanjore. So by the time of the accession of Tirumala Nayak to the throne, Trichinopoly had become the capital of the Madura kingdom. Another event which contributed to enhance the position and importance of Trichinopoly

was a famous battle which was fought at that place about 1616 during the Great Civil War which convulsed and debilitated the Vijayanagar Empire shortly after, and in consequence of, the death of the glorious sovereign, Venkatapati Raya. That battle has been described as the battle of Trichinopoly by the Jesuit writer Barradas. But the more exact researches of recent times have shown that the battle was fought at Topur (modern Tohur) near Trichinopoly.

But we can rightly speak of the battle of Trichinopoly as it might be reasonably supposed that the greatest and most decisive battle of the most calamitous civil war necessitated a particularly large army whose activities could well have ranged from Topur to Trichinopoly. The battle of Trichinopoly was more ruinous to the Empire than the epoch-making battle of Talikota had been. Thus Trichinopoly witnessed the greatest event in the post-Talikota history of Vijayanagar, an event which may be regarded as having given the death-blow to the once mighty and prosperous Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar.

Tirumala Nayak, for reasons which need not be discussed here, transferred the headquarters of the kingdom to Madura, but the loss of prestige thus sustained by Trichinopoly was made good later by Chokkanatha Nayak about 1665. From that date to the end of the Nayakship of Madura (to about 1736), it remained the capital of the kingdom. During the reigns of Tirumala Nayak and Chokkanatha Nayak there was a vast extension of Jesuit missionary enterprise at Trichinopoly.

It is hardly necessary to chronicle the varying fortunes of Trichinopoly which may be described briefly as a series of sieges of the place by the the Mysore General, Kumarayya. During the regency of the famous and good Mangammal, Trichinopoly maintained its position intact. The last event which deserves to be mentioned here was the suicide of Minakshi, the last Nayak sovereign, owing to the treacherous policy of Chanda Sahib.

The Wonderful

BY V. V. CHINTAMANI, M.A.

Lovely was fire and wonderful;
I caught it like a fruit and scorched
My frail and delicate fingers
To know that fire was hot and cruel.

Often I leapt to pluck out
The ruddy rising Sun from his heaven,
The more I gazed the fiercer he grew
And blinded my wondering eyes.

Out of a handful of snow
I chiselled a lovely statue,
Which melted as I was making it
And I wondered its dissolving with my own heat.

I pleased my serpent soul
With the harmony of my senses,
When the music ceased it bit me to the consciousness
Of "what is wonderful is dangerous".

Utopia

BY V. V. CHINTAMANI, M.A.

What steeds will carry me, O,
What steeds will carry me,
Towards the land I vaguely see
The dream-land of true Love ?

Where be the engines swift, O,
Where be the engines swift,
To reach beyond this life's rail-road
The dream-domain of Truth ?

Where are seaworthy ships, O,
Where are seaworthy ships,
To cross the ocean-streams of Time
And touch the Dream-cape of Hope ?

Will Zeppelins succeed, O,
Will Zeppelins succeed,
To over-soar life's endless space
And gain the dream-heaven of Peace ?

'Tis fancy lends me wings, Aye,
'Tis fancy lends me wings,
To shoot myself with eagle-speed
To my dream-land of Cheer ?

Iarpakai Nayanar: A Play

BY K. N. SUNDARESAN, M.A.

[*Original Story:* Iarpakai Nayanar was famous in Kaveri-Pumpatnam for his great charity and bounty and for his refusal to let depart any devotee of Siva unless he took from the Nayanar whatever he may be pleased to ask. One day Siva came to him in the disguise of a Yogi and desired as his gift the Nayanar's wife! Nayanar swerved not from his promise. But his friends and relations objecting, the Nayanar at the Sanyasi's request, with sword in hand, escorted them both to the end of the village. Leaving them in a grove beyond the village gates, the Nayanar was returning home when he heard a cry "Iarpakai! *Abhayam!*" "Who molests thee?" cried the Nayanar and when he ran to the spot, the Yogi had vanished. Husband and wife understood it all as an ordeal planned by Siva. Suddenly Parvati and Parameswara coming on their *Rishabha Vahanam* gave them *darsan*, and took them to Kailas.]

A STREET

SANYASI: (to himself) What a dance he danced today, now before me at the temple! Uma wondered if it was myself come in disguise and dancing there! What a soul of prayer sang in that voice quaking the worlds across with its rapt threads of ecstasy! "Thy feet! Thy feet!"—thus he caught my feet in the tangle of his music—His heart's strings spread a net around me. He is gathering the net into his hands and I,—the willing bird,—rejoice his house is near! I shall know today how full his bounty can be! (Pointing to a house) I shall ask the boy. (Aloud) Little one, can you tell me? (Aside) Here it is. Ah! he runs to play, he heeds not my words. But—is my disguise perfect? This third eye! close thou!—bang thy door upon the future! Be like a *Tilaka* which men fondly wear to look like me—their God! No, no. What a mad fool I was! A Sanyasi wears no *Tilaka*. Boy! boy! just a word, stay!

BOY: It is their turn now; tell me quick! What for?

SAN: Will you show me the house of the richest man hereabout?

BOY: There, there it is.

SAN: What! so *poor-looking*! Surely that cannot be.

BOY: I don't know. It is the richest of all houses here. Most flows out from that door—must that not be the richest then?

SAN: Look! the houses, on either side—yet. . .

BOY: Swami, you are coming here a guest, don't you want the kindest house, the most hospitable roof to shelter thee even if it be not as high as the sky and the stars?

SAN: Yes, such a house, show me such a one!

BOY: Then go in—enter. Hesitate not that the lamp that burns within is tiny and dull!—Or come to mine if thou wouldst meet frowning brows—will you come there?

SAN: I will go with thee.

BOY: To curse my father! No, I will not take you there.

SAN: Nor will I come. When doors await ready open, why should I knock at closed ones? My journey is as long as the world—come along. This is the house? The pial is deserted!

BOY: There! They call me to the game! I cannot tarry—I must be away!—There is always somebody at the door.—Go, call!

SAN: Just a moment; go in and announce a guest. Go, my good son! . . .

(BOY RUNS INTO THE HOUSE)

What creaking noise is that?—the creaking of a swing?

(A PAUSE. BOY COMES OUT RUNNING)

Did you announce me? What was he doing?

BOY: He was swinging in the swing!

SAN: Who else? May I go in?

BOY: All of them—Sarada too! He is coming!

(THE BOY VANISHES INTO THE STREET)

SAN: Play, play! all play for the boy! Poor boy! But know I not men too?—old, aged men whom I call but who heed me not!

(NAYANAR RUSHES OUT, IN HASTE)

NAY: Come, Holy Swami, come! Forgive me, thou hadst to wait.

(STUMBLES AT THE DOOR) And my *Sashlanga* prostrations!

SAN: You paint a holy look to your awkward fall! Yet, I will call it a prostration. God bless you and your poverty!

NAY: I came in haste—hence I stumbled. As to my poverty—I thank God—His Ganga He has untied from His locks, to shower her upon my roof in plenty, living as I am in this city where Kaveri runs, pouring her waters.

SAN: You want to be the ocean itself—Many rivers and rills swelling your idle treasury—God bless you so!

NAY: Nay, nay, the thin stream too falls into the ocean—so let my little hand overflow through its finger crevices! Who is it in the corridor? Sarada! Nalinai! Bring another lamp!

(SARADA, WITHIN) yes, Papa!

SAN: I hear you are the richest merchant here—yet such lamps you light in the home! So ill-looking a house! A miser!

NAY: God sends not darkness in vain. Is it not sin for mortals to pierce it with ray-arrows of light and to mock his purpose with a vain blaze all night long? Swami, is not night rest after weary day, to withdraw the eyes in the dark to look within? A little lamp suffices. And when devotion encroaches upon the night, . . . lamps we will have—like stars—never like the glare of the sun.—Be seated, Father!

(NALINAI ENTERS, WITH A LAMP)

Place it in that niche. Pour oil into the other too—and raise the wick to the brim of the cup.

(NALINAI DOES SO)

SAN: Ha! how wondrous it glows! The lotus blooms, in sunlight, the *alli* (kumudam) in moonlight, and woman in the lamp-light! Is it not so? Only, I mean—has not the lamp its own splendour of light?

(NALINAI LIFTS HER EYES TO HIM, AND GOES WITHIN)

NAY: Leave the baby here, prepare for his *pūja*—bring milk and flowers. Ask Sarada to come. Both, bow to the Holy feet!

(NALINAI LEAVES THE BABY ON THE FLOOR)

Bow to him! Where is Sarada? (NALINAI BOWS)
(the child cries) Ah, even this she cannot bear! She is sleepy, she must be put to bed. Take her within and bring the offerings.

(NALINAI GOES WITHIN)

SAN: Is she your daughter?

NAY: Yes.

SAN: That beautiful girl, . . . she is an *apsarasi*! You may be proud of her!

NAY: Who, who? No, no! that child—not she!—she is my wife.

SAN: Wife? I thought not so. This is the only child?

NAY: My eldest son is sailing the seas—he is a pearl-merchant—he is wandering in foreign lands.

SAN: Have you no fear that this pearl of a son may sink into the sea no more to proudly come to you calling “Father!”

NAY: Death is everywhere, like God. Hence I know, Death is God. Why should I fear for my boy? If God loves my darling more than I do, then He will take him home and I grudge not the pearl to shine on His worthier bosom!

(ENTER SARADA)

SAR: Papa! Papa!

NAY: Bow to the Swami!

SAN: God descend to earth as thy husband!

NAY: Sit down, dear! sit down!

SAN: How exactly like her mother she looks!

NAY: She is my daughter Sarada. Sit down. Sing to him thy song about Uma! Let him hear!

SAR: I will bring the flowers. Mother asked me to take them here. She is putting baby to sleep, I will bring them anon.

SAN: About Uma! Let me see, let me see, sit down! (Goes to catch her) Oh! She has escaped out of my hands Will you not sing? I do not want your *pūja*!

(SARADA GOES WITHIN)

NAY: She is very shy. I have myself asked her to sing it to me—she won't. We must catch her when all alone. She sings, her voice enchanting the invisible audience outside.

SAN: Hush! Is it she? The snakes may rush out (looking at his neck and waist) Where are they? The child is in danger!

NAY: What! You search about neck and waist? Do you wear serpents like Siva?

SAN: (Aside) Ah! I *forgot*! (Aloud) And I am not His devotee in vain! I do wear sometimes, but now I have not brought them here. I forgot! Hush! Is it she? That song?

NAY: I think so!

SAN: The ordinary voice—what a pitch it takes on, as it begins to burst in song!

NAY: It is her mother.

SAN: I thought so—voice and form must go together! Hush!

(SONG FROM WITHIN)

Come, sleep! wrap my darling in thy cosy dark! Wrap her safe from the dread fears of the night,

Blind their eyes to vain fruitless groping, my darling must step
into the lovely dark sleep,

Watch her as thou watchest for the golden cloud for thee to
come and go,

Open wide thy drowsy dim eyes,

Guard her jealously, and bring my darling back again to her
eager mamma in the moon.

Come, Sleep, O come!

SAN: I feel like falling asleep! My eyes and head whirl
round and round! Ah! only the sweetness of the song
keeps me awake. No, no, lullabies must not be sung thus
—the child would never sleep!

NAY: Such is the sweetness of a home! Feel you not the
village sleeps, lulled by the song?

SAN: Hush! Again! I know the baby has not slept! Didn't
I say?

(SONG)

Come, sleep, creep upon her senses slowly, softly, slowly as she
searches at the roof for thee!

But, sleep, good sleep, come not in the guise of death to steal
my darling's eyes away,

At her heart rocks a cradle, where joyous, merrily, eternally
thou may swing and swing, keep the heart ever swinging,

Come, sleep, creep softly on her soft chubby form. Let the cradle
rock ever, ever, though she sleeps!

NAY: Slumber enfolds her now!

SAN: Sleep in the guise of death! Ah! singing of death
to a child just born!! Strange indeed is your home!

NAY: Why not, Swami? Death! How soon it begins to chase
birth—as soon as born? This ceaseless coursing of the
blood in the veins round and round—is not this chase
and pursuit and escape at last the sure catching of the
prey?

SAN: Such a song my mother too should have sung—but they
are flown from memory! My mother!! (laughs)

NAY: Didst thou never marry?

SAN: Never was a home for me, for a lullaby has lulled my ears.

NAY: But peace is in your soul! O great Holiness! What a vow had been yours!—What penance! No song can melt you. Because here first you have heard to-night—meseems . . .

(ENTER SARADA)

NAY: Where is mamma?

SAR: She is putting baby to sleep. She asked me to go.

NAY: What is this? She must come for the *pūja*.

SAR: Why? Is not you who must do it? Mamma said so.

NAY: She too must come. The baby sleeps.

SAN: But she must keep the cradle going! How can she come?

NAY: No, no, bid her come, Sarada!

(SARADA GOES WITHIN).

SAN: No *pūja* for me—make it all at the temple! Don't waste the good milk on my dusty feet or the fragrance of flowers on one who has lost all sense for it. Not for these I come to man!

NAY: Worship of His devotee ascends through him to heaven!

SAN: True, true, but this will suffice, I will give you my *prasadam*—touching the gifts with my hand, will it not be a blessing? Give me the flowers here—where is the *kumkumam*? For them,—and . . . this *vibhuthi* here for you. (Enter Nalinai and Sarada) Sarada! come here. No, I will not place it on the hand—I will mark it myself between the brow and parting of the hair.

NAY: Stay yet, Sarada! the flowers! take them!

SAN: Why, I will wind it round the knot of hair behind. What Sarada! why laugh? that an old man should do this?

SAR: You have not done it well at all. How it falls here and peeps there!

SAN: Arrange it as you like. Now let the mother come.

(NALINAI STRETCHES HER HAND TO TAKE THE *Kumkumam*)

SAN: No, I will mark it myself.

NAY: Bend down, bend down! Bend down! .

SAN: Why close your eyes? If you are afraid to look at me straight, turn behind, I will wind the flower-wreath on your locks.

(NALINAI RISING)

NAL: What a Sanyasi, you! And my lord! He insults the wife, and you look on! What a husband! Fie upon your *prasadam*. I wipe off the *Kumkumam*!

(WIPES IT OFF FROM FOREHEAD AND RUNS IN)

SAN: A curse on her!

NAY: You are in a disguise! What profligacy has come here in holy robes! I took thee for a better!!

SAN: Who do you think I am? Fine hospitality to the guest at your door! Insolence! A hypocrite and a profligate! You dare call a holy man thus! Here and now you shall suffer for it.

NAY: And you are a guest? A homeless wanderer? From door to door a guest begging alms?—thus you behave! a beggar cringing for your daily bread—ah! you are no Sanyasi! you are a villain in holy clothing! Away! Out with you! The roof will fall of itself on your head to have roofed a knave like you!

SAN: I will go anon—but not before my curse! Thus you treat a guest! what a guise you put on in the temple where you danced in ecstasy! You shall see me yet as a Sanyasi, grim and stern, with ready doom in voice and eye! Come—my *Kamandalu* and stick!

NAY: Many a guest has come and gone—I never saw the like of you! Do what thou wilt. If you are a Sanyasi indeed, you will rue your insult to a wife—your own wrath will recoil on your head. If you are not—you deserve my words. Do what you will—step out from my door—Not one moment more—you desecrate this home—this altar of Siva.

SAN: Not till you drag me out! Come, dare touch me! Ah! There is no water here! Ganga! Yamuna! See the erst-while empty pitcher now—there is a handful! Now. . . .

SAR: Papa, papa! he mumbles to himself—some magic mantram! Look!

NAY: Let him close his eyes—muse or mumble or pray, curse or bless! Reck him not—go in, go to mamma. Darkness is in his mind as without, about his eyes.

SAR: You must not, Swami, you must not!

(SHE SPILLS DOWN THE WATER IN HIS HAND)

SAN: Who did it? Vile girl! You dare touch me!

SAR: Forgive him! Forgive papa!

SAN: Away, or on you too the thunder falls!

SAR: Let the lightning pluck my eyes away too! Forgive them, forgive papa.

SAN: Foolish girl! Forgive? Again—I will do it, will you knock down the water?

SAR: But there is no water! What will you do?

SAN: No water! there is enough to drown you and all here—the whole city! Again!

NAY: Sarada! what can he do? Let him murmur his threats to himself! He has closed his eyes. Let us see what his eyes will open upon. Call mother here: She must see this fun. (laughs)

SAR: His eyes will open on this!

(SHE SPILLS THE WATER AGAIN FROM THE HAND)

Why do you look so upon me? What will you do?

SAN: A silly girl to thwart my purpose!

SAR: In the name of Uma, I implore you—I fall at your feet, forgive them, forgive papa, forgive mamma! Recall your mantrams!

SAN: He, he does not ask! It is only you—their vile tongues have not recalled!

NAY: If I have said aught in ignorance, forgive me, forgive us—yet—

SAN: What! you would praise your own ways?

SAR: Say, say! do not be wroth with them!

NAY: Now your rage is cooled, let me ask thee, Holy Sire—
certainly you are a great Swami—is not a wife's honour
sacred—were not death better than to bear this
shameful sight?

SAN: Well; what did I do?

NAY: Forgive me, you offered to fasten the wreaths of flowers
on her tresses.

SAN: Was she not your daughter?

NAY: This is she!

SAR: I am the daughter.

SAN: That too? Is she married?

NAY: She is my wife!

SAN: Alas! Alas! I am stained impure—not all the floods of the
Ganga can cleanse me again! alas!

NAY: And Swami! was I wrong, then, to take your words for
an insult?

SAN: I forgive you—It is your right.

NAY: My harsh words, seeming-insolent,—forgive them!

SAN: What did you say? “Out with you!” so you cried. I
will no longer stay. I go.

NAY: Nay, nay, everything is now peace. Stay here for the
night, great Swami.

SAN: Not one moment more, where *she* is. I remember your
words—I go.

NAY: Refuse me not—the guests that come to my door go
not thus. Nor shall you.

SAN: Every guest was not like me.

NAY: Yes, like unto you in holiness and devotion to Siva.
When you closed the eyes and I saw the chanting of
your lips—what a power of ascetic penance beamed
on your form!

SAN: And you treated me so shamelessly! I will not stay.

NAY: Then, be it so. My own words are against me, though I

confess their hasty utterance in a hot moment of outraged honour. But one request, which you shall grant.

SAN: What! ask it, let my granting atone for my insult to your home today. Quick! I feel I am on thorns to stay under this roof.

NAY: Every guest that steps to my door does not go till he takes something from my hands. And you too must ask your wish. Grant me this favour!

SAN: What! Are you a king? You boast you can grant whatever is asked!

NAY: I am not a king, yet my hand has not grown weary, nor has my body fainted in this purpose. Thank God till now. . . .

SAN: Till now! Beware of the future! You are imprudent—beware—what are you? You are not a god to create, to dispense and to bless!

NAY: But God is on my side and I fear no wreck. Ask what you will.

SAN: I will accept none from your hands.

NAY: Why? because of today's—Oh! let not my vow break today and spill down the daily store gathered these many years.

SAN: No, no, a guest must be a worthy guest—which I am not. Waste not your bounty on desert sands. Let me go! Sarada, it is you who have saved your house today—and me too from the dread shot of dangerous curse from my angry heart. All blessings on you! (Rising to go)

NAY: Force me not to prevail upon you thus—for your Siva's sake—Siva, your as well as my own daily thought—for His sake.

SAN: Then, I must. Don't you know I am a Sanyasi and my wants are few? Perhaps, you still deem me a profligate and urge me to beg for one of my many needs.

NAY: Break not so my heart, break not so, Holy father.

SAN: Tell me, how rich are you?

NAY: I know not. But ask whatever you desire!

SAN: Every guest has taken from you what they desire! Ah! I see, you must be a great good man!

NAY: Why, none has yet flayed my armours from me as from Karna. The God that measured the two worlds has not crushed my head to death,—what have I done?

SAN: I have one desire—that will I ask.

NAY: Ask it, ask it.

SAN: You who love the home too much, shall not go to seek for the gift through all the worlds.

NAY: Is it such a simple thing to grant? You do me a great favour. But, Swami, be not afraid to ask what is close to your heart.

SAN: Yea, close to my heart, rather what is in my heart.
Yet it will be so easy for you. Does not that make you glad, Sarada?

SAR: You are a good Swami—very good to me and papa.

NAY: Easy or difficult—let your heart utter it and to grant it to a Yogi makes me doubly blessed—a Yogi who knows no desire.

SAN: I have no desire—only today I suspect it whispered to me—"Why not this?"

NAY: Tell me, tell me—

SAN: Guess yourself! Guess.

NAY: I cannot!

SAN: Guess, what is it a Sanyasi needs most?

NAY: Ah! you have it not, do you need the softest tiger-skin to sit and pray upon?

SAN: Not I! I can pray sitting on thorns and spikes!

NAY: Torture me not with hazarding of futile guesses. I am not a god to guess others' minds truly.

SAN: But, did you not say that God is on your side? Perhaps, He is against thee. I tell you, it will be impossible for you to give. I will not put you to shame, or put

myself to shame with a refused boon. Let me go. My blessing on you!

NAY: You must take a boon from me.

SAN: Already, I have taken your angry words in my ears—a strange gift to a strange guest; that suffices.

SAR: He always speaks in this strain! Why not ask what you desire?

SAN: Will he grant it?

NAY: I will, I will, with my heart's blood, I will!

SAN: You need not bleed, then say you were dead before you could grant it. It is you who kindled that desire—and will it be yourself to fulfil the desire?

NAY: I kindled the desire! The more I am bound to fulfil it! Say it!

SAN: Then give me . . .

NAY: Say, say!

SAN: Then give me,—give me—no! I will not ask . . .

SAR: Swami, Swami!

NAY: Swami, Swami!

SAN: Then give me Nalinai!

SAR: Who?

SAN: Give me Nalinai.

SAR: Oh, our ruin! Oh! Woe, woe, the home!

SAN: Do you hear? What? do you hear! give me Nalinai! You called me villain—for your sake I will make that base falsehood an innocent truth for you.

NAY: Nalinai? who? which Nalinai?

SAN: Who? I know only one, I have seen only one, the only one that I want.

NAY: My dear Nalinai, my wife—my Nalinai?

SAN: Your dear Nalinai—yours! only if you please. If she be so dear to you—do not; and I promise. . . .

NAY: Promise what? She will not . . .

SAN: I promise I shall go quietly away, with not a word of anger. No curse either, although you deceived me by breaking your word. Will you give me?

NAY: Do you jest? Why do you laugh as you ask?

SAN: I jest! It is you! You bade me ask. I asked. Now you
refuse!! Who jests, you or I?

NAY: Are these my ears? Ha! Do you hear what he says? My
eyes! Is it his lips that utter this?

SAN: I say again without shame—it is I.

SAR: Oh shame! Shame!

SAN: Silence, girl! or I shall make thee dumb!

NAY: Is it true you ask me?

SAN: I say without shame, will you give me Nalinai—your wife?
Already you have called me profligate and hypocrite.
I don't mind your calling me again so. Shall I go home?

NAY: What home have you? You are a profligate indeed—no
Sanyasi! The disguise is torn asunder.

SAN: Say so, say so!

SAR: But you have promised us you won't curse us again.

SAN: So, I will bear your taunts quietly.

NAY: Know you not it is unholy?

SAN: Already, I am impure—I have touched her.

NAY: No, No! only you offered the flowers for her locks—you
have not touched her.

SAN: The Kunkumam!

NAY: You did not touch her then too, my jealous eyes watched
it well!

SAN: Then jealously 'keep yours as your own. You base
wretch, you refuse the boon you so coaxingly urge me
to cringe for, then plead that your kick is that of soft
golden lotus-feet! How you hatch your excuses! Cursed
be me, why did I enter this sinner's house to-night!

SAR: Let him go, father! Papa, let him go.

NAY: Soft, yet, Swami! whoever you be, you have asked this
for your own sake. I plead, the blossom once worn
must not profane alien tresses. Is this not true?

SAN: But the tree first wears it on its tresses—yet, all *pūja* is
with these same flowers!

NAY: They are the tree's own, born from its womb! Take then my daughter here, Sarada!

SAN: I will not see her. Away! My heart is all elsewhere
—my eyes all full with her—her image raising the wick and pouring the oil.

NAY: Take this virgin fruit—save us from shame!

SAN: Me, who will save from shame? None can if thus you persist!

NAY: Remember, Swami, did you not say how close Sarada resembles her mamma?

SAR: Speak not to him about me! Drive him from our home!

SAN: Say so, my good girl! say so! I will not lift my tongue against you.

NAY: Silence, Sarada! You will repent it later! But sire, how closely she is like her mother? Take her, if it is beauty that has made the closed petals of thy heart burst today!

SAN: I take a picture? No! Give me the original, the original that has the voice to sing; not a throat that knows the song, but is dumb!

NAY: If she sings that song now,—about Uma—then . . .

SAN: I tarry not! will you grant my boon or no? then, I go?
I have not come here leisurely to choose a bride.

SAR: But you have come to take one away!

SAN: If he keeps his word.

SAR: He will give no word for this!

NAY: I give it.

SAR: Go, go, you fool—all your thinking in the forest has not taught you what virtue is. He has never seen a woman before!

SAN: Yes, truly, and the first I saw touched my heart like fire.
And look you here, Nayanar, it is that fire that glows through the robes here like the *Kashaya*!

NAY: Sankara protect me and forgive me! Sire, I never strayed from my word—nor, will I today.

SAN: Then, bring her here. I will lead her home.

NAY: Even in a dream I dreamt not thus—but it has come to-day—I will yield as though God asked me this.

SAN: Now I am blessed! And you too! Your word shines inviolate, the brightest star in the firmament to-night.

NAY: The twinkling is over—and my purpose shines steady now!

SAR: Woe me! Papa, Papa! what is it you do?

NAY: I know it—he is a Sanyasi! And I must! Not I to fear to keep my word!

SAR: Papa is mad! Papa is mad!

NAY: Call mother here!

SAR: Alas, alas! I won't—I go out!

(EXIT INTO STREET)

(To be Concluded)

Indian Mercantile Marine and the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill

BY THE HON'BLE V. RAMADAS PANTULU

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

The history of Indian shipping and maritime activity is now entirely a record of the past. The brilliant story of the rise and prosperity of that great national industry of ours, covering a period of over twenty centuries, and the pathetic tale of its decline and fall in very recent times are faithfully narrated by writers like Prof. Radhakumud Mukherjee, Mr. S. N. Haji and others. Mr. S. N. Haji, writing in 1923 in his *Economics of Shipping* says:

“It is worthy of notice that, in the matter of shipping, the glories of India can be traced not merely to a dim and distant past, but its progressive growth can be traced right up to the end of the 18th century and unfortunately its progressive decay from the early years of the last century to the present year of grace 1923.”

Between 1781 and 1830, nearly 300 ships were built on the Hoogly. In Bombay, an enterprising firm of Parsee contractors achieved fame as ship-builders, and in 1802, the Admiralty ordered certain men-of-war also to be built in Bombay. Within the last three decades, no less than 20 shipping companies were floated with an authorised capital in the neighbourhood of 10 crores of rupees; but, almost all of them succumbed to the aggression of foreign shipping interests. Not much purpose will be served by my attempt to epitomise the historical survey of the vast coastal traffic and the extensive maritime intercourse between India and other countries

that once subsisted. The present position is this: ninety-eight per cent of India's export and import trade and about ninety per cent of her coastal trade are served by foreign ships which are owned by non-Indian companies; in other words, roughly no more than 10 per cent of India's coastal trade and 2 per cent of her foreign trade is carried today in Indian bottoms. India's tonnage in overseas trade may be graphically described from two standpoints. One way of looking at it is to compare the tonnage of the different countries engaged in the overseas trade of India. India, the very country whose import and export trade forms the subject of comparison, occupies the last place as a negligible factor in international trade. In 1924-25, British tonnage carried 73.5 of India's overseas trade; Japan 6.9 per cent; Italy 5.6 per cent; America 3.6 per cent; Dutch 3.2 per cent; Germany 3 per cent; while India carried 1.6 per cent of her trade. The small balance of 3 and odd per cent was shared between all the other nations of the world. Another way of judging India's position is to compare her tonnage with that of the other maritime countries. In one of the coloured charts, exhibited at the Congress Exhibition held at Calcutta last December, 27 sea-faring countries of the world are piled up in the form of a pyramid with Great Britain with her tonnage of over 19 millions as the base and India, with her tonnage of a little over $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, as almost the top piece of the pyramid, occupying the 24th place. There were then no doubt Chile, Turkey and Poland occupying the remaining three topmost places, with tonnage of very little less than that of India; but since the figures in that chart were compiled, Chile and Turkey reserved their coastal trade to themselves, and Poland has taken steps to develop a National Mercantile Marine. So, India must have now ascended to the topmost point, thus occupying the lowest place among the maritime nations of the world, notwithstanding the fact that she has a magnificent coastal line of about 4,500 miles and an export and import trade of huge dimensions.

THE ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION OF 1922

This is a position which no Indian can contemplate without the gravest concern for India's commercial and political future. With the insignificance to which she has sunk in the international trading world and the complete severance of her maritime intercourse with the rest of the world through the medium of her National Marine, her individuality as a nation and her influence in international affairs have become totally extinguished. The desire, therefore, of India to re-establish contact with the other nations by means of her own mercantile ships and to regain at least a fraction of the vast foreign and coastal trade of which she has been deprived is something more than a mere "fancy of national sentimentality" as her exploiters assert. From time to time, attempts have been made by businessmen and legislators to bring home to the Government not only the gravity of the situation, but also the great importance of forming a Mercantile Marine and encouraging ship-building in India. These attempts assumed the shape of definite proposals in 1922 when Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly asking for the examination of the measures to develop the Indian Merchant Marine in all its aspects by an impartial Committee of experts and others interested in the subject, and when Mr. S. N. Haji embodied his proposals in the form of a Bill for reservation of the coastal trade of India for concentrating public attention on it. Sir Charles Innes, in accepting the resolution on behalf of the Government, made it abundantly clear in his speech, that while the Government recognised that the desire on the part of the people of India for their own Mercantile Marine was very natural, they emphasised the insurmountable nature of the difficulties that stood in the way of the realisation of that desire and warned them against forming "too great hopes for rapid development of Indian Mercantile Marine," to use his own language. The scope of the resolution as originally moved was also materially curtailed

by a substantial amendment which Sir Charles Innes persuaded the mover of the resolution to accept. The desirability of building up an Indian Mercantile Marine and the general measures that are called for in that behalf being more or less matters on which there is little scope for differences of opinion among those who genuinely favoured the promotion of true Indian interests, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer rightly asked at first that the Committee proposed by him *should prepare a scheme* for the furtherance of six definite objectives which he detailed. But Sir Charles Innes had the words *prepare a scheme* occurring in the resolution replaced by the words *consider what measures can be usefully taken*, perhaps realising that it would be easier to turn down suggestions couched in general terms, than definitely worked out schemes, with which the Government might eventually find itself in disagreement. The Assembly had no alternative but to accept the amended resolution lest it should be defeated in its original form or rejected by the Government, even if the Assembly carried it. The debate, however, sufficiently indicated the general nature of the measures which were favoured by the popular representatives. State aid was asked for chiefly in two directions: adequate facilities for the training of Indians for sea careers and the reservation of coastal trade to Indian-owned ships. Other shapes which State aid might take were thus summarised by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer: It might take the shape of an exemption of ship-building materials from import duties, of preferential railway rates to goods shipped over specific steamship lines, of loans to ship-owners for the construction of ships, of reimbursement of port dues, of subvention for the carrying of mails and of subsidies for ships run under Indian ownership. Sir Vithaldas. D. Thackersey urged the intervention of the State to put an end to deferred rebates and rate wars which virtually killed Indian shipping enterprise, an aspect of the subject with which I shall deal later.

THE MERCANTILE MARINE COMMITTEE

The Government, after the lapse of an year from the date of the adoption of the resolution by the Assembly, appointed a Committee known as the Mercantile Marine Committee in February 1923 with terms of reference which were more or less in accordance with the main terms of the resolution. The Committee completed its task in an year's time and made its report in March 1924. The recommendations of this Committee, which have to be gathered from the report as a whole, for the usual practice of summarising them at the end has not been followed, must be conceded to be progressive and sympathetic on the whole. One of the main conditions which militate against the development of shipping enterprises in India, apart from foreign competition and the resources and resourcefulness of the existing British-owned lines, is the want of experience and knowledge in the shipping trade which are so vital for the success of new ventures. The ship-building activity itself has been so thoroughly extinguished as not to be even thought of. Sir Charles Innes, little realising what a sad commentary it was on the character of the administration of this country by his own countrymen, made, while speaking on Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's resolution, the damaging admission that "what impressed him most was the complete absence in India not only of *trained ship-builders*, but of *the means of training ship-builders*." He went on to say: "In England, wherever there is a ship-building port, it has its school or schools in which a full technical education can be obtained. There are three universities, in each of which a chair of naval architecture and engineering is established, where a full scientific education in the subject can be got; the result is that ship-designing is done by men of high scientific and technical attainments and ship-yards are continually recruiting young men who are technically trained to take up positions as draftsmen, foremen and managers." He says India must make up these deficiencies before aspiring for the ownership of a Mercantile

Marine. The cruelty of the joke is patent. But he did not venture to state when and how a process of education in maritime engineering and nautical training can be completed, even when an attempt to start it had not been made till then by the Government of which he was so worthy a representative, in charge of its commercial portfolio.

The Mercantile Marine Committee, however, acting on the preponderance of opinion of the witnesses who appeared before it, recommended that adequate facilities should be provided in Indian waters to Indians to equip them as officers and engineers in the Mercantile Marine and to open out suitable sea careers to Indian young men. A section of diehard opinion opposed the idea of even creating these training facilities. In order, therefore, not to leave the admission of Indian apprentices into merchant vessels and their employment after training to chance or to the goodwill of the unfriendly shipping companies, the Committee recommended that before a licence is granted to any company for coastal trade, an undertaking should be taken that apprentices would be taken to the extent of at least two per ship subject to a maximum of 60 for any Company, and that Indian officers or engineers as they become eligible would be employed up to the extent of 50 per cent of the total number of officers and engineers employed. The Committee, so far as I am aware, has not made any recommendations which are calculated to promote the ship-building industry in India.

Almost the entire body of witnesses representing the vested interests, cried halt at this stage and strenuously urged on the Committee that the active assistance on the part of the Government towards the creation of an Indian Mercantile Marine should stop at the provision of the training facilities and that the rest should be left to "a gradual process of development by ordinary commercial methods." This plea is evidently the outcome of the consciousness on their part of the potency of the offensive and defensive weapons of warfare employed by them in shipping commerce and of the practical impossibility

of any development of Indian enterprise on a normal commercial basis.

Development by ordinary commercial methods implies at least equal opportunities and a fair field for competition. It is idle to pretend that such opportunities do exist. Numerous instances of unfair dealing with Indian Companies have been brought to light. Among those which were adduced, I shall mention only two by way of illustration. When a contract for carriage of 12 lacs of tons of coal from Calcutta to Rangoon was pending, even an opportunity for tendering for the business was denied to the Indian Companies and the contract was placed for 10 years elsewhere at rates which the Government declined to disclose in the *interest of the public*. When three boats with full cargo of timber on account of the Government of Burma were fixed directly in London and the Scindia Company protested, the Government of India merely said that they could not interfere with the discretion of the Provincial Governments. In this connection it may be mentioned that even such a conservative body as the Council of State agreed to a resolution moved by Sir Lalubhai Shamaldas when he was my colleague in that Chamber, that, when the rates of the Indian and foreign companies were the same, the Indian companies should be given preference for carrying of Government and Railway materials from any ports to India. But was this recommendation ever put into practice? It is therefore sheer hypocrisy to speak of "a gradual process of development by ordinary commercial methods." Even self interest to relieve unemployment in Britain did not induce Britain to extend the benefits of the scheme of State aid to ship-building Industry in British dockyards to agree to build ships for Indian Companies and Sir Lalubhai Shamaldas who was specially deputed to England on this mission had to return disappointed.

The case for India naturally was that it was practically impossible for Indian companies under existing conditions to gain a footing in the trade, overcoming foreign competition and

that, in order to build up Indian Mercantile Marine, it was not enough to merely train Indians to man ships, and that, in addition facilities should be given to own and manage the ships and that the two things should progress side by side. Fortunately, the Committee, in a way, agreed with this view in principle and stated that they could not agree that the provision for training facilities alone exhausted all the necessary avenues of action which could be usefully taken for the development of Indian Mercantile Marine. Among the various measures examined in this connection, the most outstanding one, with which alone I propose to deal on this occasion, is the reservation of the Coast Trade exclusively to Indian-owned ships. It is admitted on all hands, to quote the words of the Committee, that "in other countries, which have desired to develop a National Mercantile Marine, one direction in which action has been taken to this end has been to reserve the coasting trade for the subjects of the particular country concerned." This principle is not disputed even by the representatives of the British shipping interests in India, but on the other hand, it is pressed into service by them to advance their peculiar interests in a curious manner. This attitude of theirs is made clear by the demand which they put forward, before the Great War, for the repeal of an old Act known as the Indian Coasting Trade Act V of 1850, by which the coasting trade of India was thrown open to all comers. The demand for its repeal was made with a view to the exclusion of foreigners (non-British subjects) from the coastal trade of India and thus to further strengthen the British monopoly. Foreign competition with the British having greatly declined after the war, the demand was not pressed with any insistence latterly. But, in view of signs of the revival of such competition, and the prospect of some surplus tonnage lying idle in British ports, the Mercantile Marine Committee indeed recommended the repeal of that Act, subject to treaty obligations with foreigners. The proposal for the exclusion of foreigners is made

to rest on the theory that "the coastal trade of a country is regarded universally as a domestic trade in which foreign flags cannot engage as of right, but to which they may be admitted as of grace." In other words, the Committee's recommendation is made to rest on the supremacy of the British flag in Indian coastal waters, the trading in which is, in international language, a "domestic preserve". So far, it is smooth sailing.

The next question that naturally presented itself to the Committee for its solution was whether it is permissible to discriminate between British ships and Indian ships which fly the same flag, and reserve the Indian coastal trade in the interests of India or Indianised concerns, which is inevitable if India is to be really helped to develop her Mercantile Marine. Much was made of the so-called "flag discrimination" involved in such a course. But the fancied legal difficulty was fortunately easily got over. Section 736 of the Mercantile Shipping Act of 1894 (a Parliamentary Statute) confers powers upon the legislature of a British possession to regulate by an Act or Ordinance its coasting trade, subject to certain conditions. Taking advantage of this legislative provision, the Commonwealth of Australia enacted a law which had the effect of conferring on Australian ship-owners a monopoly in Australian coastal trade. The object was accomplished by providing in the Australian Navigation Act a system of control by means of licenses to trade on the Australian coast. The Committee points out that the conditions attached to the grant of a license for the Australian coasting trade apply to all British shipping alike, but the nature of these conditions is such that they have the practical effect of automatically shutting out all except Australian-owned vessels from Australian coast trade. On the strength of the Statute and following the example of Australia, the Committee recorded the following opinion: "It is clear, therefore, that if it is decided to take similar action in respect of the Indian coasting trade in the interests of Indian ship-owners, there is nothing in the British Merchant

Shipping Law which would prevent action of this kind being taken, provided the conditions enforced are applicable to British and Indian ships alike." The Law Officers of the Crown in England who were consulted on the matter also stated that it was competent to the Indian Legislature to do what the Australian Legislature did ; in other words, there was no legal impediment to India protecting her interests in coastal trade, in the same way as the other nations have done.

The questions that were thus still left for consideration by the Committee, merely bore on the merits of India's claim to develop her own National Mercantile Marine and to the immediate means that were calculated to lead to the ultimate realisation of that end. The first question that was pressed on the Committee was whether it was desirable and necessary to have an Indian Mercantile Marine at all. The Indian witnesses were unanimous in answering the question emphatically in the affirmative. The representatives of British shipping interests, however, strongly objected to any form of State aid to build up Indian Merchant Shipping Trade, and one of their main arguments is thus summed up by the Committee. "They (the opponents of Indian claims) point out that there has been no complaint regarding either the efficiency or adequacy of the services offered by existing shipping lines (British) and consider it would be a mistake to substitute for them an agency (Indian) the efficiency of which is problematical and in any case has yet to be proved." Two assumptions underlie this line of self-defence adopted by the British capitalist concerns. These assumptions are, curiously enough, self-contradictory. One is that Indian shipping can develop and progress on normal commercial lines on equal terms with the powerful British and other foreign shipping companies. The other is that Indian enterprise is not likely to prove economically more beneficial to the country, either in the direction of efficiency or adequacy of service. If the latter assumption is true, then the former suggestion is patently insincere. But as necessity knows no law, so does the exigency of a desperate

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argument know no logic. The Committee, however, although its actual recommendations were very halting, found no difficulty in brushing aside the special pleading of the vested interests. Their decision on Indian fitness is thus stated: "In any case, it seems unfair to pronounce an adverse judgment as to the ability of Indians to run shipping companies as successfully and efficiently as the present concerns until they have been given an opportunity of owning and managing ships under more favourable conditions than those prevailing today. Indians have proved successful in other technical trades in which a short time back they possessed little or no practical knowledge or experience, and we see no reason why, given a favourable opportunity, they should not prove equally successful in the shipping trade."

DEFERRED REBATES AND THE RATE WAR

The emphasis in the Committee's verdict on Indian talent and capacity to develop a National Merchant Marine, it should be noticed, was on the creation of a favourable environment for progress. Where a virtual monopoly exists, it is evident that no such environment can possibly exist. If things stopped with monopoly alone, and unfair methods of commercial warfare and the help of allied foreign interests do not aggravate the strangling effects of monopoly, there might have been still some chance for Indian shipping enterprises to struggle even against odds. But, as a matter of fact, no available device nor adventitious aid has been neglected in order to perpetuate the monopoly. I shall mention a few of them, which, I hope, will serve to illustrate the methods whereby the foreign vested interests daily consolidate their position in such a way as to leave no room for Indian progress. First of all, there is that iniquitous system of what are called "deferred rebates". Deferred rebate is a portion of the freight money which a shipping company returns to the customer, that is to say, to its shippers, at the end of an year in consideration

of the customer giving all his shipments to the same carrying company. These deferred rebates are really hostage money collected in advance and kept with British and other foreign companies, to be refunded to Indian shippers only on furnishing proof of their continued and unswerving loyalty throughout the year to the foreign companies. Any lapse into patriotic mood to encourage an Indian company in that period will entail severe penalties, involving sometimes loss of lacs of rupees. The Fiscal Commission's report, which was concurred in by its European members as well, has the following observation on the deferred rebate system: "The system of shipping rebates is one of the strongest buttresses of monopoly. It is clear that an arrangement whereby a certain percentage of freight is returnable to the shipper at the end of twelve months, provided no cargo is shipped by an outside line, is a powerful weapon for maintaining a shipping monopoly. Other countries have recently legislated against this system and we think that the Government of India should make a thorough enquiry into the desirability of initiating similar legislation in India." Will the Conference of shipping interests, which the Viceroy proposes to convene in the near future to consider measures to develop Indian Mercantile Marine after getting the Coastal Reservation Bill out of the way, take up this question of legislation against deferred rebates?

Then there is the rate war. The foreign companies exploit the Indian shipping concerns to the fullest when there is no competition in the field, and keep their coastal rates as high as possible. Here is what an expert body like the Fiscal Commission says: "Somewhat parallel to the complaints about railway rates, are the complaints which we have received about coastal shipping rates. The causes are different, but the results are stated to be the same, namely, that Indian goods are handicapped in transmission in comparison with goods from foreign countries. Rates have been quoted to us showing a great disparity between the charges on goods shipped

from one Indian port to another and those of goods conveyed between India and foreign countries. Such disparities more than neutralise the natural protection which an industry might expect to receive in its own country by reason of the distance of foreign manufacturing centres. The cause of the high rates in the Indian coastal trade can, according to their critics be summed up in the one word "monopoly". The foreign companies can however afford to bring down the rates of freight on the coasts to an uneconomic and unremunerative level, the moment they discover any sign of Indian shipping enterprise appearing on the horizon; and its effect would be to drive away the Indian tonnage from the field, for no Indian company can afford to work at a loss for a long time. Mr. Wakeham and Hirachand has exposed the latest phase of the rate war in his address to the shareholders of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, only a week ago. Mr. Hirachand puts it bluntly when he says that the foreign companies manipulate their rates with the sole view "to prevent, if they can so manage, even a single ton of cargo from being shipped by an Indian vessel," no matter how much they themselves lose in the pursuit of this object. The facts adduced by Mr. Hirachand leave no room for doubt that the rates of foreign companies have been purposely brought down to an uneconomic level and that the coast was deliberately saddled with superfluous tonnage to hit the Scindia Steam Navigation Company and other Indian shipping enterprises. The foreign companies have what is called "tramp tonnage" as opposed to that engaged in regular lines, which can afford to accept cargo at low rates for stray voyages, as it has not to meet the many and varied obligations of regular liners. This has added to the complexity of the rate wars. Notwithstanding the reduction in the rates of freight in coastal trade, the British companies can give high dividends to their shareholders owing to other advantages they enjoy. The Chairman of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., explained the situation in these words: "The

real position is that, although the advent of Indian shipping companies on the coast compelled the British shipping companies to bring down rates, they have got today other monopoly routes and sources of income from Government patronage and mail subsidies, denied to us, whereby they can make large profits which Indian shipping cannot do on the coast." Next, the British shipping companies enjoy incalculable benefits arising from almost the whole foreign trade of India being in the hands of foreign business houses. These houses naturally patronise the foreign shipping companies and never the Indian shipping companies. Then, the facilities for British shipping companies and British railway companies in India to combine to mutual advantage, also put the Indian shipping companies at a disadvantage. Evidence was tendered before the Mercantile Marine Committee of an instance in which a Shipping Company and Railway Company entered into a contract with a view to attracting trade to a particular port which afforded them peculiar facilities. I have said enough to show that a policy of open door is not conducive to the growth of indigenous shipping enterprises and that the Mercantile Marine Committee are right in laying emphasis on the need to create a favourable field and legitimate opportunities as a *sine qua non* for Indian shipping progress.

THE COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Coming to the actual proposals of the Committee, the central recommendation is to secure for India a moderate measure of coastal reservation of Indian trade. The scheme is thus summarised by the Committee itself :

"What we wish to provide for in our coastal trade regulations is that after a time the ownership and controlling interest in the ship or ships for which licenses are required shall be predominantly Indian and we think that this qualification should be held to have been fulfilled if a ship conforms to the following conditions—(a) That it is registered in India, (b) That it is owned and managed by an individual

Indian or by Joint Stock (public or private) which is registered in India with rupee capital, with a majority of Indians on its directorate and a majority of its shares held by Indians, and (c) That management of such companies is predominantly in the hands of Indians."

The Committee expressed its inability to provide for the complete Indianisation of officers and engineers or to lay down that ships applying for licenses shall be those built in India, for some time has to elapse before these conditions can be attained. It is, however, gratifying to note that the Committee unequivocally expressed the hope that, in course of time, it would be found practicable to add both these desiderata to the conditions of the license.

The net effect of the Committee's scheme is that no ship shall be entitled to engage or take part in the coasting trade of India unless such ship has first obtained a license and no such license shall be granted to a ship unless its ownership and controlling interest are predominantly Indian. The conditions of the license also constitute a material part of the Committee's recommendations. The obligation to admit and train Indian apprentices and to employ qualified Indian officers and engineers, as they become qualified, at least to the extent of fifty per cent of the total number employed by any company, is one of those conditions. Another feature in the license which is recommended by the Committee is one of very great interest and importance; the license reserves to the licensing authorities the power to deal with deferred rebates, rate wars and other devices which act unduly as restraints on trade, the nature of which I have dealt with in some detail.

SIR P. S. S. AIYER'S RESOLUTION OF 1926

The Report of the Committee, as I already stated, was made in March 1924. The public anxiously waited for about two years thereafter to see if the Government would take any action on it. There were no signs of any prospect of Govern-

ment moving in the matter. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer again came forward in March 1926 with a resolution with a view to induce the Governor-General-in-Council to recognise the need for training Indians for nautical careers, to accept the policy and measures recommended by the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee, and to announce his intention to adopt in the near future a system of licensing in respect of the coastal trade of India. The utter futility of the resolution is self-evident, for it does not commit the Government to any definite action and is content with the announcement of the Government's future intentions. Indeed, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer expressly said in the course of his speech that he wanted no more from the Government than a mere assurance of their goodwill towards the Indian aspiration for a Mercantile Marine. Here are his words :

"I do not wish to go into the question of the immediate reservation of coastal trade. All that I ask in the resolution is that the Government should *only announce* their intention to adopt in the near future a system of licensing in respect of the coastal trade. I hope that the Government may, if not now, at any rate in the future, find it possible to accept this part of my resolution."

What consolation such a certificate of the legitimacy of Indian aspirations would have given to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, or the Assembly, or the country, it is difficult to conceive. I have purposely dwelt at some length on the scope of the resolution to show what effect this sweet reasonableness and high degree of moderation, for which Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer has a sustained reputation, produced on the Government spokesmen. Straight came Sir Charles Innes's rebuff: "It is perfectly true", said Sir Charles, "that as Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer has said, the proposed system of licensing was to come into force only on a date to be notified, but the whole principle of that recommendation was "reservation," precisely the thing to which he had numerous objections of a serious character.

The only purpose which was served by Sir Sivaswamy

Aiyer's colourless resolution was the announcement of acceptance by the Government of the proposal to set up a training ship in Indian waters which has now culminated in the arrangements connected with the recruitment of apprentices to be trained in the ship called *Dufferin*. Otherwise, it has tended on the whole to prejudice the Indian case for Mercantile Marine and reservation of coastal trade very considerably. Sir Charles Innes took full advantage of the occasion not merely to condemn the actual recommendations of the Mercantile Marine Committee, but also to undermine all the sound principles underlying all those recommendations. The most cantankerous partisan of British vested interests and the most determined opponent of Indian progress could not have done better. He resisted the proposal for *reservation* on the novel theory of *expropriation* which has, since his famous speech, become the main battle-cry of the British shipping representatives. His positions are best expounded in his own words :

"Once you admit on the statute book an Act which embodies the principle that it is right to squeeze out or depreciate the property of those who have built up a trade or industry in order that others may succeed to it, one does not know to what lengths that principle may be carried. . . Once admit that principle, what I fear is that it will give rise to similar demands in respect of other industries like oil, coal, or whatever it may be."

Why fear? If he and his Government are trustees for Indian welfare, why fear Indians asking for protection from the trustees? He once more raises the exploded pleas against distinction between ships *owned in a country* and ships *registered in a country*, and flag discrimination, and frightens the Assembly by saying that the pleas are of a technical nature "to which the highest importance is attached in shipping circles" although there is nothing very technical about them except in so far as they are perverted to advance the self-interests of British shipping circles to which he evidently refers when he speaks of "shipping

circles". His pompous assertion that "it is a fundamental point of policy that flag discrimination should be opposed in every part of the British Empire" leaves the Indians absolutely cold, for they are not admittedly in love with British Imperialism. He has no answer to give to the Australian example already referred to except to doubt its wisdom. A Royal Commission, however, subsequently upheld the wisdom of the Australian Commonwealth's action in reserving her coastal trade. South Africa is seriously contemplating to replace the Union Jack by a flag of her own. The Indian National Congress is wise in having hoisted her own national flag even at this stage of her political struggle and, if it is any consolation to Sir Charles Innes, Indian ships engaged in coastal trade will fly the tri-colour national flag to distinguish them from the British ships flying the Union Jack. Sir Charles disposed of the unanswerable argument on the Indian side that other nations in their own interest reserved their coastal trade and have thereby admitted the so-called principle of expropriation, if there is one, in a characteristically imperialistic manner. Here is what he said about other countries:

"They had to take that course because, in times of war, they might want their own Mercantile Marine to feed their people and because they wanted that Marine as a second line to their Navy. India is fortunate in that that overmastering necessity is not present in this country. India's shores are protected for her by the British Navy and, in times of war, she can always rely on the British Navy to protect her communications and her trade."

This argument might with equal propriety be applied word for word to the Civil and Military Services which are vouchsafed by Britain to India. Not content with these grounds of high policy, Sir Charles attempted to convince the country that an Indian Mercantile Marine would involve this country in economic loss. I shall come back to this argument when I deal with the objections raised to Mr. Haji's Bill. Finally, Sir Charles

thought that unless he also set up the interests of one province against another, his services to this country would not have been adequately discharged, and knowing as he does that Bombay has achieved some success in Indian coastal shipping and that the cry for reservation came mainly from Bombay, he was at considerable pains to tell Burma and Bengal that they will be particularly ruined by the coastal reservation of Indian trade. It may therefore be said without fear of contradiction that the result of the debate is to establish that all attempts, however reasonable, to placate British opinion on matters of *£. s. d.* are utterly futile and that the attitude of the Government towards Indian Mercantile Marine is not one of mere apathy but hostility.

MR. HAJI'S BILL

Two more years elapsed after the humble prayer of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer was sternly rejected by the Commerce Member before any definite action was taken by the Assembly. The Government opposition and the hostility of foreign shipping interests to the Indian claim for reservation of coastal trade, did not show any signs of abatement in spite of responsible declarations of India's right to Responsible Government which, it is now stated, was never meant to be anything less than full Dominion Status. It is in such circumstances that Mr. S. N. Haji, M.L.A., introduced his now famous Bill to reserve the Coastal Traffic of India to Indian vessels in the Legislative Assembly on the 9th February 1928. In due course a motion to circulate the Bill for public opinion was carried in March 1928, and in pursuance of it the Government of India circulated it to various persons and bodies and a large and informing mass of opinion was thus elicited. The Bill was then referred to a representative Select Committee consisting of nearly 20 members among whom were Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sir Purushothamadas Thakurdas on the popular side. The Select Committee reported on 20th March 1929 making some important changes in the original

Bill. There were three Europeans on the Select Committee. Sir George Rainy, who succeeded Sir Charles Innes as the Commerce Member, represented the Government and Messrs F. J. Simpson and W. Stenhouse Lamb the British commercial interests. These three gentlemen, of course, dissented from the principle of reservation as well as from some of the material recommendations of the Committee whose report was otherwise absolutely unanimous.

The provisions of the Bill as amended by the Select Committee follow in their general outline the scheme propounded by the Mercantile Marine Committee. The object in view, namely, the reservation of the coastal trade of India to Indian controlled vessels, is achieved by a system of licensing from such date as the Governor-General-in-Council may, by notification, appoint after His Majesty's pleasure on the Act has been publicly signified in British India by notification. An Indian controlled ship is defined as follows by the Bill:—

“Indian controlled ship” means a ship chartered by the Government, or a ship owned by or, if the ship is chartered, owned and chartered by—

(a) an Indian, or

(b) a company incorporated and registered in British India, or a corporation, partnership or association—

(i) in which, in the case of a company, not less than 75 per cent. of the shares or stock, other than debenture stock, or in the case of a corporation, partnership or association, not less than 75 per cent. of the capital and the right to not less than 75 per cent. of the profits, is vested in Indians in their own right and for their own benefit, free from any trust or fiduciary obligation in favour of any person other than an Indian ;

(ii) of which the Chairman of the Board of Directors and the Managing Director, if any, and

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not less than 75 per cent. of the members of the Board of Directors are Indians;

(iii) in which not less than 75 per cent. of the voting power is vested in Indians.

The actual licensing procedure is briefly this: (a) The Governor-General-in-Council, in each year, will publish by notification an estimate of the total tonnage which is, in his opinion, essential for the needs of the coastal traffic in that year; (b) applications for licenses for the purpose of engaging in coastal trade will then be received and granted to ships of an aggregate tonnage, not exceeding the tonnage determined as above stated; (c) in respect of the first year after the commencement of the Act, licenses will be issued to all Indian controlled ships applying for the same, if they were Indian controlled on the date to be specified; (d) in respect of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th years, the licenses shall be reserved for Indian controlled ships up to an aggregate tonnage of two-fifths, three-fifths and four-fifths respectively of the tonnage determined for the year; (e) in respect of every year after the fourth year, licenses will be issued *only* to Indian controlled ships. The process of reserving coastal trade to Indian controlled ships is thus completed in a period of five years from the date of commencement of the process. Then safeguards are provided for making up deficiencies in tonnage by issuing licenses to non-Indian controlled ships, if in the 2nd, 3rd or the 4th year, the Indian tonnage applying for licenses falls short of that required and determined as aforesaid. Power is also given to the Governor-General-in-Council to issue permits to unlicensed ships in certain conditions, if no licensed ships are available or the service rendered by licensed ships is inadequate to the needs of coastal traffic or a part thereof. Then follow penalties for breaches of the provisions of the Act, exemptions and Rule-making power. This, in brief, is Mr. Haji's Bill.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED

• The objections raised to the modest provisions of this Bill are practically the same as those urged against the recommendations of the Mercantile Marine Committee, and were almost exhausted by the witnesses who championed the British shipping interests before the Committee and by Sir Charles Innes in the debates on Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's resolutions of 1922 and 1926. Among the critics who entered the arena after the Bill was circulated in March 1928, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Bengal Government deserve special mention. It is difficult to say which of these carried away the prize in the competition to damage the Indian case for Merchant Marine in general and Coastal Reservation in particular.

The Bengal Chamber considers that investment on Indian Mercantile Marine is an unwise diversion of capital. It advises Indians to develop their urban industries and concentrate their endeavour to modernise Indian agricultural methods. In fact, the Chamber makes no secret of what it means, for it says in so many words that "the soundest policy is quite clearly to concentrate all available investment money in the sphere of economic activity from which external capital has always held aloof and will continue to hold aloof." In plain language, it means that Indian capital should not be invested in those spheres in which British traders and industrialists have already entered in India. It is needless to attempt to refute a plea so barefacedly selfish. The revenues earned by foreign shipping concerns in Indian coastal trade is about 10 crores of rupees per year, out of the total annual Indian shipping trade revenue of over 50 crores of rupees. The estimated cost of building the necessary tonnage to carry India's coastal trade is somewhere near 10 crores of rupees. It would not have been difficult for India to find this capital if shipping business built up with it had a fair chance of success. Reservation is asked for in order to avoid an annual loss of 10 crores through

the domination of coastal shipping by foreign interests. The Bengal Chamber's objection to this proposal merely amounts to asking the Indians to forego this revenue with its incidental benefits, to help the British companies to continue to earn it. Then there is the case of expropriation which has been already answered by me. But are the cries of "expropriation" and "annexation of earnings that rightly belong to others" founded on facts? It is difficult to discover a single clause in the Bill which aims at expropriation. All that the Bill seeks to do is to regulate the coastal trade by means of licenses and it is open to any shipping company to obtain a license by Indianising itself in a certain number of years, by taking a reasonable amount of Indian capital and a reasonable number of Indians on its Board. And how does the grievance of expropriation arise at all? As a matter of fact, have not British companies earned many times their original capital in the long course of years during their virtual monopoly of the trade?

Mr. Haji and others possessing first-hand knowledge of the intricate subject of shipping economics in India have carefully answered the objections to reservation based on so-called economic grounds such as the following: (1) There will be unrestrained competition or a shipping ring resulting in enhanced freights; (2) there will be loss of foreign tonnage, and (3) it will be uneconomic, as in the slack season most of the tonnage will be unemployed. It is indeed needless to answer objections which enter into such details, mixing up foreign and Indian interests, if it is established that reservation is on the whole beneficial to India as it undoubtedly is. It is for Indians to decide what is economically beneficial to India and not for her exploiters. Responsible Indian opinion of Bengal and Burma, by supporting the Bill, effectively disposed of the economic fallacies calculated to provoke inter-provincial jealousies over the principle of Coastal Reservation. The old and the familiar desire to safeguard the interests of Indian consumers by dumping on them cheap foreign

goods and utility services is re-stated in the form of a new 'proposition that reservation of coastal trade will result in rise of freights to the disadvantage of Indian shippers and consumers. This edifice of solicitude for Indian welfare is skilfully demolished by the Chairman of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company Ltd. He asks for an explanation as to the following disparity in British shipping rates, though the coastal trade of India is not now reserved. The rate of freight on iron and steel from Belgium to Bombay, a distance of 6,300 miles, is Rs. 13-12-0 per ton of 20 cwts., while the rate on the same articles from Calcutta to Madras, a distance of 759 miles, is Rs. 18 per ton. Again, the rate on cotton bales from Bombay to Antwerp, a distance of 6,300 miles, is Rs. 10-8-0 per ton of 40 cwts., while the rate on the same commodity from Tuticorin to Bombay, a distance of 815 miles, is Rs. 12-8-0 per ton of the same measurement. Sugar bags are carried from Sourabay to Bombay, a distance of 3,210 miles, at Rs. 10-12-0 per ton of 20 cwts., while they are carried from Bombay to Cochin, a distance of 580 miles, at Rs. 10-2-0 per ton of the same 20 cwts. As the Chairman of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company points out, the fact is that it is not 'the policy of reservation that decides the rates of freight, but they are based on various factors such as the volume of trade, return cargo expenses of the ports and the like, which are independent of the policy of reservation and which are conveniently ignored in the economic arguments resorted to by vested interests. But, is it any use trying to convince the 'unconvincible'? The Chairman of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company speaks the bare truth when he says that "it is futile to argue with those who never fail to discover signs of India's economic prosperity in the continuous process of India's economic exploitation by foreigners in league with an alien bureaucracy."

The references to the Coastal Reservation Bill, now pending in the Assembly, in the speech made by the Viceroy before the Associated Chamber of Commerce, shows that His Excellency also

views the Bill with disfavour. His Excellency made the following among other observations: "I am not one of those who see in such discrimination any possible solution of the problems which now beset India's growth, for the interest of all communities which comprise the population of India are far too intermingled to allow of separatist treatment; nor am I in favour of speeding up the development of Indian enterprise by the heroic, I might even say dangerous, methods advocated by the Bill."* The attitude taken up by Sir George Rainy, the successor of Sir Charles Innes, towards the Bill is precisely the same. His Excellency's allusions to "*separatist treatment*" and "*discrimination*" have an evident reference to the claim of British shipowners to be treated as British Indian Nationals for the purpose of shipping prerogatives in Indian coastal waters. Colonel Crawford, addressing a Madras audience a few days ago, characterised some of the clauses of Mr. Haji's Bill as being "simply robbery, legalised robbery", presumably basing the British shipowners' proprietary claim to coastal trade on this prerogative.

The Chairman of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company made a fitting reply to this claim from which I beg leave to quote. "The £. s. d. have such magic effect on the British mind that foreigners during recent months have shouted that they are Indians—sons of the soil—Nationals of the country. With England as his Home, a European subject of the Crown appearing before the Indian Criminal Courts of Justice, insisting upon special benefits like those of the Lee Loot in the Civil and other Services on the ground of his colour, prestige and efficiency, always anxious to vote with the alien Government of the land not only for stifling the legitimate aspirations of Indians but also for forging new fetters—both economic and political—for preventing them from advancing in all directions as free citizens of a free country, it is mockery, nothing but cruel mockery, for the European in India to claim that he is the National of the country only when his pocket is touched." The

simple truth is India is making a humble attempt to regain her lost ground and recover back her national assets of which she was deprived by a system in which exploitation and administration worked hand in hand.

A NATIONAL ISSUE

I should have briefly narrated the facilities which other countries had given and are giving to develop their National Mercantile Marine so as to contrast the attitude of self-governing countries with that of the Indian Government, had I not already run to prohibitive length. Since the Great War, no Maritime country having a national Government neglected to develop its own merchant shipping. Italy, Spain, Japan and Germany made in recent years enormous developments by subsidising their navigation enterprise. Italy sanctioned a loan of 45 crores lire at a cheap rate of interest for building new tonnage. Spain recently entered into agreements with one of its Shipping Companies by providing to it facilities to acquire 14 Big Ocean Liners to compete with foreign ships calling at Spanish Ports and specially with those running to Central and South America. The case of Japan's progress was specially urged upon the Mercantile Marine Committee, one of whose European Members was deputed to study Japanese development. Germany's case is phenomenal. The Treaty of Versailles left Germany in 1920 with practically not a single ship of any consequence in International Trade and her small fleet had no more than a tonnage of 6 lacs. In five years' time the German Government so encouraged their Ship-building Companies as to enable them to build up 30 to 40 lacs tonnage. Unfortunate India with a vast sea board and other natural facilities for shipping could do nothing along those lines of progress, for her destinies are in the hands of a Foreign Government and her economic enterprises are dominated by foreign commercial interests. We are really indebted to 'Ditcher' in the *Capital* for the following candid warning:—"The Legislative Assembly may pass Mr.

Haji's Bill, but the Council of State will almost certainly throw it out. Mr. Haji is a skilled and persistent propagandist. But it is highly improbable that his Bill will reach the statute book unless and until India attains Dominion Status." This warning must serve as a powerful incentive to us to make the Coastal Reservation Bill of Mr. Haji a National Issue. If the Bill can reach the statute book only when India attains Dominion Status, let Indians of all shades of opinion unite in demanding in one voice immediate and full Dominion Status for India. The one remedy for India's political and economic ills is Swaraj.

CONFERENCE OF SHIPPING INTERESTS

The Conference of shipping interests over which H. E. the Viceroy presides and which assembles at New Delhi on 3rd January, 1930, affords a splendid opportunity to the British Government and British capitalists in India and England to give early and tangible proof of that "change of heart" which Mahatma Gandhi desires as an earnest for Swaraj or Dominion Status which is promised in Lord Irwin's announcement. The Press Communique announcing the Conference very rightly says that "the question of development of Indian Mercantile Marine is not of interest to shipping firms only but is one in which the whole commercial community is concerned"; and commerce, in its turn, is not of interest to the commercial community only, but is a national concern in which the prosperity of the whole country is involved. The test of real self-government is industrial and commercial independence, and it is in that sphere that Britain can first manifest the genuineness and *bona fides* of her intentions to emancipate India. She conquered India by commerce and holds India today in economic bondage, partly through political power. The re-conquest of India by herself shall be through commerce once more; without political turmoil, if Britain voluntarily restores to India her economic freedom; or in the wake of a bitter political struggle, if Britain persists in her present economic, industrial and commercial

policy. Will Britain aid India in her attempt to remove the causes that obstruct the development of her indigenous commercial enterprises, or will she throw obstacles in India's path to economic Swaraj? That is the question which the Conference has to answer.

The composition of the Conference seems to be fair and unobjectionable. The British interests are represented by a deputy of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom and two representatives of the Associated Chamber of Commerce in India. The Indian interests are represented by a representative of each of the main Indian Shipping Companies and two representatives of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, besides Mr. S. N. Hajji. The agenda and the list of subjects set down for discussion are not available. The Press Communiqué, however, gives some indications of the Government's intentions as will be seen from the following passage in it: "The Government of India, for reasons which have been more than once expressed, have been compelled to oppose the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill now before the Legislature, but they are in full sympathy with the widespread desire that India should possess a merchant fleet of its own and they recognise that, under existing conditions, there are several difficulties to be overcome before this result can be achieved." While the reiteration of Government's opposition to Coastal Traffic Reservation is distinctly discouraging, the rest of the passage consists of mere platitudes which carry us no further than the declaration desired by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer to which a detailed reference has already been made. The representatives of Indian shipping interests are expected by the Indian public not to be satisfied with certain concessions which are calculated to merely ensure the prosperity of the existing Indian companies. Questions like the deferred rebates and rate wars, the consequences of which have been described in some detail, should be dealt with in a fair and equitable manner, so as to effectively do away with the evils of monopoly which powerful vested interests now enjoy. In railway enter-

prise, the Government have fixed minimum freights and fares to guard against the disastrous consequences of unrestrained competition. Is it possible to place some check on uneconomic rates charged by those who are in a position to kill rival enterprises by recourse to them? Will the recommendations of the External Capital Committee regarding the rupee capital, majority of Indians in the directorates and the like, which have not been so far favoured by the British capitalists, be now agreed to as conditions to be fulfilled for the privilege of shipping in Indian coastal waters? After everything is said and done, an immediate measure to ensure reservation of coastal traffic is the only sure way for the development of Indian Mercantile Marine. If that is ruled out in the discussion, the Conference may be pronounced to be a failure. If it is agreed to and, when the Legislative Assembly meets, the Viceroy is able to announce on the 25th of January 1930, that measures for coastal reservation have been resolved upon, then the value of his political announcement of 31st October 1929, will be greatly enhanced and India's mistrust in Britain's promises and pledges will to a certain extent be removed and her belief will be strengthened in the potentialities of the Round Table Conference to lead India to the Promised Land of Swaraj.

Puran Singh : the Sikh Poet

By S. P. SARMA, B.A., B.L.

India is truly said to be the home of spirituality. In spite of her apparent diversity, there is a fundamental oneness underlying all her thought and action. Particularly is this so in the field of religion. The number of religions practised within her borders is legion, but her Religion has been only one. Hindu and Muslim, Sikh and Parsee, Brahmin and Pariah, have all sung different tunes but they have sung the name of the same Lord and, what is more important, fully recognised the fact. It is only the pedestrian that is bewildered by the number and the variety of the trees surrounding him. But he who rises in spirituality even by a few steps will gain the proper perspective and assign the trees to their proper places. Hence it is that the mystic is the same all over the world. Indeed, he speaks almost the same language everywhere. Whether it is the Christian mystic of the middle ages in Europe, or the Persian Sufi singing his ecstatic vision of the Lord, or the Pariah Nanda immersed in contemplation of Nataraja, almost the same figures of speech are used and almost the same words. The devotee, for instance, is always the beloved and the Lord is always the Lover. Supreme Bliss is spoken of in terms of conjugal felicity, and union with the Divine like the union of the lover and the beloved. The parable of Sree Krishna and the *gopis* is eternally true, only the application naturally varies with time and country. Besides, the true mystic invariably recognises that the various religions are only the different editions of the same Book of Truth. Only those who do not know wrangle. Thus Kabir could not see any distinction between Ram and Rahim and Puran Singh too feels the same noble difficulty. Thus he sings, he a follower of the Sikh religion :—

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"The world met Him in Krishna, Buddha; in Christ, in Mahomed; but I know him as my Lord and Father,—Baba, Guru Nanak. Him I have seen not once, but for ten generations.' He in a thousand ways gave signs to us of *Nam*, the Holy one."

Puran Singh was born in 1881 in Abbotabad in the North Western Frontier Province. His father was a subordinate Government official who was out on tour for the greater part of the year. The upbringing of the children fell solely to the lot of the mother, a woman of rare courage and simplicity. Puran Singh speaks lovingly of how she did everything for the children, particularly of her taking them to the hill-streams and giving them a daily plunge in the crystal, biting cold water. The family lived in a village and every evening, she repaired with the children to the Sikh temple where they all listened to the hymns of the Guru every morning as they were sung by the village priest. Puran Singh was a good student, for the sake of whose education the family soon moved to Rawalpindi. Thence he moved to Lahore for the college, this time alone. The separation between the mother and the son was very painful but the lady had a rare way of reconciling herself to the inevitable and she soon composed herself. Not so, however, the loving son. At Lahore he constantly thought of his mother and spent many an anxious hour in that way. But ambition was rapidly growing in him. While not yet a graduate, he secured a scholarship to go to Japan and study Applied Chemistry there in the Imperial University of Tokyo. This was in 1900. Academic honours however were not for the young Sikh whose heart was full of poetry and whose soul was longing for God-realisation. The only benefit he derived from his Japanese tour is thus expressed in his own words: "I was in the Tokyo Imperial University studying Applied Chemistry for more than three years and learning a good deal of the industrial life of that country. I came in contact with the leading Japanese people and was a friend of many a family, where I found the love of flowers,

of nature and of Buddha. I met men of silence, men of joy, poets and artists, and I always sought for the hidden riches of the soul wherever I went. Towards the close of my stay there, I gained the new joy of freedom from self and everything dropped from my hands. I turned a monk. Tears of joy rolled from my eyes . . . It seemed that I loved everyone and that everyone loved me." This was an extraordinary turn in the life of an Indian student of Applied Chemistry in Japan. But that was not all. Soon Puran Singh came into contact with a Hindu Sanyasin who "touched him with Divine Fire" and made him a Sanyasin also. Before long the characteristic ideas of Hindu Renaissance today like Nation-making, awakening India to its ancient greatness and so on, filled the mind of the young initiate. The call of the Motherland became more and more urgent until at last it could no longer be left unheeded. Puran Singh left Japan and reached Calcutta—donning the yellow robes of the Hindu Sanyasin. The circumstances of his family, in the meanwhile, had grown from bad to worse and his parents came to Calcutta to find him out and to take him back. With much difficulty they detected him in his Hindu guise and took him to Abbotabad with them. As a Sikh, he had violated a very strict religious injunction in having cut off his hair and removed his turban. But forgiveness was ready and he soon went back to his fold and to the bosom of his family, yet the fire that had been kindled in him by the Hindu Sanyasin was not extinguished but was burning bright, as ever.

To most of us, the poems of Puran Singh can be available only in their foreign garb, and what beauty and what imagination do they reveal! Like Tagore, Puran Singh also has the gift of conveying in English a faint echo of the music which must be thrilling in the original. His songs are all based on the Sikh Scripture, the Granth Sahib, and display the reaction of such a noble book on a sensitive, poetic and God-intoxicated soul. He has a rich imagination and a great gift of

expression. And yet the thoughts and feelings in his mind are so far removed and elevated, that ordinary words fail him and he has oftentimes to resort to parables in order to convey what he feels. Difference of opinion there might be as to his greatness as a poet or as a mystic, but every one of his songs has the true ring of the seer. Tagore probably has a richer imagery or loftier heights of spiritual realisation, but Puran Singh also unmistakably belongs to the same category of saints and seers.

Reviews

[We shall be glad to review books in all Indian languages and in English, French and German. Books for Review should reach the office at least SIX WEEKS in advance of the day of publication of the Journal.]

ENGLISH

The Hindustan Review.—Edited by Sjt. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, Bar-at-Law (15, Edmonstone Road, Allahabad. Annual Subscription Rs. 6.)

It is now six months since *The Hindustan Review* commenced to reappear as a monthly magazine. And we have been wondering all the time whether it is right for a baby-journal like *Triveni* to appraise the work of a veteran publicist like Sjt. Sachchidananda Sinha, who for thirty long years, has maintained a high level of journalistic excellence and made his *Review* a power in the land. But the same pleasant convention which enables the rawest junior at the Bar to refer to even the Advocate-general as 'my learned friend', gives us an opportunity of rendering homage to 'our esteemed contemporary'.

In the very first number, the distinguished Editor sketches the development of Indian public life during the last thirty years, and everybody will concede that *The Hindustan Review* and its Editor have played no mean part in that development. We are told how the first article for the *Review*, thirty years ago, was written by Mr. (now Dr. Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru, a rising lawyer. We note with great pleasure that Dr. Sapru's eldest son, Sjt. Prakash Narayan Sapru, is associated with Sjt. Sinha in the conduct of the journal. The articles in every number cover a very wide range, though, naturally enough, greater prominence is given to the political and economic problems of Modern India. With his usual catholicity of outlook, the Editor has thrown open his columns to persons of different schools of thought. Babu Rajendra Prasad writes about the Revival of Non-co-operation and Dr. Besant about Dominion Status for India. Among the younger writers of note may be mentioned Mr. C. L. R. Sastri, son of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

The reviewing of current literature is a particularly attractive feature of the journal, which enables the reader to keep in touch with the best contemporary thought. Further charm might be lent by including reviews of books in the various Indian vernaculars. *The Modern Review* led the way in this matter, and other Indian journals ought to follow that example. *The Hindustan Review* is not only well-edited but also admirably printed and got-up. In this respect, it is like *The Review of Reviews*. We heartily wish the *Review* a future as brilliant as its past.

K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO.

The Law and Theory of Railway Freight Rates:—SRINIVASAN, K. C., (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, Rs. 10.)

The Government of India's recent announcement that it proposes to revise the Indian Railways Act of 1890 must naturally compel the commercial community to take interest in the very important problem of amending the Act in such a way that adequate checks are imposed on the power of the various railway administrations to form their rates policy against the best interests of the country. There can be little doubt but that the very light control exercised by the Legislative Assembly on the railway budget is in no small measure responsible for the grossly unfair treatment which the railways mete out to those who cannot enlist the support of the various European Chambers of this country or are not able to bring pressure on the Railway Board. The incorporation of the railway companies in England with directorates which are by no means responsive to the pressure of Indian interests, the powers which they wield out of all proportion to the capital invested by them, and their natural inclination to allow their policy to be guided by considerations fundamentally racial, are responsible for the gross maladjustment of the rates policy of the railways to the real and genuine needs of the country. An independent writer with a full knowledge of the facts would be in a position to expose the vagaries of the system now in vogue, but there is no one in India who is well-versed in the actual facts and at the same time enjoys the requisite independence. Our commercial men are not farsighted enough to make it worthwhile for any one to specialise in investigations of the kind which lead to a thorough understanding of the complex problem of rates. The men on the staff of the railways take their cue merely from the I. R. C. A. and

have neither the inclination nor the opportunities for studying the important questions of policy which underlie all rate making. That remarkable figure in Indian intellectual life, Sir 'Asutosh' Mukherjee, realised with an astuteness which is really uncanny, how important a subject this is, and with his characteristic energy he set about finding a person who could be trusted to speak on it with inside knowledge. It is to him and the Calcutta University that we owe the publication of two excellent books on the rates-system,—the only books which gave the public an inkling into the processes by which the rates were manipulated to suit circumstances. The constitution of a Rates Enquiry Committee, however, gave rise to an opportunity for the system of rates coming within the purview of a person of really first-class attainments, and, as chance would have it, so capable a person as Sir B. N. Sarma was appointed the President of the Committee and so competent a person as Mr. K. Q. Srinivasan, was appointed its Secretary. The three years of the secretaryship gave Mr. Srinivasan so full an insight into the system that the book which he has produced as a result of his intimate study of it is a work of abiding merit and of outstanding excellence. Mr. Srinivasan, however, is a servant of the Railway Board and naturally could not give away any of its secrets and his book does not indeed help us to divine the purposes of that body. But Mr. Srinivasan's purpose,—that of acquainting the public with a description of the rates-system and an account of how it has grown, and of the surface movements which have guided its evolution, and of the fundamental principles that underlie all sound rate-making, —has been admirably achieved in the volume before us.

The book starts with a historical survey of the growth of the Indian railway system and of its relation to the activities of the Government. Chapters follow on the elements of Indian railway finance and the outlines of railway statistics and the machinery by which a consistent rates policy is sought to be worked out and controlled for the whole of India. Mr. Srinivasan points out how the Indian system would be unintelligible to one ignorant of English and American conditions and therefore devotes, very rightly, a number of chapters to a comparative study of the conditions obtaining in those countries. A series of chapters follow on the classification of goods and of freight tariffs and the conditions of carriage, and he sets out, in admirable outline, the various considerations which determine the fixation of reasonable rates. An elaborate and careful study of the

vexed question of undue preference is attempted in a series of three chapters, and the interesting—often complicated—problems of terminal charges are dealt with in three more chapters. The subsidiary topics of the minimum and the short distance charges go into a chapter and those of through rates and continuous mileage into yet another. The last chapter of the work is one of the most interesting in the book,—perhaps the most useful,—to the businessman who has a grievance and desires to bring it to the notice of the Rates Enquiry Committee. Every chapter bears the marks of careful workmanship and close thinking—and for the lay reader the subject has been treated in so popular a form that he is bound to find the book more attractive than he expected it to be. The only suggestion we would make is that, if a new edition is called for, the author may re-group the chapters so that Chapter VI may follow Chapter VII, and Chapters XI, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, and XXII may follow Chapter XIV.

LEX.

Moonbeams :—V. N. BHUSHAN, (Masulipatam).

These short poems of Mr. V. N. Bhushan are not all of them equally inspiring. But this much must be said to the credit of the poet, that he has some beautiful traits of feeling and real appreciation of life. There are certain touches of fine and delicate feeling as in the 'Jasmine' and 'Innocence' and they reveal that true poetic quality of appreciation and criticism of Life. They have that blending of rhythm and meaning which points to achievement of poise. We wish him the success that he truly deserves.

K. C. VARDACHARI M. A.

TELUGU

Satyasamrajyamu :—Dhanvantari Baghutthamacharya (Sri Rama Press, Kuppam, Chittoor Dt. Price 8 as.)

This small essay on truth and the way of approach to it is a healthy and really clear presentation of the modern tendencies of all youth towards truth, shorn of all the small wisdom of the past which presented the world of existence as illusion. The world is a creation of delight and therefore our problem is not how to get out of it, but how to get at its centre of being which is to be found only in the Self or *Atman*. He begins by saying that we may treat the Vedas as

untrue, we may regard the Rishis as speaking falsehood and we may dismiss system-builders like Sankara as mere quibblers and barren logicians. But one thing alone we cannot treat as false and that is the aspiration towards truth which is at the centre of our inmost being. To disregard this fact of aspiration to truth and its possibility for our self is fatal to life. This realisation of intrinsic beatitude is possible only through infinite Love for the eternal. Love, the author defines as 'inexhaustible affection'. He undertakes to show in the second section on Living,—refuting the theory of some people that the world is a vale of sorrow and unhappiness,—that the world is not such a wretched place but all this unhappiness, pain and fear and sorrow is limited and passing and has no eternal significance. For the Self seeks truth and happiness in itself because it knows that it is to be found within itself, however hidden and veiled this knowledge is.

This self-realisation is attained by giving up our life at the altar of that greater and diviner Life at the core of our existence, which is unlimited, and intrinsically and eternally blissful. It is only by subordinating, as the author says, our finite view of life to the richer and complete life that Bliss dawns upon our selves. Towards this end of complete happiness, faith in oneself and the truth alone will lead one. This small book is written in simple Telugu and can be followed easily by any reader. The author must be congratulated for putting forth clearly the philosophy of the age which refuses to regard the world as a place where intelligent creative happiness has no place and is only a vast monastery to practice austerities and put on melancholy airs of world-weariness. Such books of Hope and Faith in oneself are very requisite in India, at any rate, more than in any other country, and the author has done well to present it to the people of his country in their own language.

K. C. VARADACHARI M.A.,

